By-Laws, Southern Conference for Human Welfare

(Adopted January 26, 1946)

Article I. Name

Section 1. Name.

This corporation shall be known as the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, hereinafter referred to as "the corporation."

Article II. Purpose and Policy

Section 1. Purpose and policy.

The purpose of the corporation shall be to promote the general welfare and to improve the economic, social, political, cultural, and spiritual conditions of the people of the South without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

Article III. Authority

Section 1. Authority.

Authority for the corporation shall reside in its southwide membership.

Article IV. Membership

Section 1. Members.

Membership in the corporation shall be open to any resident of one of the following southern states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, South Carolina, Virginia, and the District of Columbia. Any such person may become a member of the corporation by joining a state committee affiliated with the corporation as provided in Article XVII. In those states where no such committee exists, any such person may become a member-at-large of the corporation by signing an application for membership, the form of which shall be determined by the Board of Representatives, and by paying dues as prescribed in Section 3 of this Article. Except in this Article both are referred to herein as "members."

Section 2. Associates.

Any person who is not a resident of one of the states enumerated in Section 1 of this Article may become an associate of the corporation by joining a committee for the South affiliated with the corporation as provided in Article XVIII. In those areas where no such committee exists, any such person may become an associate-at-large of the corporation in the same manner as that provided for members-at-large. Except in this Article both are referred to herein as "associates."

Section 3. Dues.

Per capita dues of members and associates of the corporation shall be one dollar ($1.00) annually, to be paid by affiliated committees. Per capita dues of members-at-large and associates-at-large shall be two dollars ($2.00) annually, to be paid directly to the corporation.

Section 4. Revocation of membership.

A member-at-large or an associate-at-large may be suspended or expelled from membership by the Board of Representatives, after due hearing by the Board, for violation of membership obligations subscribed to in his application for membership. Such member or associate shall have the right of appeal to the Conference under rules adopted by the Conference.

Article V. Membership Conferences

Section 1. Date, place, call, notification.

Southwide conferences of members of the corporation shall be held biennially. Special conferences may be held at the discretion of the Board of Representatives. The Board shall determine the date and place of each conference and shall mail notice thereof to each member, associate, and affiliated committee at the last known address of each at least sixty days prior to each Biennial Conference and thirty days prior to each Special Conference.

Section 2. Composition.

Conferences of the corporation shall be composed of members and associates.

Section 3. Participation.

Each member and associate of the corporation shall have the privilege of the floor. Members of the corporation, as of record in the headquarters of the corporation sixty days prior to a Biennial Conference and thirty days prior to a Special Conference, shall be entitled to vote through delegates of their choice as provided in Article VII. Associates shall be without vote.

Section 4. Program.

The Biennial Conference shall, in the manner provided in Article VIII, adopt a program to be supported by the corporation during the ensuing biennial period. The program shall consist of broad objectives, the detailed plans for carrying it forward to be left to the Board of Representatives.

Section 5. Budget.

The Biennial Conference shall adopt a budget for each of the ensuing two years in the manner provided in Article VIII. The Board of Representatives shall at all times have authority to enlarge the budget if increased funds become available to the corporation.

Section 6. Officers and Board of Representatives.

The Biennial Conference shall, in the manner provided in Article IX, elect a President, six Vice-Presidents, and 21 additional members to serve on the Board of Representatives of the corporation. Such conference may elect an honorary President.

Article VI. Nominating Committee

Section 1. Nominating committee.

A nominating committee of five, one of whom shall be designated as chairman, shall be appointed by the Board of Representatives at least sixty days in advance of each Biennial Conference. No member of the Board of Representatives or of the Staff shall be eligible to serve on this committee.

Article VII. Delegates and Alternates

Section 1. Enumeration.

Each southern state enumerated in Article IV, Section 1, shall be entitled to one delegate and an alternate for each 25, or fraction in excess thereof, members of the corporation in that state as of record in the headquarters of the corporation sixty days prior to a Biennial Conference and thirty days prior to a Special Conference; provided, however, this ratio may be changed by a two-thirds vote of the Board of Representatives of the corporation not less than sixty days prior to a Biennial Conference and thirty days prior to a Special Conference.

Section 2. Election.

In each state where a committee affiliated with the corporation exists, the delegates and alternates from that state to each Biennial Conference and Special Conference shall be elected by such committee. In each state where 25 or more members of the corporation reside and where no committee affiliated with the corporation exists, the Board of Representatives of the corporation shall assume the responsibility for having a meeting of the members in that state called before each Biennial Conference and Special Conference, in order that such members may have the opportunity to elect delegates and alternates from that state to such conferences, provided, however, no such meeting attended by less than ten such members shall conduct such an election.

Article VIII. Adoption of Program and Budget

Section 1. Proposed program.

A proposed program, as described in Article V, Section 4, shall be formulated by the Board of Representatives and submitted by it to each member, associate, and affiliated committee of the corporation not later than eight weeks before each Biennial Conference, inviting comment and proposed changes in writing not later than three weeks before such conference. The proposed program shall be reconsidered by the Board in advance of the Conference, in the light of such comments and proposed changes.

Section 2. Adoption of program.

The proposed program as finally agreed upon by the Board shall be posted in the meeting hall at the first session of the Conference and shall be submitted by the Board to the Conference at a session in advance of that at which it is up for adoption. The program shall be considered and voted upon item by item and adoption shall be by majority vote. The Conference itself may add items to the program which the Board has considered but rejected, provided 1) such reconsideration is ordered by a majority vote of the Conference, 2) at least one hour intervenes between the introduction of and the vote upon such items, and 3) each such item is adopted by majority vote.

Section 3. Adoption of budget.

A proposed budget, as described in Article V, Section 5, shall be formulated by the Board of Representatives. Such budget shall be posted in the meeting hall at the first session of the Conference and shall be submitted by the Board to the Conference at a session in advance of that at which it is up for adoption. The budget shall be considered item by item and adoption shall be by majority vote.

Article IX. Nomination and Election of Officers and Board Members

Section 1. Qualification.

Only members of the corporation shall be elected as officers of the corporation or to the Board of Representatives. No member of the staff shall serve on the Board.

Section 2. Nomination.

The nominating committee shall issue a call not later than eight weeks in advance of each Biennial Conference to all members and affiliated state committees of the corporation for nominations for President, six Vice-Presidents, and 21 members of the Board of Representatives, such nominations to be received not later than three weeks prior to the Conference. The nominating committee itself may make nominations. The committee shall ask all members so nominated to indicate whether they will serve if elected.

Section 3. Election.

A list of those members so nominated who have agreed to serve if elected shall be posted by the nominating com-

mittee in the meeting hall at the first session of the Conference. Nominations made by the nominating committee itself shall be so indicated, and shall include at least one nominee from each state not having ex officio representation on the Board of Representatives. The nominating committee shall present the list of nominees to the Conference, together with the committee's recommendations, at a session in advance of that at which the election is to be held. At the time of such presentation, call shall be made for additional nominations from the floor, such nominations to be limited to those who have agreed to serve if elected. The election shall be by secret ballot, under rules adopted by the Board, to determine the President, the six Vice-Presidents, and 21 members of the Board of Representatives. The Board of Representatives, as enumerated in Article XI, Section 1, shall itself elect a secretary, a treasurer, and a parliamentarian of the corporation from among those Board members elected by the Conference, as prescribed in Article X, Section 1. An honorary president of the corporation may be elected upon nomination by the Board of Representatives and a four-fifths vote of a Biennial Conference only.

Article X. Officers

Section 1. Enumeration.

The officers of the corporation shall consist of an honorary president, if any be chosen pursuant to Article IX, Section 3; a president; six vice-presidents; a secretary; a treasurer, and a parliamentarian. The President and the six Vice-Presidents shall be elected in accordance with Article IX. The Board of Representatives itself shall elect the Secretary, the Treasurer and the Parliamentarian from among its members elected by the Conference; the election shall be by secret ballot, the ballot to be furnished each voting member of the Board, who shall be given ten days to vote thereon.

Section 2. Terms.

The terms of officers shall run concurrently with the two-year interim between biennial meetings of the Conference and until their successors are elected. All officers shall be eligible for re-election.

Section 3. President.

The President shall preside at all meetings of the corporation and of the Board of Representatives, unless he shall designate some member of the Board to preside in his stead. Between such meetings, he shall have the responsibility of representing the corporation, of interpreting its policies, of advising with the administrator, of seeing that the corporation's policies are faithfully executed, and of reporting to the Board at the next meeting any deviations from such policies. He shall be, ex officio, a member of all committees and councils established by the corporation. He may, in the absence or disability of the Treasurer, sign or endorse checks, drafts, and notes.

Section 4. Vice-Presidents.

One of the Vice-Presidents, so designated in advance by the Board, shall, in the event of the absence, disability, or death of the President, possess all the powers and perform all the duties of that office until the office of President is filled. The Vice-Presidents shall perform such other duties as the Board of Representatives may designate.

Section 5. Secretary

The Secretary shall be responsible for the keeping of minutes of all Conferences and of all meetings of the Board of Representatives. He shall sign, with the President, all contracts and other legal instruments when so authorized by the Board of Representatives, and shall perform such other functions as may be assigned to his office.

Section 6. Treasurer.

The Treasurer shall receive and account for all monies. He shall be custodian of these funds and shall disburse the same only as authorized by the Board of Representatives. He shall present a financial statement to the Board of Representatives at each meeting of the Board, an annual report to members, associates, and affiliated committees, and a biennial report to the Biennial Conference. The books of the Treasurer shall be audited by a certified public accountant annually and immediately prior to each Biennial Conference. The Treasurer shall give bond in such amount as determined by the Board.

Section 7. Parliamentarian.

The parliamentarian shall rule on questions of parliamentary procedure and interpretation of the provisions of these by-laws. His rulings shall prevail unless overridden by majority vote of the body before which such a ruling is given. He shall be responsible for calling to the attention of the Board of Representatives any violation of these by-laws and for reporting same to the membership of the corporation at the next Conference if such violations are continued.

Section 8. Vacancies.

Vacancies occurring among the officers between Biennial Conferences shall by secret ballot be filled for the unexpired term by the remaining members of the Board of Representatives, the ballot to be furnished each voting member thereof, who shall be given 10 days to vote thereon.

Article XI. Board of Representatives

Section 1. Enumeration.

The Board of Representatives shall consist of the officers and the 21 members elected by the Conference in accordance with Article IX; and the chairman of each affiliated state committee, or in his stead someone selected by him, serving ex officio with vote. The Board itself may appoint not more than 10 associates to serve as members of the Board in an advisory capacity without vote. The officers of the corporation, enumerated in Article X, Section 1, shall serve also as officers of the Board.

Section 2. Authority.

The Board shall have power, between meetings of the Conference, to take any action not inconsistent with the charter and by-laws of the corporation and with the actions taken by the Conference. The Board shall have full charge of the property and business of the corporation, with power and authority to manage the same, subject to the instructions of the Conference.

Section 3. Terms.

The terms of members of the Board shall run concurrently with the two year interim between Biennial Conferences and until their successors are elected. Board members shall be eligible for re-election. When any member of the Board misses three consecutive regular Board meetings, his post on the Board shall automatically become vacant, and he shall thereupon be so notified by the Secretary.

Section 4. Meetings.

Regular meetings of the Board shall be held quarterly at a time established by the Board. Special meetings may be called by the President. A majority of the members of the Board may in writing request the President to hold a meeting of the Board within two weeks after receiving such request, and if he fails to do so may themselves, in his stead, convene the Board with notice as provided in Section 5 of this Article.

Section 5. Notice of meetings.

Notice of meetings shall be sent by the Secretary to each member of the Board not later than thirty days in advance of such meetings, except as further provided in this Section. In cases of emergency, notice of special meetings may be given by wire or telephone to each member of the Board and such meetings held if a quorum can attend. Notice of a meeting to be held immediately thereafter may be given at a Conference and the meeting held if a quorum can attend.

Section 6. Quorum.

One-fourth of the voting members of the Board present and voting shall constitute a quorum, and no official action except to adjourn shall be taken in the absence thereof. No proxies shall be recognized.

Section 7. Vacancies.

Vacancies on the Board occurring between Biennial Conferences shall by secret ballot be filled for the unexpired term by the remaining members of the Board, the ballot to be furnished each voting member thereof, who shall be given ten days to vote thereon.

Article XII. Staff

Section 1. Enumeration.

The staff of the corporation shall consist of an administrator and such administrative associates, administrative assistants, and secretarial and clerical personnel as may be consistent with the corporation's current budget.

Section 2. Authority.

Authority shall reside in the Administrator for administering the work of the corporation after plans therefor have been approved by the Board of Representatives. He shall be responsible to the Board, as a whole.

Section 3. Administrator, appointment, term, responsibility.

The Administrator shall be appointed by the Board of Representatives and shall serve during the pleasure of the Board. He shall have responsibility for administering the work of the corporation under the direction of the Board as a whole. He shall be expected to exercise leadership in making proposals to the Board for developing the work of the corporation. He shall appoint the administrative associates and assistants subject to confirmation by the Board. He shall have full authority in employing secretarial and clerical personnel consistent with the current budget of the corporation.

Section 4. Fiscal powers.

The Administrator may, upon the grant of such authority by the Board of Representatives, sign checks on behalf of the corporation against a special banking account established for that purpose. Upon his recommendation and favorable action by the Board, similar authority may be granted to administrative associates designated by him. Each person granted such authority shall give bond in the same manner required of the Treasurer in Article X, Section 6.

Article XIII. Financial Administration

Section 1. Fiscal year.

The fiscal year of the corporation shall be the calendar year.

Section 2. Administration of funds.

All funds and assets of the corporation shall be in the custody of the Treasurer, who shall administer them in accordance with Article X, Section 6, except as provided in Article XII, Section 4.

Article XIV. Headquarters

Section 1. Headquarters.

The headquarters of the corporation shall be located in one of the southern states enumerated in Article IV, Section 1, the city to be selected by the Board of Representatives. Branch offices may be established in the discretion of the Board.

Article XV. Special Committees

Section 1. Special committees.

Special committees may be created either by the Board of Representatives or by the Conference itself. The resolution establishing such a committee shall define its function, the period of time it shall exist, and the manner in which its members shall be appointed.

Article XVI. Advisory Council

Section 1. Advisory council.

The Board of Representatives may appoint an advisory council of not more than 150 members. Their terms shall run concurrently with those of members of the Board. Meetings of the Council may be held upon call of the President.

Article XVII. Affiliated State Committees

Section 1. Enumeration.

One state committee in each of the southern states enumerated in Article IV, Section 1, may become recognized as an affiliate of the corporation in the manner prescribed in Section 5 of this Article. Each member of such committee, by virtue of such membership, shall be a member of the corporation and dues therefor shall be paid by the affiliated state committee as prescribed in Article IV, Section 3.

Section 2. Ex officio representation.

The chairman of each affiliated state committee, or in his stead someone selected by him, shall serve ex officio, with vote, on the Board of Representatives of the Corporation. The administrator of each such committee shall serve ex officio on the staff of the corporation.

Section 3. Responsibility of the corporation to affiliated state committees.

The corporation may assist affiliated state committees by making annual grants to them, the amount of such grants to be determined by the Board of Representatives. It shall offer such other assistance to affiliated state committees as may be determined by the Board of Representatives.

Section 4. Responsibility of affiliated state committees to the corporation.

A state committee shall adopt the general principles and purposes of the corporation upon affiliation with it. The objectives adopted by members of the corporation at a Biennial Conference and placed by them on the corporation's active program, as well as action taken on specific legislation by the Board of Representatives in implementation thereof, shall not be publicly opposed by an affiliated state committee, though such committee shall not be required to give its support to each such objective and Board action.

Section 5. Recognition of affiliation.

Affiliation of a state committee shall become effective upon written request by the governing body of such committee to the Board of Representatives of the corporation and the Board's issuance of a certificate of affiliation. Such request shall be accompanied by the constitution and by-laws of the state committee. A condition of affiliation shall be agreement by the state committee to the following: a) its membership shall be open to any resident of such state; b) it shall not incorporate without approval of the Board of Representatives of the corporation, and any amendment to its charter shall be subject to such approval; c) amendments to its constitution and by-laws shall be subject to review and approval by the Board of Representatives of the corporation; d) appointment of its administrator shall be subject to such approval; and e) in case of severance of affiliation with the corporation, it shall adhere to the provisions contained in Sections 7 and 8 of this Article.

Section 6. Termination of affiliation by the corporation.

The Board of Representatives of the corporation may revoke the certificate of affiliation of a state committee for non-fulfillment of the affiliation provisions contained in these by-laws or of other written agreements mutually arrived at by the corporation and affiliated state committees, or for ineffectiveness of a state committee in the opinion of the Board of Representatives of the corporation; provided, however, such Board action shall require a two-thirds vote of the entire Board. Representatives of the governing body of an affiliated state committee shall be given sixty days notice in writing and the right to appear before the Board of Representatives of the corporation if revocation of the certificate of affiliation of such committee is to be considered by the Board, and in case of such revocation shall have the right of appeal to the membership of the corporation at the next Conference. Termination of affiliation shall not become effective until a state committee has had the opportunity of such appeal.

Section 7. Termination of affiliation by a State Committee.

A state committee may sever its affiliation with the corporation at any annual meeting of such committee, provided that notice of such proposal has been contained in the call of such meeting. Representatives of the Board of the corporation shall be permitted to appear before the governing body of such committee and before its membership at any meeting to consider such severance.

Section 8. Effect of termination of affiliation.

A state committee whose affiliation with the corporation has been terminated shall no longer use the name under which it has operated as an affiliate of the corporation, and individual members in the affected state shall automatically become members at large of the corporation. Upon such termination of affiliation, title to all tangible property acquired by the affected state committee shall be vested in the corporation, unless otherwise specifically authorized by the Board of Representatives of the corporation.

Section 9. Youth Chapters.

The Board of Representatives shall encourage state committees to establish youth chapters on campuses, in high schools, and in other community groups, membership in which shall not be denied to any person because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Article XVIII. Committees for the South

Section 1. Committees for the South.

Where a number of associates of the corporation reside in a particular area, they shall be encouraged to form a committee for the South in that area, affiliated with the corporation. Such committee shall assist in financing the work conducted by the corporation in the South and undertake promotional projects to this end; may render assistance in the field of research and in compiling and supplying materials to the Board of Representatives on projects undertaken by the corporation; and may undertake such other activities as the Board of Representatives may request or approve. Such committee shall operate under by-laws approved by the Board of Representatives of the corporation. Sections 1, 5, 6, 7, and 8 of Article XVII shall apply to committees for the South in the same manner as they apply to affiliated state committees.

Article XIX. Limitation of Authority

Section 1. Limitation of authority.

No committee or council established in the manner provided in Articles XV, XVI, XVII, and XVIII shall have authority to act in the name of the corporation except as provided in said Articles.

Article XX. Dissolution

Section 1. Dissolution.

In the event of a dissolution of the corporation, all property of the corporation, of whatsoever nature, shall be disposed of by the Board of Representatives in such manner as it deems appropriate.

Article XXI. Parliamentary Authority

Section 1. Parliamentary authority.

The rules contained in Robert's Rules of Order Revised shall govern the corporation wherever applicable and not inconsistent with its charter and these by-laws.

Article XXII. Amendments

Section 1. Amendments.

Any amendment to these by-laws may be proposed by any ten members of the corporation, who shall submit in writing the text thereof to the President. The President shall forthwith transmit the same to the Board of Representatives, who shall consider it at a meeting held within ninety days after the President receives it. After such meeting, if the proposed amendment has been approved by four of the voting members of the Board, the Board shall send the proposed amendment, with a recommendation that it should or should not be passed, to each member, associate, and affiliated committee of the corporation at least thirty days prior to the next Conference occurring more than forty-five days after such meeting of the Board. Such Conference may by a two-thirds vote adopt such amendment.

Article XXIII. Effective Date

Section 1. Effective date.

These by-laws shall become immediately effective upon adoption, except that the first officers provided for in Article X, Section 1, and the first Board of Representatives provided for in Article XI, Section 1, shall at once be nominated from the floor and elected by voice vote of the members present to serve until a Biennial Conference can be held hereunder.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

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Officers: DR. FRANK P. GRAHAM, *Honorary President;* DR. CLARK H. FOREMAN, *President;* PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, ROSCOE DUNGEE, MRS. CLIFFORD S. DURR, WILLIAM MITCH, HOLLIS V. REID, *Vice-Chairman;* TARLETON COLLIER, *Secretary;* DR. ALVA W. TAYLOR, *Treasurer;* MISS JOSEPHINE WILKINS, *Parliamentarian;* DR. JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, *Administrator.*

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935 G. Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Officers and Executive Committee: DR. JOSEPH L. JOHNSON, *Chairman;* JOHN BEECHER, *Vice-Chairman;* MRS. MADELINE DONNER, *Secretary;* JOHN P. ANDERSON, *Treasurer;* DR. RALPH BUNCHE, MRS. DOROTHY BOWLES, MRS. VIRGINIA DURR, MRS. LUCILLE EZEKIEL, DR. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER, DR. DOROTHY BOULDING FEREBEE, MRS. MAME MASON HIGGINS, MRS. KATHRYN JOHNSON, BELFORD V. LAWSON, DR. R. E. R. LOVELL, MALCOLM ROSS, MRS. CARMELITE SMITH, ALFRED E. SMITH, MRS. ELIZABETH SASULY, SAMUEL RODMAN, MRS. MICHAEL STRAUS, CARLTON SKINNER, MRS. LUKE I. WILSON, ANN BERENSEN, HENRY BEITCHER, MRS. GERTRUDE RODMAN.

SCHW

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, Inc.

212½ Union Street

Nashville 3, Tennessee

July 30, 1946

President
Clark H. Foreman

Vice-Presidents
Rufus E. Clement
Helen Fuller

Secretary-Treasurer
Alva W. Taylor

Executive Secretary
James A. Dombrowski

Mary McLeod Bethune
Charlotte Hawkins Brown
Louis Burnham
Tarleton Collier
John P. Davis
F. Clyde Helms
Charles S. Johnson
Roy R. Lawrence
Lucy R. Mason
Mortimer May
George S. Mitchell
A. T. Mollegen
F. D. Patterson
M.C. Plunk
Frank Prohl
Ira DeA. Reid
Lillian Smith
John B. Thompson
Paul R. Christopher
Virginia Durr
Roscoe Dunjee
William Mitch
Hollis V. Reid

Memorandum to: Members of the Executive Board.

From: James A. Dombrowski

Subject: Executive Committee.

We have received 11 replies to our recent communication asking Board members to express their preference as to the number of members of the executive committee authorized by the Board of the SCEF at the Nashville meeting on May 28, 1946.

The returns were as follows:

3 members - 3 votes.
5 members - 7 votes.
7 members - 1 vote.

Will you kindly check 5 names on the list of Board members appearing down the side of this sheet, and thus cast your ballot for 5 members of an executive committee.

(Our auditor has completed his work on
(our accounts for the period January 27-
(June 30 and a copy will be sent to you
(when it has been mimeographed.)

Check 5 names and return to
212½ Union Street

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Balance Sheets
June 30, 1946

Exhibit 1

ASSETS			SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Current Assets					
Cash on Hand and in Banks:					
Petty Cash			20.00		20.00
General Fund Bank Account			330.16		330.16
Legal Fund Bank Account			5.00		5.00
Special Fund Bank Account			5.80		5.80
New York Bank Account			888.98		888.98
Educational Fund Bank Account				1,414.44	1,414.44
Total Cash			1,249.94	1,414.44	2,664.38
Other Current Assets:					
Accounts Receivable			300.00		300.00
Due From Other Funds			4,473.96		
Total Current Assets			6,023.90	1,414.44	2,964.38
Fixed Assets					
Office Furniture and Equipment:					
	Cost	Depreciation			
Nashville	2,531.47	247.22	2,284.25		2,284.25
New York	337.65	24.94	312.71		312.71
North Carolina	55.62	6.19	49.43		49.43
	2,294.74	278.35			
Office Renovation		630.11			
Amortization Reserve		101.64	578.47		578.47
Assets-Nat'l Comm. to Abolish Poll Tax			1,000.00		1,000.00
Total Fixed Assets			4,224.86		4,224.86
Deferred Assets:					
Prepaid Bond Expense			70.84		70.84
Electrical Deposit			10.00		10.00
Deposit with Airlines			425.00		425.00
Total Deferred Assets			505.84		505.84
Total Assets			10,754.60	1,414.44	7,695.08

LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH

Liabilities			
Accounts Payable	1,623.02	352.19	1,980.21
Outstanding Deposits	50.00		50.00
Accrued Salaries and Wages	104.17		104.17
Accrued Withholding Tax	595.40	23.80	619.20
Liabilities-Nat'l Comm. Abolish Poll Tax	7,024.16		7,024.16
Due Other Funds		4,473.96	
	9,401.75	4,849.95	9,777.74
Surplus-See Schedule A	1,352.85	(-3,435.51)	(-2,082.66)
	10,754.60	1,414.44	7,695.08

Statement of Changes in Surplus
From January 26, 1946 to June 30, 1946

Schedule A

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Surplus Per Books-January 26,1946	7,679.51	69.36	7,748.87
Adjustments:			
Additional Accounts Payable as of January 26,1946 found upon audit	1,862.82		1,862.82
Adjusted Surplus-January 26,1946	5,816.69	69.36	5,886.05
Assets and Liabilities of National Committee to Abolish Poll Tax assumed	6,024.16		6,024.16
Deficit before Operations	(-207.47)	69.36	(-138.11)
Operations:			
Revenues:			
Nashville-See Schedule B	19,413.54	1,601.16	21,014.70
New York-See Schedule C	11,762.79	5,820.53	17,583.32
State Committees -See Schedule D	3,074.91	1,150.00	4,224.91
Total Revenues	34,251.24	8,571.69	42,822.93
Expenditures:			
Nashville	16,094.17	10,492.78	26,586.95
New York	3,430.60	1,521.31	4,951.91
State Committees	13,166.15	62.47	13,228.62
Total Expenditures	32,690.92	12,076.56	44,767.48
Results of Operations	1,560.32	(-3,504.87)	(-1,944.55)
Net Deficit on June 30, 1946	1,352.85	(-3,435.51)	(-2,082.66)

Nashville Revenues and Expenditures
For The Period January 27 - June 30, 1946

Schedule B

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Revenues			
Contributions and Subscriptions-			
Regular Receipts	6,950.37	100.00	7,050.37
Renewals	1,095.17		1,095.17
Bethune Meeting	118.00		118.00
Bilbo Appeal	125.00		125.00
Foundations and Funds	2,375.00	1,000.00	3,375.00
Unions	8,750.00		8,750.00
Total Regular Revenues	19,413.54	1,100.00	20,513.54
Special Revenues			
Columbia Project-Receipts		3,528.70	3,528.70
Sale of Cards		140.76	140.76
Sale of Pamphlets		856.18	856.18
		4,525.64	4,525.64
Less-Expenditures		4,024.48	4,024.48
Net Special Revenues		501.16	501.16
Total Revenues	19,413.54	1,601.16	21,014.70
Expenditures			
Administrative Expenses-See Schedule B-1	5,973.08	2,473.96	8,447.04
General Office Expense-See Schedule B-2	4,370.71	2,184.68	6,555.39
Promotion Expenses-See Schedule B-3	1,961.93	3,701.53	5,663.46
Activities Expenses-See Schedule B-4	3,788.45	2,132.61	5,921.06
Total Expenditures	16,094.17	10,492.78	26,586.95
Excess Revenues over Expenditures	3,319.37	(-8,891.62)	(-5,572.25)

Statement of Administrative Expenses
For The Period From January 27-June 30, 1946

Schedule B-1

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
President's Fee	83.34		83.34
President's Salary	2,222.20	1,152.76	3,374.96
President's Expenses	739.52	369.70	1,109.22
Administrator's Salary	2,126.74	1,095.91	3,222.65
Administrator's Expenses	108.49	54.24	162.73
Travel Expense	442.48	220.73	663.21
Membership Meetings	5.50	5.50	11.00
Board Meeting Expense	135.13	196.49	331.62
Fidelity Bonds	8.05	4.01	12.06
Charter Recording	1.63	9.62	11.25
Auditing Expense	100.00	50.00	150.00
Total Administrative Expenses	5,973.08	3,158.96	9,132.04
Less-Amount Chargeable to Columbia Project:			
Administrative Salaries		600.00	
Administrative Travel		85.00	
Total Credits		685.00	685.00
Net Administrative Expense	5,973.08	2,473.96	8,447.04

Statement of General Office Expenses-Nashville Office
For the Period from January 27-June 30, 1946

Schedule B-2

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Salaries-See Schedule E-1	2,847.92	1,423.41	4,271.33
Rent	206.46	103.22	309.68
Janitor	88.00	44.00	132.00
Janitors Supplies	9.06	4.52	13.58
Other Cleaning	2.67	1.33	4.00
Electricity	22.69	11.34	34.03
Oil	12.77	6.37	19.14
Repairs	31.20	15.60	46.80
Office Supplies and Printing	157.15	78.58	235.73
Addressograph Supplies and Costs	175.04	87.51	262.55
Mimeograph Supplies and Costs	38.84	19.41	58.25
Postage and Expense	259.39	129.68	389.07
Telephone	394.60	197.30	591.90
Telegraph	29.44	14.71	44.15
Rental of Office Machines	8.67	4.33	13.00
Repairs to Office Equipment	7.34	3.66	11.00
Miscellaneous	(-28.58)	(-14.29)	(-42.87)
Books and Periodicals	30.00	15.00	45.00
Addressing Service Rendered	(-45.65)	(-22.82)	(-68.47)
Depreciation:			
Furniture and Fixtures-Nashville	65.34	32.66	98.00
Office Renovation Amortization	58.36	29.16	87.52
Total General Office	4,370.71	2,184.68	6,555.39

Statement of Promotion Costs-Nashville Office
For The Period January 27 to June 30,1946

Schedule B-3

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Special Letters	43.74	204.87	248.61
Printing	105.68	52.83	158.51
Postage	28.00	14.00	42.00
Witherspoon Dodge:			
Salary	1,088.53	544.25	1,632.78
Expenses	695.98	347.98	1,043.96
Osceola McKaine			
Salary		1,632.78	1,632.78
Expenses		904.82	904.82
Total Promotion Costs	1,961.93	3,701.53	5,663.46

Statement of Activities Cost
For Period January 27-June 30, 1946

Schedule B-4

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Southern Patriot			
Printing	1,657.25		1,657.25
Postage	560.27		560.27
Art Work	3.48		3.48
Miscellaneous	56.10		56.10
	2,277.10		2,277.10
Less-Sales	68.00		68.00
Net Patriot Costs	2,209.10		2,209.10
Publications			
Filibuster	16.00		16.00
Look Him In The Eye		308.93	308.93
Belief in Brotherhood of Man	20.50		20.50
65¢ Letter		75.00	75.00
There Are No Master Races		34.00	34.00
Would You Smile		1,703.00	1,703.00
	36.50	2,120.93	2,157.43
Special Projects			
F.E.P.C. Filibuster	35.00		35.00
Bethune Meeting	23.35	11.68	35.03
T.D. Davis	9.08		9.08
	67.43	11.68	79.11
Salaries of Field Workers			
Murdock Martin	474.99		474.99
Ben V. Ramey	758.31		758.31
	1,233.30		1,233.30
Expenses of Field Workers			
Murdock Martin	264.21		264.21
Ben V. Ramey	124.71		124.71
	388.92		388.92
Total Activities Expenditures	3,935.25	2,132.61	6,067.86
Less-Sales of Literature			
Miscellaneous Sales	114.00		114.00
For Your Children Too	32.80		32.80
Total Literature Sales	146.80		146.80
Net Activities Costs	3,788.45	2,132.61	5,921.06

New York Revenues and Expenditures
For Period from January 27-June 30, 1946

Schedule C

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Revenues			
Contributions and Subscriptions-General	3,022.19	50.00	3,072.19
Income from Dinners and Parties			
See Schedule E-3	7,699.10	5,770.53	13,469.63
Foundations and Funds	250.00		250.00
Other Contributions			
P.M.	172.50		172.50
Halperin Appeal	1.00		1.00
Mississippi	608.00		608.00
Bilbo Appeal	7.00		7.00
Columbia Appeal	3.00		3.00
Total New York Revenues	11,762.79	5,820.53	17,583.32
New York Expenditures			
Salaries-See Schedule E-2	2,254.63	1,127.26	3,381.89
Office Supplies and Printing	97.15	48.52	145.67
Rent	275.01	137.49	412.50
Telephone and Telegraph	234.74	117.37	352.11
Postage	70.84	35.41	106.25
Contractual Services	28.77	14.38	43.15
Travel	155.62	77.81	233.43
Petty Cash	4.50	2.25	6.75
Miscellaneous	69.49	34.74	104.23
New York Reports out of Balance	(-180.58)	(-90.29)	(-270.87)
Refund Items	75.12	37.55	112.67
Depreciation on Furniture and Fixtures	7.66	3.82	11.48
Publications	40.00		40.00
Coin Cards	358.00		358.00
Total New York Expenditures	3,490.95	1,546.31	5,037.26
Less-Sales of Literature			
Miscellaneous	60.35		60.35
Would You Smile		25.00	25.00
Total for New York Expenditures	60.35	25.00	85.35
Net New York Expenditures	3,430.60	1,521.31	4,951.91
Excess-Revenues over Expenditures	8,332.19	4,299.22	12,631.41

Advances to State Committees
For Period January 27-June 30, 1946

Schedule D

	Salaries	Expenses	Expense Returns	Net Advances
Advances				
Southern Conference for Human Welfare				
Georgia	2,786.63	250.00	587.32	2,449.31
Alabama	2,601.59	1,118.70	500.00	3,290.29
North Carolina	2,780.20	554.24	1,153.34	2,181.10
Florida	60.00			60.00
Virginia	2,225.08	1,120.11	440.00	2,905.19
Tennessee	1,023.98	1,156.69	31.80	2,148.87
Louisiana		125.00		125.00
Mississippi		6.39		6.39
Total Advances	11,477.48	4,401.13	2,712.46	13,166.15
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.				
Tennessee		62.30		
North Carolina		.17		
		62.47		62.47

Net Advances Over Revenues

	Revenues from State	Revenues to State	Excess Advances
Southern Conference for Human Welfare			
Georgia	663.00	2,449.31	1,786.31
Alabama	257.00	3,290.29	3,033.29
North Carolina	545.00	2,181.20	1,636.20
Washington, D.C.	1,128.70		(-1,128.70)
Virginia	221.00	2,905.19	2,684.19
Tennessee	35.00	2,148.87	2,113.87
South Carolina	135.21		(-135.21)
Florida	90.00	60.00	(-30.00)
Louisiana		125.00	125.00
Mississippi		6.39	6.39
	3,074.91	13,166.25	10,091.34
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.			
Washington, D.C.	1,150.00		(-1,150.00)
Tennessee		62.30	62.30
North Carolina		.17	.17
	1,150.00	62.47	(-1,087.53)

Note-Three Committees are in both Funds:

	SCHW	SCEF	Total
Washington, D.C.	(-1,128.70)	(-1,150.00)	(-2,278.70)
Tennessee	2,113.87	62.30	2,176.17
North Carolina	1,636.20	.17	1,636.37

Statement of Office Salaries
For the Period January 27-June 30, 1946

Schedule E-1

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Mary Borders	744.77	372.38	1,117.15
Margaret Frantz	859.38	428.68	1,289.06
Evelyn Sadler	10.16	5.07	15.23
Meta Windmiller	521.26	260.11	781.37
Lois N. Chandler	336.90	168.44	505.34
Ada L. Crossett	142.93	71.46	214.39
Gloria Hager	213.93	106.96	320.89
Harry Kahn	99.33	49.67	149.00
Miscellaneous	35.93	17.97	53.90
	2,964.59	1,481.74	4,446.33
Less Amount Apportioned to Columbia Project	116.67	58.33	175.00
Net Office Salaries	2,847.92	1,423.41	4,271.33

Salaries - New York Office
Period from January 27-June 30, 1946

Schedule E-2

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Dorothy Chappelle	617.09	308.48	925.57
Branson Price	1,074.21	537.12	1,611.33
Ellen Karelsen	433.33	216.66	649.99
Juliette K. Sheppard	130.00	65.00	195.00
	2,254.63	1,127.26	3,381.89

Statement of Revenues from Dinners and Parties
Period January 27-June 30, 1946

Schedule E-3

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Net Revenues			
Natchez Party	571.00	75.00	646.00
Muir Party	335.25		335.25
Tishman Party	98.00		98.00
Schiffelin Party	266.00	60.00	326.00
Karelsen Tea	189.15	78.50	267.65
Nisselson Party	148.00		148.00
Mezerik Party	106.40	5.00	111.40
*Nathanson Party	445.48	131.37	576.85
*Moon Party	420.89	94.00	421.83
Lindon Party	749.00	115.00	864.00
Marshall Party	300.00	20.00	320.00
*Hart Party	76.00		76.00
*Tobias Dinner	3,540.37	4,026.43	7,566.80
Burnett and Norman Parties	183.06	340.00	523.06
Masters Party	118.00	10.00	128.00
Miscellaneous Parties	152.50		152.50
*Theater Benefit		908.29	908.29
	7,699.10	5,770.53	13,469.63

*Analyzed on Schedule E-4

Analysis of Certain Party Revenues
Period January 27-June 30, 1946

Schedule E-4

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Nathanson Party			
Revenues-Contributions	482.75	150.00	632.75
Less-Costs	37.27	18.63	55.90
Net Revenue	445.48	131.37	576.85
Moon Party			
Revenues-Contributions	479.00	30.00	509.00
Less-Costs	58.11	29.06	87.17
Net Revenue	420.89	.94	421.83
Hart Party			
Revenues-Contributions	86.00		86.00
Less-Costs	10.00		10.00
Net Revenues	76.00		76.00
Tobias Dinner			
Revenues-Contributions	4,587.50	4,550.00	9,137.50
-Fees	2,565.34	1,282.66	3,848.00
Total Receipts	7,152.84	5,832.66	12,985.50
Less-Costs	3,612.47	1,806.23	5,418.70
Net Revenues	3,540.37	4,026.43	7,566.80
Theater Benefit			
Tickets Sold		3,479.70	3,479.70
Contributions		212.00	212.00
Total Receipts		3,691.70	3,691.70
Less-Costs		2,783.41	2,783.41
Net Revenues		908.29	908.29

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Publishers of
The Southern PATRIOT

808 Perdido St. New Orleans, Louisiana

COPY

December 6, 1946

Mr. Clark Foreman, President
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
127 "B" Street, SE
Washington D.C.

Dear Clark:

As the retiring Administrator of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare I am taking the liberty of asking that I have the privilege of attending the next meeting of the Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, scheduled I believe for February 2 in Columbia, S.C.

I am confident that each Board member will know that I make this request with the best interest of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at heart. Also, I wish to make it quite clear that I have definitely accepted the action of the Board in replacing me as Administrator as of January 1st, 1947, and that this letter is not to be interpreted as a request for reconsideration of that action.

My major concern in this entire matter is first, that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare c ntinue to grow as a strong, unified and fighting organization; second, that the Conference work out the best possible administrative procedure; and third that the democratic procedures advocated by the Southern Conference for Human Welfare be meticulously safeguarded in its own operations.

I do not wish in any way to impugn the motives of the splendid Board members present at the meeting on December first. Rather I was particularly gratified by the earnest and aggressive manner in which the new Board members tackled the present problems of the organization. However, of the nine voting members present, six are new members who consequently did not know of the past requests on the part of the Board that the full Board be given an opportunity to consider personnel actions.

For myself, I am confused about the following:

1. Should not the full Board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare have been notified of the major personnel change contemplated?

2. Should not the matter have been discussed with the present Administrator before the action was an accomplished fact?

3. Should not the present Administrator be advised of the reasons for this change and be given an opportunity to speak?

4. Did the Board clearly understand that the Conference Educational Fund is a separate agency, operating under its own Board, that the Board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has no jurisdiction over the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and that in suggesting expansion of the work and presumably of the budget of the Southern Conference Educational Fund the Board was making a proposal that was not within its authority?

Again I wish to state that I have the utmost confidence in the good faith of every member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare Board. And regardless of my severance from the agency, my deep interest in the program of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is unshaken. I am more interested in the future than in the past, and it is my firm conviction that an analysis by the entire Board of the procedure followed in this instance may serve as a useful guide for the future.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Dombrowski
Administrator.

CC: To all members of the Board of Representatives
of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Publishers of
The Southern PATRIOT

~~212½ Union St. • Nashville 3, Tennessee • Telephone 6-2447~~
808 Perdido St. New Orleans 12, Louisiana CAnal 7326

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Paul R. Christopher
Roscoe Dunjee
Virginia Foster Durr
William Mitch
Hollis V. Reid

Secretary
Tarleton Collier

Parliamentarian
Josephine Wilkins

Treasurer
Alva W. Taylor

Administrator
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M. C. Plunk
Frank Prohl
Samuel Rodman
Ira De A. Reid
Lillian E. Smith
Frank W. Spencer
Lee C. Sheppard
Arnold Slater
John B. Thompson
Channing H. Tobias
Palmer Webber

December 5, 1946

Dear George:

I am very glad to have the privilege of advising you that at the membership meeting of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare on November 29, you were elected a member of the Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

I enclose a copy of the minutes of the first meeting of the new Board, held Sunday, December 1, 1946.

Sincerely yours,

Jim

James A. Dombrowski

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

Sunday, December 2, 1946

Present: Clark Foreman, Lucy Mason, Myles Horton, Samuel Rodman, John B. Thompson, Daniel Weitzman, Mrs. Gershon, Lewis Jones, Joseph Johnson; advisory associate Palmer Weber.

1. Motion by Thompson, seconded by Johnson, that the Advisory Committee be re-elected. Passed.

2. Elected: Tarleton Collier - Secretary
Daniel Weitzman - Treasurer
Lewis Jones - Parliamentarian

3. Motion by Myles Horton - that Miss Branson Price, now secretary of the New York Committee, be asked to take over the position of Administrator of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as of January 1st. That the Board express its great appreciation of Mr. Dombrowski's work and its hopes that he will enlarge and expand the position of Executive Secretary of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, having charge of the Southern Patriot, all publications, educational work, and organization of religious contacts. As all work expands it was hoped this division of labor would allow Dombrowski to use his creative talents more constantly. Passed.

4. Motion by Samuel Rodman that the Administrator notify the chairman of the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax that as of January 1 the SCHW is not in a position to carry the salaries of the Washington office but will be happy for the committee to leave records in the office and to have volunteers use the office. If the poll tax activities become urgent again the situation to be reconsidered. Passed.

5. Motion by Samuel Rodman that the position of Assistant Administrator be eliminated as of January 1. Passed.

6. Motion by Samuel Rodman that $5,000 be borrowed from J.D. Weitzman immediately and that all salaries be paid up to date now and be paid promptly in the future. Passed.

7. Motion by Samuel Rodman that the New Orleans committee make every effort to capitalize upon the impact of the convention and that Bancroft assist Carothers in an attempt to raise $3,000 in Louisiana in the next month. Passed.

8. Mr. Foreman instructed the Administrator to notify the Board that they will meet Sunday February 2 in Columbia, S.C.

Meeting adjourned.

Myles Horton, Secretary pro tem
Prepared by John B. Thompson

CONFIDENTIAL

738 Myrtle Street, N.E., Atlanta, Ga.

December 8, 1946

Dr. Clark H. Foreman, President
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
127 B. Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Clark:

Returning from Mississippi yesterday afternoon, this is my first opportunity to again take up with you the Board's action at its post-convention meeting, December 1, in dispensing with the services of Jim Dombrowski as Administrator of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

The more I have thought about this during the past week, the more firmly I am convinced that a terrible mistake was made. If the Conference is to continue as a useful agency in the South, I believe we must undo the wrong we have done.

I am confident that neither the full Board nor the membership of the Conference would be in accord with the action or the manner in which it was taken. In my opinion the action itself was unsound. Further, a great injustice was done the man, who, more than anyone else, held the Conference together at its lowest ebb and brought it to its present strong position.

I accept full responsibility for my part in this action by the Board. As a member of the Board for a number of years, and particularly as one who had in previous meetings insisted that the Board be given ample opportunity to carefully consider personnel matters, I am culpable in not realizing and protesting the gravity of our action. However, it was a great mistake to propose action on such a fundamental matter without giving the Board advance knowledge of what was contemplated and opportunity to think it through.

This letter is to urge you as President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare to make immediate contact with those Board members who were present and ask that the action taken on December 1 in connection with the Administrator be held in abeyance until the meeting called for February 2.

If this is not done, I am now asking that a special meeting be called as quickly as possible, to be held in a central spot in the South. Every effort should be made to get a full and representative Board meeting. Those who are unable to attend should be requested to send in their comments and suggestions for presentation at the meeting.

Specifically, my reasons for urging a reconsideration are as follows:

1. Any proposal of such vital importance and affecting the future of the Conference so profoundly should have been laid before the full Board, in writing and in advance of the meeting.

2. After much discussion, the pre-convention board meeting on November 28 approved a proposed budget for the next two years which was adopted by the Conference. Throughout consideration of the budget there was no suggestion of the contemplated change in personnel, at variance with that portion of the budget dealing with personnel, which was proposed to the Board less than twenty-four hours after the Conference's approval of the budget.

3. ,The Board meeting on December 1, following the convention, was attended by a bare quorum - nine voting members being present. The associate member present did not have a vote and did not affect the quorum. Five of those present were newly elected members, and one had attended only one previous Board meeting. Consequently, six members were without intimate knowledge of the Conference or past Board discussions/

4. Apparently only two Board members and the one associate member knew in advance that it would be proposed to dispense with the services of Dr. Dombrowski. Certainly, to most of us this proposal affecting the very heart of the Conference came as a complete surprise.

5. The matter should have been thoroughly discussed with Dr. Dombrowski in advance of the meeting. Without any prior consultation with him, the Board dispensed with the services of a man who had served the Conference with utmost devotion, energy and selflessness for more than five years.

6. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare Board has no authority whatever to make plans for the Southern Conference Educational Fund; yet actually the Board did attempt to plan for a full-time Administrator, to set his salary, and to outline his duties with the Fund. Only three of the nine persons present are members of the Fund Board, and of course had no power to act for the Fund at the Conference Board meeting. It was not clear to those present that such was the case.

Because I believe that the prestige and future usefulness of the Conference are at stake, and because my own responsibility weighs so heavily upon me, I am sending a copy of this letter to every Board member.

Sincerely yours,

Lucy R. Mason

Copies to all SCHW
Board members.

December 9, 1946

Mr. Clark Foreman
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
955 G Place, NW
Washington, D. C.

Dear Clark:

I am in disagreement with the action of the Board following the New Orleans conference.

I should like to express my hope that the changes approved there be held in abeyance until the earliest practicable date for a meeting of the Board of the Educational Fund and of the Board of the Conference.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

GSM:w

906 Lullwater Rd., NE
Atlanta, Georgia

gsm - pers

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE OFFICERS AND BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES
Elected at New Orleans, La., Nov. 30, 1946

Honorary President:
1. Dr. Frank P. Graham, University of N. C., Chapel Hill, N. C.

President:
2. Dr. Clark Foreman, 127 B Street S.E., Washington, D.C.

Secretary:
Tarleton Collier, Associate Editor, Louisville Courier Journal, Louisville, Ky.

Treasurer:
J. Daniel Weitzman, DuPont Circle Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Vice-Presidents:
3. Paul R. Christopher, 423½ West Depot Ave., Knoxville, Tenn.
4. Roscoe Dungee, Editor and Publisher, Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla.
5. Virginia Foster Durr, Seminary Road, Alexandria, Va.
6. Lewis W. Jones, Editor, The Informer Papers, 2418 Leland (Box 3086) Houston, Tex
7. William Mitch, President, District 20, U.M.W.A. Comer Bldg., Birmingham, Ala.
8. Harry W. Schacter, President, Kaufman-Straus Company, Louisville, Ky.

Parliamentarian:
Lewis W. Jones

9. E. L. Abercrombie, Southern Director, Laundry Workers, AF of L., 85 Popular St N.E., Atlanta, Ga.
10. Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, President-Emeritus, Bethune Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Fla., Pres. Natl. Council of Negro Women, 1318 Vermont Ave., Washington, D. C.
11. Mrs. Charlotte Hawkins Brown, President, Palmer Institute, Sedalia, N. C.
12. Louis Burnham, Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Masonic Temple Building., Birmingham, Ala.
13. Tarleton, Collier, Associate Editor, Louisville Courier Journal.
14. Rev. Samuel F. Freeman, Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, Ark.
15. Miss Helen Fuller, Washington Representative, New Republic, Kellog Bldg., Washington, D. C.
16. Percy Green, Editor-Manager, The Jackson Advocate, 125½ N. Farish Street., Jackson, Miss.
17. R. L. Hickman, Legislative Representative, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Alexandria, La.
18. Myles Horton, Director, Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tenn.
19. J. C. Jacques, Dennison, Texas.
20. Miss Lucy Randolph Mason, Southern Public Relations Representative, CIO, 75 Ivy St., Atlanta, Ga.
21. Montimer May, May Hosiery Mills, Nashville, Tenn.
22. Dr. George Mitchell, Director of Veterans' Services., Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., NE., Atlanta, Ga.
23. Frank Prohl, Chairman Southern Conference of Teamsters, 203 Spring St., Atlanta., Ga.
24. Samuel Rodman, (J) 3700 Massachusetts Ave., Washington, D.C.
25. Mrs. A. W. Simpkins, (Andrew W.) 2025 Marion Ave., Columbia., S. C.
26. Dr. Alva W. Taylor, 101 Bowling Ave., Nashville, Tenn.
27. Dr. John B. Thompson, Pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Norman, Okla.
28. Charles Weber, 110½ N. 8th St., Richmond Va.
29. J. Daniel Weitzman, DuPont Circle Bldg., Washington, D. C.

Ex-Officio
30. Henry Fowler, Queens St., Alexandria, Va.
31. Mrs. Harry W. Gershon, 1590 Harvard Rd., Atlanta, Ga.
32. Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, 127 B Street., S.E., Washington, D. C.
33. Rev. Lee C. Sheppard, Pullen Memorial Church, Raleigh, N. C.
34. Aubrey Williams, Publisher, Southern Farmer, Montgomery, Ala.

Associate Advisory Members (re-elected by the Board on Dec. 1, 1946)
1. Melvyn Douglas, 7141 Senalda Rd., Los Angeles 28, Calif.
2. Mrs. Marshall Field., 740 Park Av., New York, N.Y.
3. Rev. Kenneth deP. Hughes, St. Bartholemew's Ch., 64 Gorham St., Boston, Mass.
4. Michael M. Nisselson, President Amalgamated Bank 15 Union SQ., New York NY
5. Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Director Phelps-Stokes Fund 101 Park Ave N.Y. City
6. Henry A. Wallace, Editor New Republic, 40 East 49th St. New York, N.Y.
7. Dr. Palmer Weber, Director of Reserch CIO-PAC, 205 E. 42nd St., New York NY

Dec. 9, 1946

Dear George:

Thanks for the letters. I was mighty sorry you were not on hand for the Board meeting. I feel things would not have happened as they did.

As ever,

P.S. You were right. The plat as inthe Board members file had you listed at Ivy St. Sorry.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Publishers of
The Southern PATRIOT

808 Perdido St. New Orleans, Louisiana

December 10, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO: All Members of the Board of Representatives.

FROM: James A. Dombrowski.

SUBJECT: Mailing List of Board Members.

Enclosed is a list of the membership of the new Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Will you kindly advise me if your address or title is not listed correctly.

I am happy to announce that R. L. Hickman, Alexandria, Louisiana, Legislative Representative of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen for the state of Louisiana, has agreed to serve on the Board as the representative of the Railway Brotherhoods. This gives us our full complement of 34 voting members of the Board, as provided for in the bylaws--21 Representatives at large, 6 Vice-presidents, the President and Honorary President, and five ex-officio members. (The Committee for Louisiana has not yet elected a chairman and the Committee for Tennessee's chairman has resigned, leaving two vacancies among the ex-officio members.) In addition we have 7 Associate Advisory members.

The December PATRIOT is now on the press and will be devoted entirely to a report of the New Orleans convention. I hope to be able to send you an advance copy the last of the week.

WASHINGTON COMMITTEE

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

127 B Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. LIncoln 4820

December 11, 1946

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I was very sorry that you were not able to stay for the Board meeting following the Convention. As you will have noted from other correspondence and a copy of the letter, which I am enclosing, to Jim the Board faced very seriously the question of using the members of the staff to best advantage. In view of the fact that neither the officers nor the Board could know in advance of the Convention that they were going to be elected, it seems to me quite unrealistic for Lucy Mason to contend that notice should have been given in advance of the action proposed.

Actually, no one came into the meeting, I believe, with the solution, which was arrived at in discussion. This seems to me to be absolutely the democratic way of solving our problems, and certainly it was the way least likely to embarrass Jim Dombrowski.

I think this new arrangement will greatly improve the effectiveness of our organization.

Yours sincerely,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman

CF/gkl
Incl.

Washington Committee—Executive Board: Dr. Joseph L. Johnson, Chairman; Mrs. Madeline Donner, Secretary; John Anderson, Treasurer; John Beecher; Henry Beitcher; Anna Berenson; Mrs. Dorothy S. Bowles; Dr. Ralph Bunche; Mrs. Virginia Durr; Mrs. Lucille Ezekiel; Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier; Mrs. Mame Mason Higgins; Mrs. George M. Johnson; Belford V. Lawson; Dr. R. E. R. Lovell; Mrs. Morris Rodman; Samuel Rodman; Malcolm Ross; Mrs. Elizabeth Sasuly; Carlton Skinner; Mrs. Carmelite Smith; Alfred E. Smith; Mrs. Michael Straus; Mrs. J. Daniel Weitzman; Mrs. Luke I. Wilson; Myrtle Powell, Executive Secretary.

National Officers: Dr. Frank P. Graham, Honorary President; Dr. Clark Foreman, President; Paul R. Christopher, Roscoe Dunjee, Mrs. Virginia Durr, William Mitch, Hollis V. Reid, Vice-Presidents; Tarleton Collier, Secretary; Josephine Wilkins, Parliamentarian; Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Treasurer; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, Administrator.

December 9, 1946

Mr. James Dombrowski
808 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Jim:

In answer to your letter of December 6th, I should like to say first how happy I am, and how happy I believe the Board is, with your acceptance of the rearrangement of the assignments passed by the Board at its December 1st meeting. I am sure that under the new arrangement your contribution to the work to which we are all dedicated can be even more effective than it has been in the past.

We, of course, want you to attend the next meeting of the Board, and in calling it I specifically suggested that Sunday, February 2nd, the Board of the Conference meet with the Board of the Educational Fund in joint session. I hope by February 1st at the meeting of the Educational Fund Board in Columbia you will have had an opportunity to work out a budget and plan for the fund's work for the coming year. The job of editing the Patriot, supervising publications and helping the state organizations with their educational program, as well as meeting with religious and educational groups, is one of tremendous importance. I feel that it is very fortunate that the Board has worked out an arrangement whereby you can devote your talents to the job of moral leadership in the South.

With respect to the points that you raise, I am sorry that the minutes of the Board meeting on Thursday, November 28th, were not sent to the Board along with the minutes of the meeting of December 1st. The minutes of the Thursday meeting would have made clearer to the Board why the actions were taken on December 1st. You will recall the great emphasis which you and the chairman of the Budget Committee both placed on our present financial crisis. The Board decided that I should spend the greater part of my time in the months ahead in money raising. This will mean that the burden on the New Orleans office will be even greater than in the past, and it was in the light of this situation that the Board felt unwilling to continue the work of two very important offices in one man.

The Board assumed responsibility itself for meeting the condition in a positive fashion. The need of getting our message over to the people of the South, particularly at this time when there is increasing opposition to all progressive groups, is vital to the success of our work. All of us felt that you were preeminently qualified for this job. At the same time, in order to free you for the educational work it was decided unanimously to ask Miss Branson Price of North Carolina, and now the Secretary of our New York Committee, to take over the job of Administrator beginning January 1st. Miss Price is eminently qualified for this work and has consented to take the job.

I hope that none of the Board members will interpret your letter to mean that you were not advised of the reason for this change and that you were not given an opportunity to speak. You will recall that on Sunday morning you were advised of the Board's decision and the reasons for it, which have been summarized above. Your advice was also sought by the Board in the morning and throughout the meeting in the afternoon. Nothing was said by you or anyone else to cause the Board to reconsider its decision.

In view of these facts, I do not understand how anyone can say that the Board acted undemocraticly. Certainly neither you nor anyone else raised the point during the Board meeting, nor did you in proposing the severance of Mr. Cornelius as the Executive Secretary of the Committee for Tennessee seem to feel the need of advance conversation with him or a hearing by the Board. Similarly, your endorsement of the severance of the Assistant Administrator without previous discussion or hearing indicates no feeling on your part that democratic procedure required something different. The Board has full responsibility for determining the business of the Conference, and the new Board, meeting as usual immediately following the Convention, acted as you well say in an "earnest and aggressive manner" in meeting the critical problems which face us.

I feel personally that the Board has acted in the best interest of the organization and the work to which we are devoted. Under the new arrangement there is every reason to expect much more effective results ~~for~~ from all of us.

Again, I am delighted that you have accepted the decision and that you will continue to make the great contribution which all of us are sure you can make.

Yours sincerely,

CF

Clark Foreman

P.S. Will you please notify all members of the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund that there will be a Board meeting in Columbia, South Carolina, on Saturday, February 1, and that on Sunday, February 2, I strongly urge that the Board meet in joint session with the Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

CC: To all members of the Board of Representatives

SCHW - Contro

The INFORMER Group of Newspapers

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★

P.O. BOX 3086
2418 LEELAND
HOUSTON 3, TEXAS

December 12, 1946

Dr. George Mitchell,
Director of Veterans' Services.,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., NE.,
Atlanta, Ga.

My Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At the last meeting of the board of representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, I was elected parliamentarian of the organization. At that time I was instructed by the president, Dr. Foreman, that my reponsibility is to safeguard the democracy of the organization by keeping its deliberations and action consonant with the By-laws and Robert's Rules of Order.

I take that responsibility seriously and this letter comes to you in exercise of the duty given to me.

At the meeting of the board of representatives in New Orleans on Sunday, December 1, action was taken by a bare quorum of 9 members of the board relieving Dr. James A. Dombrowski of the duties of administrator and creating for him a new post.

Study of the By-laws, Articles Xll shows that the regulations for the staff of the Conference are explicit:

Section 1. Enumeration.
The staff of the corporation shall soncist of an administrator and such administrative associates, administrative assistants, and secretarial and clerical personnel as may be sonsistent with the corporation's current budget.

Section 2. Authority.
Authority shall reside in the administrator for administering the work of the corporation after plans therefore have been approved by the board of representatives. He shall be responsible to the board as a whole.

Section 3. Administrator, appointment, term, responsibility.
The administrator shall be appointed by the board of representatives and shall serve during the pleasure of the board. He shall have the responsibility for administering the work of the corporation under the direction of the board as a whole. He shall be expected to exercise leadership in making proposals to the board for developing the work of the corporation. He shall

THE MARKET
• 2,800,000 PEOPLE
• PLENTY MONEY
• WILLING TO BUY
• AWAITING INVITATION

appoint the administrative associates and assistants subject to confirmation by the board. He shall have full authority in employing secreterial and clerical personnel consistent with the current budget of the corporation.

According to the foregoing provisions of the By-laws, the board of representatives could replace Dr. Dombrowski as administrator. The board had and has no authority to create a new staff post without amending the By-laws.

Therefore, the actions of the board at New Orleans, by which there was creation of a new post and redefinition of Dr. Dombrowski's duties, is beyond the authority of the board. There is legally no such position in the Southern Conference and the board exceeded its perogatives in creating one.

Since the creation of the new post may not be divorced from the selection of a new administrator whose duties and privleges are restricted by the delegation of duties to the newly created post, the board again exceeded the authority given it.

It is my considered judgment that the action of the board at its December 1st meeting in New Orleans, which altered the functions of the administrator and created a new staff position, was illegal and therefore void. It violated the By-laws of the organization and the basic principles of Robert's Rules of Order.

Therefore, at the meeting of the board at Columbia, S.C. on February 2nd, the board must, in keeping with the By-laws, re-elect Dr. Dombrowski as administrator or choose a replacement for him. Should there be a desire to create another staff post in the SCHW an amendment to the By-laws must be made in accordance with the provisions of Article XXll of our By-laws.

I apologize to the members of the board who were present at the December 1st meeting for my failure to functinn in the capacity in which I was chosen to serve. Had I been familiar with the By-laws of the conference, I might have saved the board from the embarrasment with which it is now faced.

By calling to your attention the laws of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, I believe the board of representatives meeting in Columbia, S.C. on February 2nd, may act in a judicious manner in the provision of a staff for the organization.

The spirit of Dr. Dombrowski and the staff of the Conference is such that I have confidence that the work of the organization will not suffer during the time which will elapse before the Columbia meeting.

Sincerely yours,

Lewis Jones.

Lewis Jones

Received your expression of disagreement today. The people who oppose the action have every right to do it. Couldn't be done legally. Lewis.

SCHW - Copiero

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE
Financial Report

November 1 - December 12, 1946

REVENUES

On Hand November 1		
Cash	22.65	
Bank	1,443.89	
	1,466.54	1,466.54
Revenues		
November	7,520.53	
December	7,450.47	
	14,971.00	14,971.00
Total To Be Accounted For		16,437.54

EXPENDITURES

On Hand December 12		1,055.96
Expenses		
November	4,573.44	
December	10,808.14	
	15,381.58	15,381.58
Total To Be Accounted For		16,437.54

REVENUES NOVEMBER 1 - DECEMBER 12, 1946

		November	December	Total
Contributions & Memberships		814.80	786.31	1,601.11
Unions		1,000.00		1,000.00
Special appeals		43.00		43.00
New Orleans convention				
Collection		2,799.01	549.00	3,348.01
Registration		746.00	41.00	787.00
Sale of litarature		7.40		7.40
Refunds		44.32	69.16	113.48
From state committees				
Alabama	33.00			
Tennessee	5.00			
Louisiana	10.00			
D.C.	15.00			
NCAPT	3.00	66.00	5.00	71.00
From New York office		2,000.00		2,000.00
Loans			5,000.00	5,000.00
Southern Conference Educational Fund			1,000.00	1,000.00
Total Revenues		7,520.53	7,450.47	14,971.00

EXPENDITURES NOVEMBER 1 - DECEMBER 12, 1946

	November	December to Dec.12	Total
Administrative Expenses			
Administrative Salaries	895.83	2,833.32	3,729.15
President's expenses		428.15	428.15
Travel (M. Fisher to Calif.)		576.08	576.08
	895.83	3,837.55	4,733.38
General Office Expenses			
Office salaries	240.83	247.83	488.66
Office expenses, incl. postage	370.46	195.93	566.39
	611.29	443.76	1,055.05
Activities and Publications			
Field Workers expenses		608.25	608.25
Southern Patriot	340.95	253.60	594.55
Publications & printing	58.65	311.80	370.45
	399.60	1,173.65	1,573.25
Outside Committees			
5 state committees	975.00	2,000.00	2,975.00
D.C. legislative ofc. salaries	120.00	388.05	508.05
NCAPT old accounts		200.00	200.00
New York salaries		1,962.15	1,962.15
	1,095.00	4,550.20	5,645.20
Other Expenditures			
Office moving and renovation	608.33	372.00	980.33
Thanksgiving convention	637.61	970.76	1,608.37
Withholding tax	423.77	141.90	565.67
Misc.	43.91	10.00	53.91
	1,713.62	1,494.66	3,208.28
Total Expenses	4,715.34	11,499.82	16,215.16
Less Withholding Tax	141.90	691.68	833.58
Net Expense	4,573.44	10,808.14	15,381.58

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF REPRESENTATIVES
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

New Orleans, Louisiana November 28, 1946

The Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare met at 2:00 P.M. on Thursday, November 28, 1946, in the offices of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 808 Perdido Street, New Orleans.

The meeting was called to order by the President. Present were President Clark Foreman, Mary Bethune, Tarleton Collier, Frank Prohl, Percy Greene, John B. Thompson, Louis Burnham, Lucy R. Mason, Mrs. Harry M. Gershon, Lewis Jones, and Associate Member Palmer Weber.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

In the absence of the Treasurer, the Administrator read a financial report covering the period July 1 - October 31.

Mrs. Bethune commented on the nationwide work the Southern Conference had done with such small funds, and inquired if a money-raising program was planned.

Mr. Foreman explained how the National Committee to Abolish the Poll Tax had been taken over in May with an indebtedness of $10,000. A question was asked about the exact nature of the obligation assumed by taking over the NCAPT. Mr. Dombrowski read an itemized list of debts owed by this organization.

Thanksgiving Convention: Program. It was moved that the suggested program adopted by the Board at the Richmond Board meeting be presented to the convention. Carried.

Nominating Committee. Mr. Dombrowski made the report of the nominating committee, consisting of Jennings Perry, Dr. Benjamin Mays, W. T. Adcock, Phil Whitehead, and ex-officio members Clark Foreman and James A. Dombrowski, for officers and a Board of Representatives for the biennium 1947-48. The report was received for presentation to the convention.

The Board discussed the handling of nominations in the convention. Mr. Foreman suggested that the Board should present to the convention for adoption, a rule that nominations from the floor for officers be made during business session on Friday, but that none would be accepted on Saturday. Passed.

Resolutions. Mr. Foreman suggested for the consideration of the convention a rule that all resolutions should be submitted to the resolutions committee by Friday night for action by the convention on Saturday. Passed.

Mr. Foreman asked the Board whether he should serve on an Oust Bilbo Committee. A discussion followed of what grounds might be effective in opposing the seating of Bilbo in the Senate. Mr. Prohl moved that Mr. Foreman should be approved in serving on such a committee as an individual. Carried.

Budget: Mr. Weber, chairman of the finance committee of the Board, presented a budget for the period 1947-48, for approval by the Board, as follows:

Minimum Budget per year - $102,000

(a)	New Orleans office	$40,000	(to cover office expenses, salaries of Administrator, assistant administrator, stenographer, and 2 file clerks, travel, and publication of the Southern Patriot)
(b)	7 state committees	42,000	(to Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Louisiana, Florida, $6,000 per year each as a guaranteed minimum)
(c)	Washington office	20,000	(to cover salary and expenses of the President, 3 office salaries, and mailings).
		$102,000	

Mr. Weber emphasized that the budget of $102,000 was a minimum one, and suggested that additional money if raised should be used first for further organization, up to $30,000, and then for the state committees, preferably to be used in publications.

Mr. Weber presented a fund-raising plan outlined by the finance committee, to include funds from the following sources:

West Coast	$ 20,000	net
Chicago	5,000	"
Cleveland	5,000	"
Philadelphia	5,000	"
Boston	5,000	"
New York	50,000	"
Unions	25,000	"
	$115,000	

He suggested that the New York committee should be directed by the President, its personnel to include an executive secretary, 2 assistants, 2 stenographers, a file clerk, and other necessary staff. The New York office to handle its own expenses, and remit only net proceeds to the New Orleans office.

The finance committee further suggested that the President's duties should consist entirely of raising funds and working on legislative matters, and that the Administrator care for the work in the Southern states.

There was a discussion of the allocation to the national office. The Assistant Administrator expressed his belief that the duties of the national office could not be carried out with a staff of 5 people, and suggested that at least 2 more clerical positions should be provided.

Mr. Burnham moved that the Board adopt the budget with the amendment that the New Orleans office should be allocated $45,000 rather than $40,000, and that the Administrator be instructed to submit an itemized budget for the national office at the next meeting of the board. Passed.

Thomas Jefferson Award: Miss Mason read a suggested resolution to the Board, amplifying the reasons for the choice of Governor Arnall to receive the Jefferson Award. Adopted.

Public Meetings: Mr. Foreman informed the Board that on the previous day, (Nov. 27) the day before the convention was to open, the Municipal Auditorium Commission of New Orleans had refused to allow unsegregated meetings of the Conference. Mr. Foreman announced the move to Carpenters Hall.

Housing: Mr. Foreman announced that Wilson Wyatt was preparing to resign from the national housing program, and suggested a resolution in support of Mr. Wyatt. Adopted.

State Committees: The Administrator reported the receipt of letters from the Committees of the District of Columbia, Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee and Louisiana, asking for recognition by the Board as affiliated committees of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Motion to grant such recognition as provided by the by-laws. Passed.

The meeting adjourned.

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Publishers of
The Southern PATRIOT

808 Perdido St. New Orleans, Louisiana

COPY

December 12, 1946

Mr. Clark Foreman, President
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
127 "B" Street, SE
Washington, D.C.

Dear Clark:

Thank you for your letter of the 9th and I appreciate the kind personal references; however, I find certain statements of fact which seem important enough to warrant some clarification.

If you will refer to my letter of the 6th you will find that it reads as follows: ".....I have definitely accepted the action of the Board in replacing me as Administrator as of January 1st, 1947..." I did not accept, as you state, "The rearrangements of the assignments passed by the Board at its December 1st meeting." I am withholding my decision in this matter until I have consulted with the Board of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which has the authority to make such an assignment.

You state that you hope no member of the Board will interpret my letter of the 6th to mean that I was not advised of the reason for this change in personnel and that I was not given an opportunity to speak. The fact remains that previous to the Board meeting on December 1st, no member of the Board gave me the slightest indication that a change was contemplated, and that my first knowledge of it was when I was recalled to the Board meeting and was told that the Board had replaced me as Administrator. Only after the action had been taken was I given an opportunity to speak. Naturally I was shocked and stunned by the information and found myself at a loss for words. In any event since I was told the action of the Board was final, words on my part seemed quite useless at that moment.

Incidentally the only reason given to me for the change was the stated desire on the part of the Board to relieve me of the arduous duties of a managerial nature, which, I can assure you, would be most agreeable to me. However, I gather from your letter of the 9th that the financial situation of the Conference was a primary factor in the entire matter. No intimation of this was given when the action of the Board was reported to me.

In the case of the Assistant Administrator and the Secretary of the Committee for Tennessee, my advice in the matter of eliminating the office of Assistant Administrator was not asked, and the secretary of the Committee for Tennessee had himself raised the question of his continuing with the Conference, which I duly reported to the Board.

Finally, may I ask if it was an oversight on your part or if you deem it of only secondary importance that you failed to answer the query that I placed at the head of my list of questions, "Should not the full Board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare have been notified of the major personnel change contemplated?"

I agree with you wholeheartedly as to "the need of getting our message over to the people of the South, particularly at this time..." However, I am sure you also will agree that our message will fall on stony soil if we by our own operation give just cause of questioning the democratic procedures of the Conference.

Finally, I wish to reiterate my complete confidence in the good faith, integrity, and sincerity first of all of our President who has rendered such distinguished and unselfish service in the Conference since its inception, and in the personnel of our Board; a finer or more democratic group could not be assembled. Nevertheless my conviction is likewise firm and unshaken that a review and analysis of the procedure and issues involved in this action may serve the Conference well as a guide for the future and as a means of evolving the type of procedure and structure best calculated to insure the continued growth of the Conference as the instrument of the progressive South.

Faithfully yours,

James A. Dombrowski
Administrator.

CC: All Members of the Board of Representatives

NEW ORLEANS STATES

ISSUED EVERY WEEK-DAY EVENING
(FOUNDED JANUARY 3, 1880)

W. H. FITZPATRICK, Editor — WALTER A. VALOIS, Associate Editor

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THE NEW ORLEANS STATES IS AN AFTERNOON NEWSPAPER. IT PRINTS THE NEWS IMPARTIALLY. IT SUPPORTS WHAT IT BELIEVES TO BE RIGHT. IT OPPOSES WHAT IT BELIEVES TO BE WRONG, WITHOUT REGARD TO PARTY POLITICS.

Wallace, Wynken, Blynken and Nod

We learn from the New York Times special service the States brings you daily that Henry A. Wallace, editor of the New Republic, hints in his first editorial as editor of that magazine, esteemed in Moscow as elsewhere, that there may be a third party should the Democrats prove "incapable of change."

This is the best news we have heard for some time. We hope that Wallace is successful in his endeavor. We say that because we hope, sincerely, that the Democratic party will prove to be the sort of party Wallace must break away from, just as he was forced out of his secretary of commerce post by his betrayal of this country's avowed foreign policy.

We would like to see the Democratic party forever freed of Wallace and his kind. They do not represent the Democratic party. Wallace, Pepper, Marcantonio and the PAC have long been inmates of the same political harem. They ought to marry openly. They have our blessing.

For flower-girls and ring-bearers we suggest the Southern Conference for Human Welfare. This group of do-gooders, with a New York city committee for the South, mind you, has succeeded magnificently in alienating many who would ordinarily be found working for some of the things they stand for by their endorsement of objectives the South will not submit to.

These people and the SCHW are fellow-travelers on a road they have labeled "liberal," with signposts pointing to the land of Never-Never whose capital is that well-known place, the Better World.

These Wynken, Blynken and Nods don't tell you where the signs really point: To Reaction and Dictatorship. It is quite probable that many members of the SCHW don't know this. The kindest, most honest people in the world are sometimes taken in by occasional mountebanks who would have them believe that a Ph. D. is not a degree, but in reality a philosopher's stone.

Let us tell you where this "liberalism" would lead if the Fair Employment Practices Commission, which each of the individuals and groups noted herein are heartily in favor of, were enacted into law.

The FEPC would tell you whom you had to hire if there were a job open in your business and you employed more than six persons. Is that "Liberalism"? Is that fair?

The FEPC would deny to violators of its bureaucratic rulings the right to TRIAL BY JURY. Is that "Liberalism"? Is that fair?

That's the sort of "liberalism" the English-speaking peoples began to rid themselves of more than 700 years ago at Runnymede.

Instead of trying to mislead the people—including many of their members who have listened wide-eyed to these soothing promises of a better world no later than tomorrow by noon — the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, the PAC, the Wallaces, the Peppers and the Marcantonios ought to come out with a third party and make themselves known for what they are: Dreamers and would-be dictators who would tell you how to run your lives, your business, your households; how many children you ought to have, when and where, and what their names ought to be, or, even possibly, their numbers.

And how will they make out with this third party? Why, not too well, according to the Gallup Poll. We know them well, here in New Orleans, and they are known elsewhere for what they foster. Dr. Gallup says that to the question:

"If a third party is formed in this country by Henry Wallace, Claude Pepper, the CIO and other labor groups, do you think you would vote for that party"?

Only 10 per cent of those polled favored a third party.

They're Just Walking in That Direction, That's All

Marquis Childs — Washington Calling

Washington — Potatoes are a glut on today's market. The price of cotton has dropped sharply. Commodity futures are down. Those are storm warnings that a break in the wartime prosperity of agriculture is near.

It is a warning that we are going back to the old order of an overflowing abundance in one country and scarcity in the country next door. The old order meant business as usual and government as usual while farmers' incomes dwindled and people went hungry.

That is the folly which a group of men sitting around a conference table in New York are trying to cure. They are delegates to a 16-nation preparatory food commission. They hope to agree on an international organization which would pool surpluses [illegible] channel them where the ne[illegible] greatest.

All this began [illegible] of Sir John B[illegible] of UN's f[illegible] ganiza[illegible]

mise, the 16 delegates to the conference in New York hope to agree. Under the British proposal, food surpluses would be accumulated by an international authority, but "no buffer stock could be set up without the consent of the countries concerned." Such an authority would have the right to sell surpluses under certain restrictions.

While this plan's method would be complicated, the essence of it is simple. It would be aimed at preventing poverty and hunger in the midst of plenty.

Strachey, in his speech at [illegible] penhagen, quoted the [illegible] "Here lies the [illegible] Pete[illegible] Who [illegible]

mand.

But Britain's Laborites believe that planning—both on the national and the world scale—can do much to modify the cruel working of those "laws." On their side the British have most of the nations of Europe and the British Commonwealth. If we stand out for completely untrammeled free enterprise, we run the ri[illegible] of standing alone.

Acceptance of [illegible] as the Briti[illegible] much [illegible]

That Bomb Again — Our State in Pub[illegible]

PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER
STATE DIRECTOR, TENNESSEE

PHONE 2-9714

Schw-Contro

Organizing Committee

423½ W. DEPOT AVENUE
KNOXVILLE 17, TENN.

VAN A. BITTNER
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

SHERMAN H. DALRYMPLE
SECRETARY-TREASURER

December 17, 1946

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

The enclosed copy of my letter to President Clark Foreman of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is self-explanatory, and is being sent to you purely for your information.

While writing this note, please allow me to express a sincere hope that you will have an enjoyable holiday season.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul R. Christopher

Paul R. Christopher

PRC:k
enc

December 17, 1946

Mr. Clark Foreman, President
Southern Conference for Human Welfare
Murray Hill Hotel
New York, New York

Dear Clark:

I know that a Board member who doesn't attend Board meetings has but little real right to complain about actions of the Board.

I know very little about the motive or motives behind the action of the Board at the post-New Orleans Conference meeting, although it appears definite that Jim Donbrowski was removed from office as Administrator and replaced.

However, I am interested in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare because of what it can do to help the southern people and the nation as a whole. It would seem clear that achievement of our maximum effectiveness requires as near 100 per cent unanimity of agreement on the part of members of the Board as may be practicable.

There is no disputing the fact that considerable disagreement now exists within the Board, even on the part of members who participated in the last Board meeting, as to the wisdom of removing Jim from his position as Administrator. Frankly, I also question the wisdom of this action, even after talking briefly over the past week-end with Palmer Weber in Nashville.

I realize full well that I may not, and probably will not be able to attend the next meeting of the Board, because it will not be held in the State of Tennessee. But I do want to put in my two cents' worth by letter. Meanwhile, I sincerely hope the action of the Board at the last meeting will be held in obeyance as far as Jim's removal from office is concerned, pending reconsideration and further action at the next meeting.

With all good wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Paul R. Christopher
423½ West Depot Avenue
Knoxville 17, Tennessee

PRC:me
CC:All Members of Board of Representatives

SCHW controversy

gm

December 21, 1946

Dr. Clark Foreman
127 B. Street, Southeast
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Foreman:

We have received a telegram today from Mr. Tarleton Collier about the board meeting to be held in Greensboro on January 5th.

Dr. Mitchell is out of town, and I will call this to his attention when he returns on December 26th. So far as I know, he will be able to attend the meeting.

Sincerely,

Anna S. Warwick
Secretary to George S. Mitchell

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

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QAO 5

Q. WA273-255 NL PD=WASHINGTON DC 20 1946 DEC 21 AM 6 17

DR GEORGE MITCHELL=
63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST CARE SOUTHERN REGIONAL
COUNCIL ATLA=..

AT THE REQUEST OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE I AM CALLING A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE BOARD FOR SUNDAY, JANUARY 5, AT ELEVEN AM IN THE OFFICE OF THE COMMITTEE FOR NORTH CAROLINA, 115 CHURCH STREET, GREENSBORO NORTH CAROLINA. PLEASE NOTIFY CLARK FOREMAN, 127 B STREET SOUTHEAST, WASHINGTON DC WHETHER OR NOT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO ATTEND=

TARLETON COLLIER SECRETARY SCHW.

IONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

SCHW 1946

WASHINGTON COMMITTEE

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

127 B Street, S. E., Washington 3, D. C. LIncoln 4820

December 23, 1946

TO BOARD MEMBERS, SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE:

As you are no doubt aware, the Board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at its meeting in New Orleans on December 1 decided unanimously that it would be inadvisable to continue the administration of both the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and the Southern Conference Educational Fund by the same person.

Believing that Dr. Dombrowski's talents could better be used for the ~~board~~ broad work of the Educational Fund, which has always been considered a complementary though separate part of our general program, the Board appointed Miss Branson Price to serve as Administrator of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare beginning January 1, 1947.

Several members of the Board have requested the deferment of the appointment of Miss Price so that the Board meeting on February 2 could review the whole matter. In view of the specific language in Section 3 of Article XII of the By-Laws of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, I am bound to proceed in accordance with the Board's decision.

However, as President of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, I feel that it is desirable for the Board to have an early opportunity to review its decision. Accordingly I have requested the Secretary to call a special meeting of the Board at the earliest possible date after the holiday season. Notices have gone out to you calling the meeting for Greensboro, North Carolina for January 5 at 11:00 A.M. in the office of the Committee for North Carolina, 115 Church Street.

I hope you will attend the meeting in order that this and other matters can be resolved in the best interests of the organization.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman, President
Southern Conference for Human Welfare

P.S. Your telegram has arrived. Glad you are going to be at meeting. C.F.

CF/gkl

Washington Committee—Executive Board: Dr. Joseph D. Johnson, Chairman; Mrs. Madeline Donner, Secretary; John Anderson, Treasurer; John Beecher; Henry Beitcher; Anna Berenson; Mrs. Dorothy S. Bowles; Dr. Ralph Bunche; Mrs. Virginia Durr; Mrs. Lucille Ezekiel; Dr. Dorothy B. Ferebee; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier; Mrs. Mame Mason Higgins; Mrs. George M. Johnson; Belford V. Lawson; Dr. R. E. R. Lovell; Mrs. Morris Rodman; Samuel Rodman; Malcolm Ross; Mrs. Elizabeth Sasuly; Carlton Skinner; Mrs. Carmelite Smith; Alfred E. Smith; Mrs. Michael Straus; Mrs. J. Daniel Weitzman; Mrs. Luke I. Wilson; Myrtle Powell, Executive Secretary.

National Officers: Dr. Frank P. Graham, Honorary President; Dr. Clark Foreman, President; Paul R. Christopher, Roscoe Dunjee, Mrs. Virginia Durr, William Mitch, Hollis V. Reid, Vice-Presidents; Tarleton Collier, Secretary; Josephine Wilkins, Parliamentarian; Dr. Alva W. Taylor, Treasurer; Dr. James A. Dombrowski, Administrator.

December 24, 1946

MEMORANDUM TO: Members of the Board of Representatives
Southern Conference for Human Welfare

FROM: James A. Dombrowski

SUBJECT: Finances - Analysis of Revenues 1946

For the guidance of the Board in the meeting on January 5th I have prepared a financial report for the past six months, from July 1st to December 12th. (Our last auditor's report covered the period from January 27 to June 30.)

Also I have made an analysis of the total revenues received by the National Office from January 27th to December 12th which is included in this memorandum.

Revenues July 1 - December 12

1. For the past 6 months (July 1 - Dec. 12) SCHW received a net total of 34,549.13 and the Southern Conference Educational Fund received 33,216.41, a total of 67,765.54.

2. Of this total (67,765.54) 7,971.39 was received from SCHW committees and 59,794.15 was received directly in the National Office. Of the total received by the National Office approximately 17,000 was raised on the west coast.

3. Of the total received from committees (7,971.39), 1,061.55 was received from state committees including Washington, and 6,909.84 net was received from the New York committee. (Total received from New York was 16,350.09 and total sent to New York for expenses was 9,440.25).

Total Revenues for the Year January 27 - December 12

4. Total revenues received in the National Office January 27-December 12 by SCHW and SCEF were 116,844.97.

5. Of the above total (116,844.97) 32,571 was received from SCHW committees and 84,277.81 was received directly in the National Office.

6. Of the total from SCHW committees (32,571) 6,329.28 came from the Washington committee; 6,608.46 from state committees other than Washington; and 19,633.95 net came from the New York committee.

Gross amount raised in the name of SCHW and SCEF

7. The gross amount raised by our various committees which did not pass through the National Office and by the National Office itself was approximately 180,688.32.

8. Of this total (180,688.32) 21,331.69 was received by the Washington committee, approximately 23,253.70 by the other state committees; 51,825.12 by the New York committee; and 84,277.81 by the National Office. (Note: the figure for Washington includes the month of January while the figure for New York does not).

9. Washington committee: Total revenues 21,331.69; total expenses 19,656.02 (including 1,054.03 to Nat'l office for per capita fees, and 5,275.25 to Nat'l office budget).

10. New York committee: Total revenues 51,825.12; expenses were 10,459.09 for salaries and 21,219.74 general office expense, a total of 31,679.03; a net gain of 20,145.79 of which 19,633.95 applied to budget of National office. (Note: this report is as of Dec. 12 and does not include returns of Lewis dinner not yet received in this office.)

REVENUES AND EXPENSES
July 1 - December 12, 1946

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE

Revenues			
Individual memberships and contributions	8,380.96		
Unions	5,245.00 (1)		
Conventions	4,168.01		
State committees	1,061.55		
New York committee (net)	6,909.84 (2)		
All other sources	2,783.77		
Loans	6,000.00		
SCEF	8,416.17		
Total Revenues		42,965.30	
On hand July 1		499.39	
Total to be accounted for			43,464.69

Expenses			
Administrative (including salaries of President, Administrator, Assistant Administrator, travel, convention expense)	12,928.74		
General office expense, ofc. assistants	8,374.08		
Activities and promotion	4,604.12		
Subsidies to state committees	16,263.01		
Misc.	85.82		
Office moving and renovation	2,549.98		
	44,805.75		
-Withholding tax included twice	2,920.27		
Total Expenses		41,885.48	
On hand December 12		1,579.21	
Total to be accounted for		43,464.69	43,464.69

(1) Additional $2,000 contributed by unions appears in N.Y. sum.

(2)	Received from N.Y.	16,350.09
	Sent to N.Y.	9,440.25
	N.Y. net	6,909.84

REVENUES AND EXPENSES
July 1 - December 12, 1946

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, Inc.

Revenues			
Individual contributions	6,920.00		
Foundations	7,000.00		
All other sources	576.91		
For special projects	18,619.50		
Total revenues		33,216.41	
On hand July 1		1,414.44	
Total to be accounted for			34,630.85

Expenses			
Travel	200.00		
General office expense	276.84		
Special projects	22,031.61		
Electrical deposit	20.00		
To SCHW (SCEF share gen'l ofc. expense)	8,416.17		
Office moving and renovation	363.78		
	31,308.40		
-Withholding tax included twice	142.80		
Total expenses		31,165.60	
On hand December 12		3,465.25	
Total to be accounted for			34,630.85

TOTAL OF SCHW AND SCEF

	SCHW	SCEF	TOTAL
Revenues	42,965.30	33,216.41	76,181.71*
On hand July 1	499.39	1,414.44	1,913.83
To be accounted for	43,464.69	34,630.85	78,095.54
Expenses	41,885.48	31,165.60	73,051.08*
On hand December 12	1,579.21	3,465.25	5,044.46
	43,464.69	34,630.85	78,095.54

*For net revenues and expenses deduct $8,416.17 (SCEF share general office expenses) from each total.

SCHW Controversy

The attached is submitted for your consideration in connection with the problems which are to be discussed at the special Board meeting January 5 in Grandmere.

James A. Dombrowski
Administrator.

Organizational, administrative and financial problems confronting

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare

As now constituted, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare is:

1. A Southwide progressive educational and social action membership organization, with associate membership in the North.
2. The coordinating agency of affiliated state bodies in six Southern states.
3. An influential factor in national political life through its Legislative Office in Washington D.C.
4. The publisher of a monthly magazine and of other educational and political action literature.
5. A non-profit business with a gross annual income for 1945 of about $100,000; by the close of 1946, about $200,000.

(The above includes the work both of the Conference and the Southern Conference Educational Fund. As used hereinafter, the term "the Conference" refers to the total undertaking described above).

The scope of the Conference's activities and the impact of its influence have increased sharply during the past two years. This growth has been due in large measure to the unusual amount of unity of purpose of its membership, its board, its state committee, and its staff. It has opened up wide vistas for future usefulness. At the same time, it has naturally revealed a number of 1)organizational, 2)administrative and 3)financial problems which must be grappled with immediately and realistically if the growth is to be successfully assimilated and further growth achieved.

The present outline does not attempt to offer detailed "solutions" for these problems. Intensive consideration by both Board and staff will be necessary for that. Certain broad principles can be suggested, however, around which this task can be approached.

I Organizational

The Conference should devote equal emphasis to maintaining a strong central Headquarters in the South and to strengthening existing state groups and creating additional ones as rapidly as feasible, organizationally and financially. Neither can be effective at the expense of the other. The program as a whole gets its grass-roots vitality from the state committees and, through their activities, comes to hrips with the local and state problems of the South. These operations must be strengthened and coordinated by Headquarters in order to have their maximum effectiveness; new state operations must be developed by Headquarters. The total impact of the Conference upon Southern and national developments must come through the coordination of all Conference activities by Headquarters.

Complex problems of program, administration and finance have arisen in this relationship, as they do in all comparable organizations during periods of rapid expansion. These have often been approached in the Conference, however, under the pressure of immediate program and organizational objectives, or of financial needs, without sufficient attention being devoted to to laying the basis of a stable and effective pattern of relationships. Differences of opinion as to the relative importance of the Southwide and state operations have not been sufficiently defined and clearly enough settled. There have, likewise, been sharp, unresolved differences of opinion as to the rapidity with which additional state units could be set into motion and assimilated into the whole.

There has also been insufficient clarity as to the relationship between Washington and New York operations and Headquarters.

The following broad principles are suggested as a basis for working out detailed plans and procedures for clarifying these relationships:

1. That the maintenance and further development of a strong Headquarters and publishing center be seen as the paramount organizational objective; and that all Conference activities be coordinated through this instrumentality, operating under the direction of the Board through the Administrator.

2. That immediate and concentrated attention be devoted to stabilizing the existing state committees as to program, administration and finance; and as to their relation to Headquarters.

3. That realistic plans and schedules be made for developing state Committees in the remaining Southern states.

4. That activities of the Washington and New York Offices be closely coordinated with Headquarters.

5. That the New York Office perform three principal functions:

   a. Broadening understanding in the North of the importance of Southern progressivism to the Nation as a whole.

   b. Raising funds for the Conference to supplement those raised in the South.

   c. Developing similar committees in such centers as Chicago, Detroit, Hollywood, Miami, etc.

II Administrative

An undertaking of this scope and importance requires the following as to staff:

1. Excellent qualifications, experience and devotion to the job.
2. Sufficient number to get the job done over a period of time without unfairly heavy responsibility; and with sufficient pay, and regularity of pay, to provide the basis for minimum personal and family security. Overstaffing and understaffing, overpay and underpay, are equally extravagant and unproductive.

Regarding division of responsibilities and lines of authority, the following is suggested:

1. The President, through his elective office, is responsible for carrying all the responsibilities usually associable with that position. As a salaried employee it is suggested that he be responsible for the following, with the understanding that all activities of the Conference be coordinated by the Administrator:

a) Representing the Conference at national legislative hearings.

b) Representing the Conference with progressive bodies, whose cooperation is sought, in Washington and the North.

c) Raising supplementary financial support for the Conference in the North.

d) Providing consultation to the Washington and New York, and other Northern, offices of the Conference.

e) Consulting with the Administrator concerning basically important decisions which need to be made between Board meetings.

2. The Administrator should be responsible for all Conference program, procedures and finance, and should, in addition, give his own detailed attention to:

a) Representing the Conference at all important conventions and gatherings in the South where its message can be heard and its support increased.

b) Raising money in the South and stimulating the state committees' activities in this connection.

c) Conferring with state committees concerning their program emphases

d) Supervising the work of two associate administrators, as below.

3. Associate Administrator in charge of program coordination, office management, personnel, fiscal procedures, etc. This person should be responsible for:

a) Financial and budget-control of all operations.

b) Control and renewal of membership, subscription, contribution lists.

c) Control of monthly narrative anf financial reports from all Conference units.

d) Office management of Headquarters.

e) Preparing reports for Board Meetings on the above.

4. Associate Administrator in charge of publications, education and expansion. This person should be responsible for:

a) Editing "The Patriot." (With time for research, planning, writing and editing, this activity requires a minimum of two weeks per month.)

b) Editing all Conference publications.

c) Coordinating the education and publication work of all Conference units.

d) Press releases and public relations.

e) Laying the basis for the establishment of Conference committees in unorganized states.

It is seen as being imperative that at least one of the above three offices at Headquarters be held by a Negro. It is held, without question, that the Headquarters administrative job cannot be done by two persons in a way that will realize the full organizational and financial potentialities of the Conference. However, if only two administrative persons are employed, it is strongly desirable that one of them should be a Negro.

5. Headquarters staff must, in addition, include:

a) An experienced bookkeeper-accountant with no other duties.

b) Two full-time secretaries for the three administrative workers.

c) One or more circulation, membership and file clerks.

6. State Committees: A comparably detailed suggestion for staffing of state committees and the Washington and New York offices is not made at this time. It is suggested as a principle, however, that state secretaries be made administratively responsible to Headquarters, while remaining responsible to the boards of the various state committees. In other words, they should be employed by Headquarters with the approval of the state committees, rather than the other way around. It is also strongly recommended that none of them try to function without at least one full-time clerical assistant.

No.

III
Financial

Immediate, unusual and intensive effort must be devoted to the current financial needs of the Conference by the entire Conference, staff and membership. Until this

critical situation is met realistically, the continued existence of the Conference is in grave danger. Before discussing plans for meeting the crisis, however, let us set down a few of the factors which have contributed to it and some of the principles around which its recurrence can be prevented.

Factors contributing to the crisis:

1) The inherent difficulty of raising money for such a progressive program.

2) The very rapid recent expansion (due to growth) in the Conference's overall gross cost.

3) The reluctance of many members, Board members and staff members to devote the needed emphasis, time, energy and planning to fund-raising.

4) The lack of sufficiently detailed budgeting and budget-control.

5) The rising cost of living, leading to additional operating costs, on the one hand, and less surplus wealth to be contributed, on the other.

6) Lack of sufficient clarity as to the population groupings (and thus of the proper dues) from which membership is mainly drawn.

7) Insufficiently exact definition of the correct relative financial responsibility (as between Headquarters and the States) for state committee development.

Principles ofor stabilizing Conference finances:

OK 1) Gross and net budgets should be set up for all SCHW operations; they should be controlled monthly; this control should be coordinated by Headquarters.

OK 2) State committees should be guaranteed, from Headquarters, only the salary of the state executive secretary, all other program, maintenance and staff expenses being raised in the state. (Under extraordinary circumstances, and if Headquarters has the surplus, loans could be made, in addition, to state committees).

OK 3) Financial, as well as narrative, reports should be sent to Headquarters by the states promptly at monthly intervals, along with form reports as to memberships, contributions, fund-raising events, social and political activities, etc.

Doubtful 4) Especially during the present crisis, but probably on a regular basis, each state secretary should spend at least a month in a Northern or Western city raising funds. Another month should be devoted by each state committee to concentrated fund-raising, with regular fund-raising activities being spread out during the entire year. (The fund-raising in the North and West should be coordinated and facilitated by the New York Committee.)

OK 5) The minimum membership fee should be increased to $5.00, of which $3.00 should remain in states which have committees; subscription to "The Patriot" should be increased to $2.00; "Patriot" subscriptions in groups of 25 or more at one time and in one organization, $1.00 each.

6) Quarterly budget-control reports should be sent all Board members, covering all Conference units.

The Immediate Financial Crisis

1) This crisis must be defined as to scope and intensity; definite objectives must be set, and reasonable time limits established, for all Conference units.

2) Major attention of all Conference board members, staff and members must be concentrated upon this crisis until it is removed.

3) The campaign to accomplish this should be carried out in accordance with the principles outlined above.

4) Reasonable minimum reserves should be established and the Conference put upon a solvent fiscal basis as quickly as possible. Future political action, as as well as organizational and staff committments, should be made on the basis of money actually available or conservatively attainable. These committments should be made by a finance committee of the board advising the Administrator.

C
O
P
Y

December 28, 1946

My dear Aubrey:

I am glad that you wrote frankly your views on the present situation in the Conference, for I va ue your judgment as I do few others; also I am mindful of the fact that one with your long experience in administrative work gives your opinion special weight in this instance.

We are in complete accord that there is only one issue at stake--what is best for the future of the Conference. If I were certain that by adopting the new arrangement the best interests of the Conference would be served, I would accept it without question. You apparently think it would. I am now, as always, I trust, open to reason and would be glad to have you share your reasoning with me. Meanwhile May I take the liberty of giving you some of my own thoughts on the matter.

May I say first that personal consideration, however important to our friends, should be forgotten in this case. Thus, the point that you make in your letter to Lucy concerning the fact that there had been no consultation with me concerning my replacement as Administrator is of little consequence to me and really not too important, aside from what value personnel relations may have in any organization.

As I see it, there are two major issues involved. First, the manner in which this action was taken and its significance in terms of democratic procedure.

It is a fact that 9 (6 of them new members) out of 34 Board members took action about as important as any action that can be imagined, without permitting the rest of the Board to express their views. The action taken involved the dismissal of the chief administrative official, the appointment of his successor, and a major change in the structure of the organization.

Is this the kind of procedure that builds confidence on the part of the Board and the membership in the democratic intent and procedure of the Conference? Can such procedure be justified? In my letter to the Board the first and most important point that I raised was"...should not the full Board of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare have been notified of the major personnel change contemplated?"

Thus far no one to my knowledge has attempted to justify the manner in which the Board acted in this instance.

The second important issue, as I see it, concerns the wisdom of the action taken. The action clearly was intended to change the duties and responsibilities of the Administrator, from those defined in the by-laws, Article XII, Section 3. This was made clear in the conversation I had with the Board member who said he was responsible for the new arrangement, subsequent to the Board's action. He said there was no thought in any one's mind that the new Administrator would perform all of the functions

previously associated with the office, and indicated that the office would be a purely managerial nature. Passing over the fact that it certainly is not a proper function of the Board arbitrarily to change the by-laws or to act contrary to their provisions in so important a matter, consider the full significance of this change. It seems to me obvious that an organization with 5 offices, with gross revenues close to $200,000 this year, must require some central direction and focus of responsibility. Under this new arrangement, that would be in Washington or New York, wherever the president resided.

Bear in mind that the Board spent the better part of a year formulating the new bylaws, with many meetings for that express purpose, one of them, with Dr Frank Graham present, lasting for 14 consecutive hours; that this question of whether or not the Conference should have its principal administrative official in the South or not was a question that received long and tedious discussion and it was decided that the Board wanted such an official in the South; that the question of whether the Administrator was really to be an Administrator in name andin fact also was carefully canvassed and the results recorded in plain English in Article XII, Section.2. "Authority shall reside in the Administrator for administering the work of the corporation."

I have elaborated my view on the importance of a strong Southwide headquarters office and its relationship to the state committees and other offices in the mimeographed statement which you have received.

The above covers the two major issues in this controversy. However, I would like to refer briefly to the financial problem. Clark Foreman has stated in his letter to me of the 9th, copies of which were sent to the Board, that the financial situation was a factor of considerable importance in the decision of the Board. As a matter of fact, it probably was the crucial one. Since you have been serving on the Board only a short time, you may not be familiar with the financial picture and a few observations may help you to better understand the situation.

First, I refer you to the analysis of revenues for 1946 which was mailed to you December 24. I would be interested to know your reaction to it.

A few members of the Board have been led to believe that this office has been relying on the New York office for its revenues, and was perhaps falling down in the matter of fund raising. Now it is not the function of the Administrator to assume responsibility for financing the organization, and such was not the intent of the Board. Nevertheless this office has always been entirely self-supporting. In 1946 this office received only 17% of its revenues from the New York office, carrying not only the administrative and office expense but the program expense as well, with the exception of the subsidies to the state committees. Also the Administrator personally solicited the largest single contribution of the year, $10,000 from the UAW-CIO. I do not mention this to minimize the work of the New York office, of which we are all proud, but to correct a wrong impression as to this office. The difficulty here is that the Conference has expanded too rapidly for its income and has failed to work with proper budget controls and a sound fiscal policy. As Administrator I of course must assume a share of the responsibility for our present indebtedness but it is a matter of record that I have consistently

advised against and opposed this rapid expansion and the assuming of ever larger obligations when we were failing to meet current obligations. (The chairman of our finance committee appeared to have a horror of a bank balance while I have a horror of debts).

In meeting the financial problems, the Board should act only after a careful analysis of all the available information, and profiting by past experience. I know that the Board did not have such information at hand in making its decisions on December 1.

Finally, may I point out that this office has been woefully understaffed for the tasks assigned to it and the Administrator has been carrying about three persons' jobs because with the ever larger commitments to the state committees, f r one thing, and the assumption of a ten thousand dollar indebtedness of the NCAFT, he did not see his way clear to make further demands upon the budget. Without doubt we need a person here to take over the managerial functions of the office. I refer you to my mimeographed statement for my views on the staff requirements for the Southwide headquarters. But I do not understand the logic in taking our most experienced money raiser out of the field and giving her this office assignment at a time when we should be launching our most intensive fund raising drive to meet the present emergency, a campaign in which her full energies and abilities should be demanded.

Please pardon my dragging you through such a long letter. When a man in whom I have so much confidence does not agree with me, I find it necessary to review carefully my own ground. Please do let me have your further reactions when you have had time to consider this and the mimeographed material.

With best wishes for the New Year.

Affectionately,

Controversy

Southern Conference for Human Welfare

Publishers of
The Southern PATRIOT

808 Perdido St. New Orleans, Louisiana

December 28, 1946

Dear George:

I believe my letter to Aubrey Williams will interest you and may help to clarify some of the issues.

I look forward to seeing you at Greensboro. I leave here the morning of the 2nd and will arrive at the O'Henry Hotel, Greensboro, the night of the 2nd or the morning of the 3rd.

Sincerely,

Jim

A Declaration OF Civil Rights

This Declaration was approved at a Conference on Civil Rights at Madison Hall, University of Virginia, November 20, 1948, and formally adopted the same day at Monticello, Virginia.

A Declaration of Civil Rights

We make the following declaration as Americans deeply committed to our form of government and our way of life:

It is useful at any time to re-examine day-to-day practices in the light of professed beliefs. Such an examination seems especially appropriate today, because: Many fellow citizens, especially in our Southern States, are unashamedly advocating ideas of racism and white supremacy contrary to American democracy; Truth and justice are not bounded or divided by parallels of latitude — this is one country and one people, governed under one constitution; A rapidly changing world requires a new analysis of the meaning of equality and freedom adequate for new conditions; Finally, the United States today is bidding for world leadership. Practice at home of what we advocate abroad is the only road to effective leadership.

With these ideas in mind, we, the undersigned citizens of the Southern States and of the United States, have taken a fresh look at our American heritage of freedom and equality for all, and how it works out in actual practice. We present here our findings and conclusions in all sincerity, hopeful that our efforts may stimulate others to undertake a similar discipline.

We *still* believe all men are created equal, and are endowed as men with certain rights which each must respect and guard to the other.

We take these rights to include equality before the law, and freedom from any discrimination bolstered by law; a right to vote; freedom of expression; an unrestricted access to all institutions supported by taxes for the public welfare, schools and hospitals not excepted; equal pay for equal work, and equal opportunity to receive training and to gain employment; and the right of unsegregated transportation, housing and assembly.

For many of our citizens enjoyment of these rights is denied and abridged by laws and conventions contrary to justice, and to the aims and purposes of this republic. We recognize the habitual and cultivated prejudices upon which such discriminations are sustained; we recognize the need of protections in law, and in the enforcement of law, to these rights, in our day.

While we are gratified at what progress has been made, past achievements should serve as an incentive to greater progress and not as an excuse for our failure to meet present obligations.

This nation was founded with the declaration that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights.

We are proud that these words were given to the world by a Southerner, Thomas Jefferson.

Closely associated with the idea of equality and the political democracy built upon it is another concept basic to American culture, the idea of the brotherhood of all mankind. It was given to us many centuries ago in the Hebrew-Christian tradition — "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

We understand the historic conditions that gave rise to our present plight. However, those conditions long ago ceased to exist, although their effects endure.

Discrimination inevitably means lower living standards for those who discriminate as well as for those who are victims of discrimination. Although the South is one of the richest regions in the United States in natural resources, the average citizen in a Southern State has an income forty percent lower than that of a citizen in a non-Southern state.

Today we are bound by economic, political and ethical demands to abolish segregation and discrimination against racial, religious, and national groups.

To bring American ideals and deeds into closer harmony, we offer the following proposals:

I. For Voluntary Individual Action: To speak out against discrimination when it is confronted in a particular case; to guard against prejudice in thought, word, and deed; to cultivate the habit of thinking of all persons as individuals, rather than as members of a group.

II. For Voluntary Group Action: (By educational, religious, fraternal, labor, business, professional, civic, and other groups.) To inform and educate their members as to present inequities and injustices, and to secure their consent and approval of changes in constitutions, by-laws and practices needed to establish these rights.

III. For Legislation: (a) Repeal of existing laws in violation of these principles, notably all laws that force public distinction based on color, religion, or national origin. (b) Passage of new legislation at federal, State and local levels to serve as a shield to the civil rights of the citizens, including the rights outlined above.

Adopted at Monticello, Virginia November 20, 1948

The above Declaration was endorsed by 200 citizens of the Southern States, including:

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The Southern Conference Educational Fund is a non-partisan, non-profit educational agency concerned with the elimination of discrimination and segregation based on race, religion, and nationality in the Southern States. *OFFICERS:* AUBREY WILLIAMS, President; HELEN FULLER, Vice-President; BENJAMIN E. MAYS, Vice-President; ALVA W. TAYLOR, Secretary-Treasurer; JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, Director.

THE JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION

VOL. XIX WINTER, 1950 No. 1

Attitudes of Southern University Professors Toward the Elimination of Segregation in Graduate and Professional Schools in the South

A POLL OF SOUTHERN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS has just been completed by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. The returns reveal that seven out of every ten teachers who replied favor immediate admission of Negroes to the graduate and professional schools of the South, without segregation.

THE POLL AND PERSONS POLLED

The purpose of the poll was to ascertain the opinion of college and university professors on the question of the elimination of segregated graduate and professional education for Negroes in the South, in order to provide equal educational opportunities for Negroes in these fields. The professors were requested to check any one of the following alternatives as indicating their attitude upon the question:

Plan A.—"Open existing graduate and professional schools to Negroes without segregation."

Plan B.—"Open existing graduate schools with segregation."

Plan C.—"Establish new graduate schools for Negroes."

Plan D.—"Establish regional, segregated graduate schools for Negroes (The Southern Governors' Plan)."

Using the catalogs of 155 higher institutions in 14 Southern and border states as a source, ballots were sent to approximately 15,000 teachers in these institutions. With one exception, the University of West Virginia, no state university was included in the list of 130 institutions for white students covered by the poll. State universities were not included because they were covered by a similar poll last year.

The University of West Virginia was included for two reasons. It was not included in the previous poll, and it is one of the seven states where separate schools are maintained by law, but where the racial bar has been lowered in the graduate schools of the state university. Thus, it provides a laboratory check on the attitudes of a faculty which has had practical experience with mixed classes.

Some 3422 usable replies were received. (Of the 3422 replies received, 3,134—91%—were from teachers in 130 "white" institutions and 288—9%—were from teachers in 25 "Negro" institutions.) The replies were generally representative of the schools polled. And, as will be noted later, the trend in this poll approximated very closely the results of a similar poll of "white" state university teachers last year (1948).

(This is a reprint of the first)
(two pages of a sixteen-page article)

Results of the Poll

Table I indicates the number and per cent of votes in each state cast for each of the four alternatives.

TABLE I

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS IN 14 SOUTHERN STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FAVORING EACH OF FOUR ALTERNATIVES RELATIVE TO THE ELIMINATION OF RACIAL SEGREGATION IN GRADUATE AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS IN THE SOUTH, BY STATES

	Plan A		*Plan B*		*Plan C*		*Plan D*		
State	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	Total
Alabama	126	50%	10	4%	6	2%	110	44%	252
Arkansas	37	73	2	4	1	2	11	21	51
Florida	286	70	7	2	7	2	109	26	409
Georgia	111	58	4	2	2	1	76	39	193
Kentucky	240	84	5	2	6	2	35	12	286
Mississippi	28	39	7	10	6	8	31	43	72
N. Carolina	318	74	10	2	6	2	96	22	430
S. Carolina	121	53	6	3	5	2	95	42	227
Tennessee	155	68	7	3	2	1	63	28	227
Texas	441	69	25	4	33	5	143	22	642
Virginia	208	80	3	1	3	1	48	18	262
W. Virginia	126	97	0	0	0	0	4	3	130
Maryland	121	92	1	1	3	2	5	5	131
Delaware	7	100	0	0	0	0	0		7
Dist. Columbia	49	83	1	1	0		9	16	59
State Unknown	38	86	0	0	0		6	14	44
Total	2,412	70.5%	88	3%	80	2%	842	24.5%	3,422

NEW DAY DAWNING

The Negro and Medicine . . *by Alfred Maund*

Livingston, Ala.

I believe in strekt segregation. It is better for bothe races. The average negroe is incapable of competing, mentally, with the average white person. Neither is the average white person capable of competing, physically, with the average negroe. Each will do better when associated with his own race. A few extry smart negros and a few low minded whites would like to amalgamate the two races and that is really what non-segregation means.

When a white doctor in Oklahoma sends you this comment, with its quaint spelling, it is hard not to think he is kidding. But serious or not, his views appear charmingly naive in comparison with the following statement from an internal-medicine specialist in the District of Columbia:

ALFRED MAUND is on the faculty of State Teachers College at Livingston, Alabama.

How about the health needs of our racial germ plasm? Do we know enough in this direction to be leaping into the dark, literally as well as figuratively? Non-segregation on the social level . . . will provoke miscegenation and hasten the fusion of two widely distinguished races. Does anyone know just what this might mean? No one does. I shudder before the possibilities.

The letters of both physicians were comments on a questionnaire mailed to the 42,500 white doctors listed in the A. M. A. Directory for seventeen Southern and border states and the District of Columbia by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, an anti-discrimination organization with headquarters in New Orleans. These were the questions:

1. Which of the following plans do you think best serves the health needs of the entire community? (A) Admit patients to hospitals without segregation. (B) Admit Negro and white patients to the same hospital with segregation. (C) Maintain separate hospitals for Negro and white patients.

2. Would you favor the admission of Negro physicians to your county medical society?

3. Would you favor granting hospital privileges to Negro physicians in hospitals in which you practice?

Replies were received from 5,750 physicians, of which 3,928 were signed. Racial segregation of patients was strongly supported. Plan B was favored by 64 per cent of the voters, Plan C by 11 per cent, Plan A by 17 per cent. The other 8 per cent either did not answer the question or suggested other arrangements. A Delaware doctor summed up the sentiments of a sizable number of his colleagues when he wrote: "In theory I favor Plan A. However, in actual practice admission without segregation in this locality would meet with

overwhelming lay criticism at the present time."

The vote on the admission of Negro doctors to county medical societies and hospital staffs was overwhelmingly affirmative—71 per cent in favor, with another 3 per cent giving qualified approval.

THIS FIGURE indicates a grass-roots sentiment directly counter to the general practice of the medical societies in the states surveyed. Too often, even where Negro doctors are admitted to membership, they enjoy only the privilege of attending scientific meetings and are not eligible for appointment as hospital staff members. It should be noted, however, that Florida has had full integration for more than two years; the District of Columbia society opened its rolls last July; and in the past few months county societies in Charleston (S. C.), Macon (Ga.), and Little Rock (Ark.) have accepted Negroes as full members.

What motivated this group of Southern doctors, with their strong concern for regional *mores*, to vote so consistently for liberalization of their organizations? The counsel of a district medical society in Arkansas wrote: "As a medical society is a scientific organization and not a social organization, I see no reason to limit its membership on either race, color, or creed; it should be limited only by character, moral standing, educational background, etc." (One of his colleagues in the state queried: "If you admit colored people, what about the auxiliary? When the auxiliary has a party, would you want your wife to dance with a colored doctor?")

A Texas surgeon declared: "A Negro physician is usually a well-qualified gentleman; regardless of the color . . . I had rather have a fine Negro doctor than the jealous jackass that we so often contact." (A Mississippian countered: "In so far as I know, none of the Negro physicians practicing here are eligible for membership . . . because of their inadequate training. I have a number of good colored patients. All tell me the colored doctors are 'plain no-count.'")

"Although I am of the opinion that the admission of Negro physicians will be bitterly opposed," said an Alabama doctor, "unless we admit them voluntarily they can go to court and force us to admit them, since they will *have* to gain admission for qualification as members of various specialty boards, societies, etc." Another Alabamian added, "I do believe that in order to raise the standards of practice of Negro physicians and encourage migration of competent Negro physicians and surgeons to a given community, some sort of hospital affiliation is in order."

These doctors are working in states which have the worst public-health records in the United States. The national average of rejections in Selective Service examinations is around 30 per cent; in only three of the states polled is the rate less than 40 per cent, and all are above the average. Local Selective Service officials will admit, privately, that the great majority of those rejected are Negro. Conditions in Atlanta were described succinctly by one doctor: "There are twenty Negro physicians to help serve a Negro population of 100,000. Mortality rates are unreasonably high in our local Negro hospitals. The medical background of many of these Negro physicians is shallow." In Baltimore, said another, "there is a great shortage of all types of hospital beds for Negro patients, but particularly obstetrical beds. Yet there are 'white' beds empty which could be used for them."

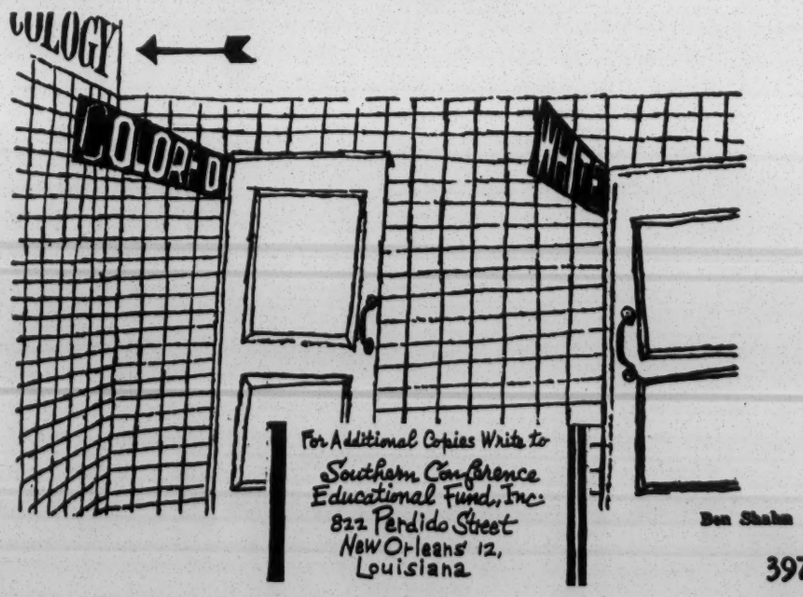
Southern laymen who believe that medical facilities ought to be shared according to need regardless of race should be aroused by these returns to take direct action. They should encourage the liberal minority in the medical profession and bring pressure to bear on its conservative leadership. Some Southerners have already taken up the gauntlet.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund has begun a series of projects designed to alert the public to the inequities of segregated medical care. Aubrey Williams, Alabama publisher and writer, is president of this organization, and six college presidents and deans are on its board. Its funds are supplied by some 3,000 individual contributors over the country. Besides taking the poll described above, it has investigated other aspects of the subject.

The Interracial Hospital Movement of Kentucky has presented to the governor a petition with 10,000 signatures demanding that equal hospital facilities be made available to all citizens. As a result, the last session of the Kentucky Senate passed unanimously a bill to rescind the operating license of any institution denying treatment to a patient because of race or creed. Although the House later modified the measure to read "denying *emergency* treatment," the law is a big step forward.

BUT AS IN THE CASE of the public schools, the ultimate solution may lie with the courts. If integration of tax-supported hospital wards were enforced by judicial edict, the various religious denominations would be shamed into adopting similar policies in their hospitals—just as they are now opening the doors of their seminaries. The Veterans' Administration would be emboldened to adopt a consistently democratic attitude toward its patients. Congress might even put teeth in the Hill-Burton act, which gives federal funds for the construction of hospitals and allows the states to set up the rule of Jim Crow.

Then, perhaps, a Fourteenth Amendment would be appended to the Oath of Hippocrates.



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SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

Legionnaires should have the facts about the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), located at 822 Perdido Street, in New Orleans, Louisiana. This organization was thoroughly investigated by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1954.

According to the testimony of IVOR A. TRAPOLIN before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on March 18, 1954, when the Southern Conference For Human Welfare went out of existence in New Orleans in August of 1949, it merely "changed their name to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, which was a subcommittee actually in existence long before the death of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, one and the same group," only the names were changed. (See Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings on Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, page 3).

In 1947 the House Committee On Un-American Activities cited the Southern Conference For Human Welfare as "a Communist-front" organization, which seeks to attract "southern liberals on the basis of its seeming interest in the problems of the South although its professed interest in southern welfare (was) simply an expedient for larger aims serving the Soviet Union and its subservient Communist Party in the United States." (See HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, page 104).

TRAPOLIN testified that both the Southern Conference For Human Welfare and the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. have published the same periodical entitled The Southern Patriot. On the same day, JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, Executive Director of the SCEF appeared before the Internal Security Subcommittee and testified that the SCEF was not a membership organization, however but had been supported by 3,000 contributors. DOMBROWSKI stated that he became Executive Director of the SCEF about the middle of 1947. DOMBROWSKI was also listed as an Administrator of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare for the years 1947-1948.(See HUAC, Report, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, page 1 and Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings on Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, pages 2, 3, 32 and 33).

For a better understanding of this organization, let us examine the individuals who are currently officers of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.:

AUBREY WILLIAMS (Alabama), President and member of the Board of Directors was identified as a "secret member" of the Communist Party, U.S.A. by a Government witness before the Internal Security Subcommittee on March 19, 1954. Editor and Publisher of The Southern Farm & Home, WILLIAMS' full record of subversion was exposed in the May 1, 1955 issue of The Firing Line

(See Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings on Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, pages 121-122).

On March 23, 1945, the United States Senate rejected the nomination of AUBREY W. WILLIAMS to become Administrator of the Rural Electrification Administration for a term of 10 years. The nomination was defeated on a record roll call vote after prolonged debates on the Senate floor and hearings before the Committee On Agriculture and Forestry. (See "Congressional Record", Volume 91, Part 2, page 2652).

ALVA W. TAYLOR (Tennessee) Secretary and member of the Board of Directors, has been affiliated with 13 organizations and publications that have been cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General and the House Committee On Un-American Activities. He was listed as a signer of statements on behalf of the American Council On Soviet Relations, National Federation For Constitutional Liberties and the Schappes Defense Committee. In 1942, TAYLOR was listed as an Editorial Advisor of the Protestant. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 370, 1257, 1455 and 1562).

In 1941, TAYLOR was a sponsor of the People's Institute of Applied Religion; and was an Executive Board member of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. He was listed as having signed a statement in the early 1930's urging immediate recognition of the "Soviet Government of Russia by the United States." He sponsored the 15th Anniversary National Conference of the American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born in 1948 and the same year signed a statement in praise of HENRY A. WALLACE'S Open Letter to STALIN under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1464 and 1585; HUAC, Expose of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, Part 2, 1950, page 2498; and California Legislature, Eleventh Report, Senate Investigating Committee On Education, 1953, page 176).

WALTER S. STEELE testified before the House Committee On Un-American Activities in 1947 that TAYLOR wrote the introduction to a "communist booklet" entitled A Southerner Looks At Negro Discrimination, which was published by International Publishers of 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City. This organization "has been identified as a CPUSA publishing house by the U.S. Attorney General in 1942, and also identified as an important publishing organization of the Communist Party." (See HUAC, Testimony of Walter S. Steele Regarding Communist Activities In The United States, 1947, page 91; and "The Firing Line" 8-1-54, page 4).

TAYLOR sponsored the Bill of Rights Conference in 1949, and the same year, signed a statement on behalf of the Committee For Peaceful Alternatives To The Atlantic Pact. The following year, he sponsored the National Committee To Defeat The Mundt Bill, American Continental Congress For Peace and the Mid-Century Conference For Peace. In 1952, TAYLOR signed an appeal to the President asking for amnesty for the Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act, under the auspices of the National Committee To Win Amnesty For The Smith Act Victims. (See HUAC, Report On The National Committee To Defeat The Mundt Bill, 1950, page 12; HUAC, Report On The Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, page 117 and 151; and leaflets).

RUDOLPH MOSES (Louisiana), Treasurer, signed a statement to the President in 1942 on behalf of the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder. In 1947, he was listed as Vice Chairman of the New Orleans Council of American-Soviet Friendship, an affiliate of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. This organization was fully exposed in the October 1, 1954 issue of The Firing Line. (See

HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, page 619; and Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings on Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, page 81).

MOSES signed a statement in 1948 defending the Communist Party, and the following year sponsored the Bill of Rights Conference in New York City. In 1951, MOSES signed a petition to the President and the Attorney General to pardon WILLIAM APHAEUS HUNTON, who was serving a jail sentence for Contempt of Court. This petition was sponsored by the Council On African Affairs, a subversive and Communist organization. (See Internal Security Subcommittee, Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, page 4; "Daily Worker", 11-9-51, page 3; and Leaflet).

JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI, (Louisiana) Executive Director and member of the Board of Directors has been affiliated with 16 subversive and Communist organizations. DOMBROWSKI was identified as a member of the Communist Party, U.S.A. by JOHN BUTLER before the Internal Security Subcommittee on March 18, 1954. PAUL CROUCH also testified before the Subcommittee on the same day, that DOMBROWSKI accepted Communist Party discipline "...to the extent that all instructions that were given him (DOMBROWSKI) by the subcommittee by the district bureau of Tennessee (Communist Party) were carried out by DR. DOMBROWSKI regarding the administration of the Highlander Folk School, and my conversations with him (DOMBROWSKI) when we were traveling together by automobile from Miami, Florida to Winter Haven, Florida...in April 1947...his (DOMBROWSKI'S) discussions of the revolutionary movement..." (See Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings on Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, pages 46 and 48).

When DOMBROWSKI testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee in 1954, he stated that he was not a present nor past member of the Communist Party, however he refused to answer the Subcommittee whether or not LEO SHEINER was a Contributor to the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (See Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings on Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, pages 39 and 42).

In 1941, DOMBROWSKI signed a statement urging the President and Congress to defend the rights of the Communist Party. Two years later he signed a "Message to the House of Representatives," opposing renewal of the Special Committee On Un-American Activities, under the auspices of the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties. In 1942 he sponsored the People's Institute of Applied Religion, and the same year was listed as the Executive Secretary of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 647, 1245, 1470 and 1585).

An Executive Council member of the Highlander Folk School of Monteagle, Tennessee, DOMBROWSKI sponsored the 10th Convention of the National Negro Congress, and was listed as a member of the Advisory Board of the Southern Negro Youth Congress. He endorsed the American Committee For Indonesian Independence, and in 1945 and 1947 was listed on nomination ballots of the Methodist Federation For Social Service, and Methodist Federation For Social Action respectively. (See HUAC, Testimony of Walter S. Steele Regarding Communist Activities In The United States, 1947, pages 56, 94, 96 and 132; and HUAC, Review of the Methodist Federation For Social Action, 1952, pages 77 and 83).

DOMBROWSKI has supported the Committee For Peaceful Alternatives To The Atlantic Pact, and sponsored the American Continental Congress For Peace, Stockholm Appeal and the American Peace Crusade. In 1948, he sponsored the 15th Anniversary National Conference of the American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born. DOMBROWSKI signed an Amicus Curiae Brief with the New York

Supreme Court in 1951, asking for dismissal of the New York Insurance Superintendent's petition to liquidate the International Workers Order. (See HUAC, Report On The Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, page 57, 116, 128, and 135; HUAC, Expose of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, Part 2, 1950, page 2498; and "Daily Worker", 6-18-51, page 8).

CHARLOTTE HAWKINS BROWN (North Carolina), Member of the Board of Directors, has been affiliated with 21 subversive organizations. She has sponsored the American Youth For Democracy and was a Council Member of the Council On African Affairs in 1943. She signed a statement on behalf of the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties, Schappes Defense Committee, and the Communist Party, U.S.A. in 1947. In 1948, she was listed as a Member of the Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 566, 671, 1242,1558; and HUAC, Report of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, pages 1 and 14).

CHARLOTTE BROWN was a member of the Initiating Committee of the Civil Rights Congress in 1946, and was listed as Vice President of the Congress of American Women in 1949. This organization was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General in 1948, and by the House Committee On Un-American Activities the following year. She was also listed in 1949 as having sponsored the World Congress For Peace In Paris, and was a Delegate to the First Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation. (See HUAC, Report On The Congress of American Women, 1949, page 79; HUAC, Report On The Civil Rights Congress, 1947, page 12).

A 1951 sponsor of the American Peace Crusade, she supported the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Committee For A Democratic Far Eastern Policy, United Negro and Allied Veterans of America, and the American Continental Congress For Peace. In 1945, she signed a statement favoring Army commissions to Communists and was later listed as a sponsor of the Stockholm Appeal. (See HUAC, Report On The Congress of American Women, 1949, page 79; HUAC, Report On The Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, pages 132 and 135).

CHARLOTTE BROWN was listed as Vice Chairman of the Committee For Peaceful Alternatives To The Atlantic Pact in 1950, and the same year sponsored the Mid-Century Conference For Peace. She also sponsored the International Workers Order and the China Conference Arrangements Committee. In a signed statement appearing in the "Daily Worker" of September 21, 1950, page 9, she asked for a Presidential veto of the Internal Security Act of 1950. (See HUAC, Report on the Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, pages 56 and 143; HUAC, Testimony of Walter S. Steele Regarding Communist Activities In The United States, 1947, page 125; California Legislature, Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee On Un-American Activities, 1948, page 198).

ROSCOE DUNJEE (Oklahoma), another member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., has been affiliated with the Communist periodical "New Masses", now known as "Masses and Mainstream". DUNJEE was affiliated with the Schappes Defense Committee, the United Front For Herndon, Southern Negro Youth Congress and was listed as a 1948 Vice President of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1350, 1555 and 1600; and HUAC, Report On Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, page 1).

DUNJEE was a member of the Council On African Affairs and sponsored the Civil Rights Congress in 1946. He was listed as a co-sponsor of the

Delegation of the National Non-Partisan Delegation To Washington For Passage of Civil Rights Legislation, and sponsored the Bill of Rights Conference in 1949. (See HUAC, Testimony of Walter S. Steele Regarding Communist Activities In The United States, 1947, page 135; HUAC, Report On The Civil Rights Congress, 1947, page 22; and HUAC, Expose of the Communist Party of Western Pennsylvania, Part 2, 1950, page 2536).

DR. E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER (Washington, D.C.), member of the Board of Directors, has been affiliated with 12 subversive organizations. He was affiliated with the American Youth Congress, Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder, and in 1943, was listed as a Council Member of the Council On African Affairs. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 525, 615 and 671).

FRAZIER was also affiliated with the Negro People's Committee To Aid Spanish Democracy and the Communist periodical "New Masses." In 1944, he was listed as a Contributing Editor to "Science & Society", which was cited by the Special Committee On Un-American Activities the same year as a Communist publication. FRAZIER was affiliated with the Washington Committee For Democratic Action, Southern Negro Youth Congress and was listed as a 1940 and 1941 Cooperator of "Social Work Today", another Communist periodical. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1346, 1350, 1456, 1600, 1693, 1782 and 1789; HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, pages 149 and 150).

In 1949, FRAZIER was listed as a member of the National Non-Partisan Committee To Defend The Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders, and the following year sponsored the Mid-Century Conference For Peace. During 1950, he became a member of the American Sponsoring Committee For Representation of the Second World Peace Congress. FRAZIER sponsored the Stockholm Appeal and was listed in 1951 as a founder of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee. This organization was fully exposed in the April 15, 1955 issue of The Firing Line. (See HUAC, Report On The Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, pages 59, 118 and 125; and "Daily Worker", 10-8-51, page 6).

PERCY GREENE (Mississippi), member of the Board of Directors, was a member of the Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare in 1948. In 1949, he sponsored the Bill of Rights Conference and the American Continental Congress For Peace. GREENE was also a sponsor of the African Aid Committee. (See HUAC, Report On The Southern Conference For Human Welfare, 1947, page 1; HUAC, Report On The Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, page 116; and Leaflets).

GREENE sponsored the National Committee To Defeat The Mundt Bill in 1950, and according to statements filed with the Clerk of the House of Representatives, Congress of The United States, under the lobbying Act, the Civil Rights Congress paid GREENE $410 for travel expenses during October 1946, and $45 for telephone expenses for January 1947. The Civil Rights Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by the United States Attorney General the same year. (See HUAC, Report On The National Committee To Defeat The Mundt Bill, 1950, page 11; and HUAC, Report On The Civil Rights Congress, 1947, pages 41 and 42).

MYLES HORTON (Tennessee), another SCEF Board of Directors Member and Teacher and founder of the Highlander Folk School, located in Monteagle, Tennessee, was a 1948 member of the Board of Representatives of the Southern Conference For Human Welfare. PAUL CROUCH testified before the Internal Security Subcommittee in 1954, that when he (CROUCH) asked HORTON to become

a member of the Communist Party, HORTON replied...."I'm doing you just as much good now as I would if I were a member of the Communist Party. I am often asked if I am a Communist Party member and I always say no. I feel much safer in having no fear that evidence might be uncovered to link me with the Communist Party, and therefore I prefer not to become a member of the Communist Party." (See Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings on Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, page 136).

HORTON appeared before the Internal Security Subcommittee on March 20, 1954, and was forcibly escorted from the hearing room by a United States Marshall after refusing to answer a question dealing with JAMES A. DOMBROWSKI'S affiliation with the Highlander Folk School. (See Internal Security Subcommittee, Hearings on Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1954, page 151).

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

Legionnaires should immediately write to the United States Attorney General, Department of Justice Building, Washington 25, D. C. Ask him to petition the Subversive Activities Control Board for an order requiring the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. of 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana, to register as a Communist Front under the Internal Security Act of 1950. Write to the Honorable JAMES O. EASTLAND, Chairman of the Internal Security Subcommittee, Room 411, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., and demand that the full 1954 hearings on the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. be printed for normal distribution. ACT NOW!

I M P O R T A N T N O T I C E

In the past American Legion publications have not been copyrighted in order that Patriotic publications could reproduce them without formal request. Hereafter all counter-subversive publications of The American Legion will be copyrighted and permission must be obtained in order to reproduce any portion of them.

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The American Legion has previously denounced anti-semitism. (See National Adjutants Letter of January 14, 1954; "Firing Line", 2-1-54, and 2-15-54). Reproduction of The American Legion document was without permission or authorization of any kind.

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608 W. 36TH STREET
SAVANNAH, GA.

Copy

September 23, 1955

Mr. James A. Dombrowski, Secretary
Southern Educational Fund
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

In Re: Mattiwilda Dobbs Recital
Atlanta, Ga., Nov.21,1955

My dear Mr. Dombrowski:

I am writing this letter concerning the proposed Recital of Matti wilda Dobbs scheduled for Atlanta, Ga., Nov.21, 1955. Our obstacles and difficulties have multiplied to the extent that I simply do not see how we will be able to go forward with the recital this year.

Bishop S. L. Greene, Chairman of the Southwide Conference, presided at a meeting of our local committee last week. The project was discussed pro and con, by all present, with utmost frankness and sincerity.. After all was said and done, both Bishop Greene and I have come to the conclusion that it would not be wise to attempt the recita at this time. I regret very much to have to inform you about our conclusions.

First, and foremost in our minds, is the unfavorable effect it might have on the future career of Mattiwilda Dobbs, a young and promising artist. We feel that she should, under no circumstances, be subjected to a political or controversial issue that might damage her future career in any way. When it was first discussed and agreed to present Mattiwilda in recital, the Federal Investigation, by Senato Eastland, had not created such a controversy. Now that it has, we think and feel that the whole thing should be cleared up before Mattiwilda should be presented by the organization. We realize that the Southwide Conference is but a creature of the Southern Educational Fund. I am one of the directors of the Fund, and am perfectly willing to continue my help and support until the issues are decided by the U.S. Attorney General. I think I have demonstrated my willingness to do that. But, on the other hand, I do not think that Mattiwilda should be subjected to possible unfavorable criticism, of any kind,

because of her father's views and activities. My wife and family share these views with me. Bishop Greene, and members of the local committee, were also unanimous in their agreement with this opinion. I am certainly very sorry to be forced to come to this conclusion in view of the time and efforts already put forth by so many people. Especially am I sorry because of the time and effort put forth by Mr. William Grant Still, the Composer, in writing special music for this occasion.

In view of all the facts and difficulties, I am sure that it would be best to hold the proposition over for atleast another year. By that time, conditions no doubt will be changed and improved. We must of necessity consider and respect the attitude of the public. For, after all, they are the ones that we are trying to reach.

I hope to discuss this more fully with you next week at our meeting here in Atlanta. In the meantime, I am sending copies of this letter to the principal parties involved in this promotional idea.

Very Cordially and Sincerely yours,

John Wesley Dobbs

John Wesley Dobbs

Here Is 'Report from the South'

The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 16. No. 5 Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. May, 1958

Stories of Voting Restrictions Stir Washington

By Staff Correspondent

WASHINGTON, D. C.—All of Washington was stirred by reports on voting restrictions presented at a conference here April 27.

An interracial audience of more than 1,000 heard first-hand accounts by leaders in the civil rights movement from nine states in the South.

Washington newspapers and broadcasters gave full coverage to the event, while the news services carried long articles for use throughout the nation.

A delegation took copies of the reports to the Civil Rights Commission and the Department of Justice on April 28. Delegates to the Conference visited their Senators and Representatives to urge speedy action to end violations of voting and registration rights.

Copies of the reports were also made available to labor, religious, civic, youth and fraternal groups that expressed great interest in them. (Summaries and excerpts from the reports are on Pages 2 and 3 of this issue of *The Patriot*.)

The conference, which was coordinated by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, was held at Asbury Methodist Church. Those attending adopted resolutions pledging full support to the men and women who made the reports—and who are working in their home states to win full voting rights.

The delegation from the conference met with Gordon Tiffany, who at that time was awaiting Senate confirmation as staff director for the Civil Rights Commission.

Tiffany told the delegation he was encouraged by the interest shown by the Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States. He said he and his staff would be happy to cooperate with those making the reports. He urged members

(Continued on back page)

The success of the Washington Conference was due, in large part, to the efforts of the hard-working Committee on Local Arrangements and to many other organizations in the Washington area which helped publicize it. SCEF takes this opportunity to thank all these people and organizations for the contribution they made.

REPORTS ON VOTING RESTRICTIONS in eight Southern states are presented to Gordon Tiffany, staff director for the Civil Rights Commission in Washington, by the Rev. John LaBauve, left, pastor of St. Gabriel Roman Catholic Church, Mound Bayou, Miss., along with a letter urging speedy action by the Commission. Others are, from left, Mrs. Eleanor Chandler, Cambridge, Mass., former Democratic National Committeewoman and a leader in the National Council of Negro Women; Bishop Edgar A. Love, SCEF vice-president and chairman of the Washington Conference on Voting Restrictions, and the Rev. Ben F. Wyland, executive secretary of the Florida Council for Racial Cooperation and SCEF board member who made the report from Florida. About 25 people, including representatives from most of the Southern states as well as New York and Massachusetts, formed the delegation to Tiffany's office on April 28.

Political Realignment Predicted

The struggle of Southern Negroes to win the right to vote could be the activating agent which will bring about a "long-delayed political realignment of the two political parties on all the great issues of the day," Aubrey Williams told the Conference on Voting Restrictions in Washington.

In the conference keynote address, Williams noted that the Republican Party at present has its "moderate" wing and its "conservative" wing, whereas the Democratic party is divided between the "liberals" and the Southern "oligarchy."

"The right wing of the Republican Party and the Southern oligarchy have everything in common except the names by which they are called," he said. "The results for the American people . . . are that the reactionaries in the two parties always effectively get together on anything really important to their interest and the "liberals" in both parties either split over political lines or are unable to put together a sufficiently large number of votes to pass legislation in line with their respective professions and promises."

Once enough congressmen see how great is their personal interest in the issue of full citizenship rights for the Negro, Williams went on, they must take the only course open to them—which is simply full-fledged support of the Supreme Court's position.

"They will seal the doom of the Southern oligarchy or drive them into the Republican Party where they really belong," he said. "By the same token, the 'liberals' in the Republican Party will be forced in the interest of self-preservation to support the Court and will face the necessity of finding working relationships with the 'liberals' in the Democratic Party."

"We must recognize the Negro's struggle for what it is—the spearhead which

(Continued on Back Page.)

Reports Summarized

Southern Registration Proceeds, Despite Obstacles

Following are summaries and excerpts from reports made at the Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States, held April 27 in Washington, D.C.:

Alabama

Trickery and delaying tactics by Boards of Registrars, along with threats of economic reprisals and physical harm, keep the numbers of registered Negro voters low in Alabama, Charles G. Gomillion, president of the Tuskegee, Ala., Civic Association, reported.

He cited the following devices by Boards of Registrars :

Each registration applicant is required to fill out a questionnaire with 21 questions; in some counties, if he makes a single mistake, his application is not approved and he is never notified.

In some counties, boards of Registrars do not work full days or they fail to meet for weeks at a time. Sometimes registrars retard the process by holding conversations with applicants. Some boards have resigned rather than register Negro applicants.

Some boards require Negro applicants to secure white voters to vouch for them; often Negroes find it impossible to find white vouchers. Where Negro vouchers are allowed, they are sometimes allowed to vouch for only two or four applicants per month.

Many Negroes who do succeed in registering fail to vote. Sometimes this is because of their own lack of awareness of the importance of voting, Gomillion said. More often it is because those who work for whites are not allowed time off to go to the polls, or because they have been threatened that harm will befall them and their families. Negro businessmen who vote have often been forced out of business because wholesale dealers refuse to sell them commodities.

In 1956, Negroes represented 30% of Alabama's population but only 6% of its registered voters.

Louisiana

Purges of Negro voters from the rolls in Louisiana have often been effective because they are carried out strictly according to ancient laws, reported Kenneth Walker, publisher of the Colfax, La., Chronicle. Old and tricky stipulations on the filling out of registration blanks are simply enforced.

It is possible to render the purges ineffective if people know they are going on—as the law provides for fairly simple means of reinstatement on the rolls. In Walker's own parish, Grant, his newspaper covered such a purge honestly and fully, and 64 per cent of those purged were reinstated in time to vote.

The purges have been politically as well as racially inspired. Generally speaking, the Long faction in Louisiana politics gets the Negro vote, and the opposition to Negro voting comes from the anti-Long faction.

Despite the purges, Negro registration in Louisiana is increasing and now represents 16 per cent of the white vote. In 1952, 23 out of 64 parishes had no Negro registrants. Now there are just four such parishes. Hot segregationist candidates have fared badly recently in Louisiana elections.

Baltimore

What can be done—at least in a Border state—when people are determined to increase their voting strength has been demonstrated by a successful voter-registration drive in Baltimore.

In a report prepared for the Conference on Voting Restrictions, Dr. John L. Tilley stated that more than 15,000 voters have been added to the rolls in that city in 12 months. Dr. Tilley is pastor of the New Metropolitan Baptist Church, Baltimore, and served as chairman of the registration campaign.

Dr. Tilley said the drive was set off by refusal of the Baltimore City Council and the Maryland State Legislature to pass civil rights legislation presented to them. It was spurred by statements that councilmen and legislators considered the Negro vote of no significance.

The campaign was conducted under the leadership of the churches and carried out by house-to-house canvassing on a ward and precinct basis. Dr. Tilley said his committee plans to follow up with a similar thorough drive to acquaint registered voters with the importance of using their ballot and with the record of candidates and the issues involved in each election.

Dr. Tilley's report was read to the Conference by Bishop Edgar A. Love of Baltimore when Dr. Tilley was unable to attend in person.

Florida

"Go ahead and register if you can take what comes afterward."

This is what courthouse loungers tell prospective Negro registrants in one north Florida county, according to a report from the Rev. Ben F. Wyland, executive secretary of the Florida Council for Racial Cooperation.

Wyland said there are five north Florida counties where only 110 of 16,533 Negroes of voting age have been able to register. In Florida as a whole, 148,636 out of 369,463 Negroes of voting age are registered.

Wyland quoted a letter from the Rev. Dee Hawkins, who registered in Liberty County. "They are causing me to leave home," Hawkins wrote. "I was bombed-shot out of my home." He fled Liberty County, Wyland said.

By contrast, in Madison County there are now over 1,000 Negro voters whereas 15 years ago there were none. The change occurred after 586 Negroes went to the courthouse in a body to register. One white man who flourished a gun was restrained by other more sensible white citizens.

In Jacksonville, when a highly qualified Negro attorney, Ernest D. Jackson, ran for justice of the peace he led the field of three candidates. He might have become the first Negro to hold office in Florida in modern times--but the Florida courts invalidated the election by holding the justice-of-the-peace set-up was illegal.

Mississippi

Negroes may register and vote freely in only six of the 82 counties in Mississippi, the Rev. John LaBauve, pastor of St. Gabriel Roman Catholic Church, reported.

As an example of what happens when they try to register, Father LaBauve cited Sunflower County. There Negroes were told by the registrar: "We'll have to wait until the state legislature adjourns; then we'll see about it."

In Humphreys County Mr. A. approached the registrar. The registrar informed him that the "registration problem" had caused bloodshed once in Humphreys County and advised him not to try.

In other areas, Negroes are afraid of loss of employment and loss of credit if they try to register.

The Mississippi report was prepared by Father LaBauve, Aaron Henry, executive secretary of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Albert L. Powell, president of the Mississippi Progressive Voters League, and other leaders in the Mississippi right-to-vote movement.

Georgia

Denial of voting rights to Negroes in Georgia is a problem mainly in the rural areas, reported Austin T. Walden, noted Atlanta civil rights attorney. He said about 160,000 out of a potential 650,000 Negroes are registered throughout the state, with registration concentrated in the urban areas.

Speaking of the rural sections, he said:

"In the immediate past, lives have been lost and property practically confiscated. Negroes have been driven out of the community, their homes fired into at night, because of their efforts to register and vote. . .

"Candor and fairness demand that it be stated that the evils complained of are not really sanctioned by the great majority of the people of our state. It is the political demagogues who cause the trouble. . .

"It should be said that the greatest obstacle in the way of registration of Negroes arises from the indifference and timidity on the part of too large a segment of the Negro people of Georgia. . ."

South Carolina

Determined court action by the NAACP has practically eliminated voting restrictions in South Carolina, reported Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, long-time civil rights leader and former secretary of the NAACP conference in that state.

Even in the historic trouble spots—for example Abbeville County, site of the most atrocious lynching in the history of South Carolina—leaders of the voter-registration drives anticipate no trouble.

Mrs. Simkins said at least two white leaders had explained the change to her by saying: "These people have been sued so much that they are afraid of being carried to court."

She said the chief blocks to registration now are disinterest and a carry-over of a fear of reprisal because of the situation in previous years.

In one county, Williamsburg, restrictions still exist. There a graduate of Howard University, numerous teachers, and other educated Negroes have been turned down on a literacy test. If this situation does not change, Mrs. Simkins said, officials can be sure they will get another lawsuit.

THIS IS PART OF CROWD, estimated by Washington newspapers at more than 1,000, at the Conference on Voting Restrictions. They listen as Charles G. Gomillion makes the report for Alabama. At right, Eastland Committee investigator hides face.

Virginia

Of approximately 750,000 Negroes in Virginia, only slightly more than 80,000 are qualified to vote, but the greatest restrictions against voting are not legal but sociological and psychological.

This was reported by W. Hale Thompson from Newport News, Va., one of the state's leading civil rights attorneys. He is on the legal staff of the Virginia Conference of NAACP.

Thompson told of a Mr. J., a Negro who was a leader in the fight first for school equalization and later for integrated schools and in efforts to get his people qualified to vote. After the 1954 Supreme Court decision, he was ordered to leave the farm he had rented and worked for 20 years. He was able to rent another farm, but after two years the same thing happened. He finally had to leave the county but is still working to get Negroes registered.

In another county in Southside Virginia, Mr. W. was a prominent preacher and farmer. Each year he borrowed money to operate his farm and repaid it after the crops were sold. Then Mr. W. announced he was going to run for one of three seats on the County Board of Supervisors; the next day he was asked to pay his creditors over $8,000. Mr. W. aged 20 years within a few weeks and finally withdrew from the race.

Despite the handicaps, Thompson pointed out that a greater percentage of qualified Negroes usually go to the polls in Virginia than do the qualified whites.

North Carolina

Voting restrictions are not nearly so prevalent in North Carolina as in some other Southern states, and there is little or no problem in the larger cities, reported Miss Willson Whitman, author and editor of Southern Pines, N.C.

But in some rural areas, obstacles to registration still exist. Miss Whitman cited cases in the northeastern part of the state, notably in Northhampton and Halifax Counties, where so-called literacy tests have been used to disqualify Negro voters. Miss Whitman pointed out that such tests are never used with white registrants. The tests are now being challenged in the courts.

"The great trouble is not winning such cases on appeal," Miss Whitman said. "It is the need for litigation and appeal, the expenditure of time and money required to invoke the whole machinery of the law. Now it's being said that action in current cases can't be expected before May, and in May registration in North Carolina ends for the fall elections."

SCEF plans to publish the reports on voting restrictions in pamphlet form. Put together, the nine reports present a comprehensive and dramatic picture of the current situation on voting restrictions throughout the region. Publication date will be announced later.

If you would like to help defray the cost of publishing this important document, please send a contribution earmarked for this purpose to SCEF, 822 Perdido St., New Orleans 12, La.

SOME OF THE OUTSTANDING LEADERS of the South were among principals and speakers at the Washington Conference on Voting Restrictions in Southern States. They are, from left, front row: Kenneth Walker, who made the report for Louisiana; Dr. James L. Hupp, SCEF secretary; Miss Willson Whitman, who reported for North Carolina; Bishop Edgar A. Love, chairman of the Conference; Mrs. Modjeska Simkins, reporter for South Carolina; Aubrey W. Williams, keynote speaker; James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director, and the Rev. Clarence H. Snelling, Jr., Methodist chaplain at Tulane University, chairman of Resolutions Committee; second row, Father John LaBauve, reporter for Mississippi; Austin T. Walden, reporter for Georgia, and the Rev. Benjamin F. Wyland, who reported for Florida; back row, the Rev. James D. Foy, pastor of Asbury Methodist Church, host to the Conference; the Rev. Ralph W. Stutzman, acting minister of All Souls Unitarian Church, Washington, who gave the invocation; W. Hale Thompson, reporter for Virginia; Charles G. Gomillion, reporter for Alabama; Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., who summarized the reports, and Francis A. Gregory, assistant superintendent of Washington schools, chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements for the Voting Conference.

James Nabrit Outlines Plan for Action

Dr. James M. Nabrit, Jr., secretary of Howard University, closed the Washington Conference on Voting Restrictions with a call for a "strong campaign to increase the registration of Negroes."

Summarizing the reports from the nine states, Dr. Nabrit said a need for three types of action was indicated:

1. Political action to enlist national party support of a strong and decisive report by the Civil Rights Commission.

2. A Southwide state-by-state campaign to get Negroes to register.

3. An educational campaign to instruct Negroes in the value of the vote, the use of the ballot, how to register, how to vote, and that voting is a federal right.

"The very existence of a vast number of registered Negroes may have an astonishing result," Nabrit said. "The Negro must be aroused until he seeks registration by the tens of thousands. It is much easier to deny registration to 1 or 10 than it is to 100 or 1000."

Capital Stirred

(Continued from Page 1)

of the delegation to continue to supply information to the Commission.

St. John Barrett, executive assistant to W. Wilson White, assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division, received the reports on behalf of the Justice Department. He said the material would help the Department in its efforts to enforce the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and other laws pertaining to voting rights.

Congressmen and Senators were urged to push for the immediate confirmation of Tiffany so the Civil Rights Commission could get something done before its life expires in September, 1959. They were also urged to put teeth into the Civil Rights Act.

Chairman of the Conference on Voting Restrictions was Bishop Edgar A. Love of the Baltimore area, Methodist Church. Those assembled voted special thanks to him and to the Committee on Local Arrangements, headed by Francis A. Gregory, assistant superintendent of Washington schools.

Realignment Seen

(Continued from Page 1)

is challenging the hypocrisy of American political party alignment and which, if it succeeds, can clear the ground of creeping fascism and totalitarianism which is inherent in the thinking of the power elite and their supporters, the conservatives and reactionaries of both parties."

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THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

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CARL & ANNE BRADEN ----------
---------- Field Secretaries

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana

MEMORANDUM

FROM REB GERSHON

Grace tells me that you wanted to see this -

It strikes me as very bad judgment - I can not see any possible good to be accomplished by such technique.

Needless to say I have not written nor gotten

any signatures.

PMG.

File SCEF

July 10, 1958

MEMORANDUM TO: Members of the Board of Directors and Advisory Committee

FROM: Jim Dombrowski

Open Letter

We would be glad to have your help in adding one or two more signatures of Negro leaders in your community to the enclosed "Open Letter to the U. S. House of Representatives".

For greater effectiveness, as you will note, the letter was drafted for the signatures of members of the Negro community.

Also, you will note that immediate action is indicated.

AN OPEN LETTER

TO THE U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

We are informed that the Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives is planning to hold hearings in Atlanta, Ga., at an early date.

As Southern Negroes, all deeply involved in the struggle to secure full and equal rights for our people, we are very much concerned by this developement.

We are acutely aware of the fact that there is at the present time a shocking amount of un-American activity in our Southern states. To cite only a few examples, there are the bombings of the homes, schools, and houses of worship of not only Negroes but also of our Jewish citizens; the terror against Negroes in Dawson, Ga.; the continued refusal of boards of registrars in many Southern communities to allow Negroes to register and vote; and the activities of White Citizens Councils encouraging open defiance of the United States Supreme Court.

However, there is nothing in the record of the House Committee on Un-American Activities to indicate that, if it comes South, it will investigate these things. On the contrary, all of its activities in recent years suggest that it is much more interested in harassing and labeling as "subversive" any citizen who is inclined to be liberal or an independent thinker.

For this reason, we are alarmed at the prospect of this committee coming South to follow the lead of Senator Eastland, as well as several state investigating committees, in trying to attach the "subversive" label to any liberal white Southerner who dares to raise his voice in support of our democratic ideals.

It was recently pointed out by four Negro leaders who met with President Eisenhower that one of our great needs in the South is to build lines of communication between Negro and white Southerners. Many people in the South are seeking to do this. But if white people who support integration are labeled "subversive" by congressional committees, terror is spread among our white citizens and it becomes increasingly difficult to find white people who are willing to support our efforts for full citizenship. Southerners, white and Negro, who strive today for full democracy must work at best against tremendous odds. They need the support of every agency of our Federal Government. It is unthinkable that they should instead be harassed by committees of the United States Congress.

We therefore urge you to use your influence to see that the House Committee on Un-American Activities stays out of the South - unless it can be persuaded to come to our region to help defend us against those subversives who oppose our Supreme Court, our Federal policy of civil rights for all, and our American ideals of equality and brotherhood.

Name_____ Address_____

Name_____ Address_____

Use other side, if necessary, for additional signatures

July 9, 1958

MEMORANDUM FROM: Dr. Herman H. Long, Nashville; Bishop Edgar A. Love, Baltimore; Mrs. Andrew W. Simkins, Columbia, S. C.; C. Herbert Marshall, Jr., M.D., Washington, D.C.; E. D. Nixon, Montgomery; Arthur D. Shores, Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham; Rev. S. P. Spottswood, Warren, Arkansas; Rev. C. K. Steele, Rev. David H. Brooks, Tallahassee; James A. Burns, Meridian, Miss.; Carter Wesley, Houston; James E. Gayle, Frederick Rhodes, M.D., New Orleans; Rev. Robert H. Wilson, Jacksonville; Dr. E. Franklin Frazier, Washington, D. C.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities has scheduled hearings in Atlanta on July 29th.

It is obvious from the record of this committee that these hearings will follow the pattern of Senator Eastland's hearings in the South by trying to label the integration movement as "communistic". The same thing has been done recently by state investigating committees in Florida and Louisiana. The general theme of all such investigations was stated recently by a member of the Louisiana Legislature when he said publicly that "integration is the Southern expression of communism".

Such red-baiting attacks are usually directed primarily at white integrationists in an effort to weaken us by creating a division between Negroes and liberal white Southerners. We therefore feel that it is urgent that there be at this time a strong statement from the Negro leadership in the South letting the nation know that we will not quietly tolerate this tactic of "divide and conquer".

Will you help by joining in signing an open letter to the U. S. House of Representatives, a proposed draft of which is enclosed. This letter will be coordinated by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, and will be circulated among a large list of Southern leaders. We hope you will return the letter, with your signature as soon as possible, as it is important that we move quickly in this matter. We will be glad to have you invite others to sign with you.

* * *

The House Un-American Activities Committee is "sordid, flagrantly unfair, and un-American".

--- Franklin D. Roosevelt

"Nothing is so un-American as the Committee's own activities".

--- American Civil Liberties Union

The Committee "abridges freedom of speech and inflicts punishment without trial".

--- Judge Henry W. Edgerton

Chairman Francis E. Walter and Richard Arens, the Committee's staff director, are guilty of "despicable, un-American tactics", ... of "attempting to intimidate, bully, and push citizens around".

--- Cyrus Easton, Multimillionaire utilities and railroad magnate.

T E L E G R A M

MONTGOMERY, ALA.
JULY 1, 1958

HON. EMMANUEL CELLER, MEMBER
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CELLER:

I NOTE YOU RECENTLY TESTIFIED BEFORE HOUSE JUDICIARY SUB-COMMITTEE RE: MOUNTING VIOLENCE AGAINST CERTAIN RACES IN THE SOUTH. I FULLY AGREE WITH YOU. WHAT MYSTIFIES ME,HOWEVER, IS THAT WHILE YOU AND REP. KEATING ARE WORKING TO THROW PROTECTION OF LOCAL, STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AROUND CERTAIN RACES AND THEIR RIGHTS, ARENS, COUNSEL OF HOUSE UN-AMERICAN COMMITTEE, ANNOUNCES "HEARINGS" IN ATLANTA FOR JULY 29. A PRESS NOTICE ANNOUNCING THE HEARINGS STATES " LEADING INTEGRATIONISTS WILL BE SUBPOENED". IT IS APPARENTLY THE OPEN AIM OF ARENS AND THE WALTERS COMMITTEE TO PUBLICLY PILLORY ANY WHITE PERSON, JEW OR GENTILE, WHO OPENLY FAVORS AND WORKS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE COURT'S MANDATES WITH RESPECT TO THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES. USING OF COURSE THE OLD WHEEZE OF FINDING SOME PAUL CROUCH OR ELIZABETH BENTLY WHO WILL PUT THE FINGER OF COMMUNISM ON THEM. INCIDENTALLY, SHERMAN ADAMS SHOULD ALSO BE INTERESTED IN WHAT ARENS IS DOING. HE IS GETTING SOME OF THAT SORT OF TREATMENT BY THIS MAN FOX. BUT THIS THING DOWN HERE MAKES SOME OF YOU FELLOWS LOOK RATHER FOOLISH. IN THE "HEARINGS" IN ATLANTA THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WILL CLEARLY BE USED TO HARASS AND DESTROY THOSE WHO ARE TRYING TO UPHOLD THE RIGHTS OF PEOPLE AS SET FORTH BY THE CONGRESS AND THE SUPREME COURT. THEY CAN'T PUT THEM IN PRISON ANY MORE, BUT THEY CAN GET THEM FIRED FROM ANY JOB THEY MAY HAVE AND THEREBY SERVE EFFECTIVE NOTICE ON ALL OTHERS THAT THIS IS WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO YOU IF YOU COME OUT IN THE OPEN AND SHOW YOUR HAND. I THINK YOU SHOULD BRING THIS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND FORCE A SHOW DOWN.

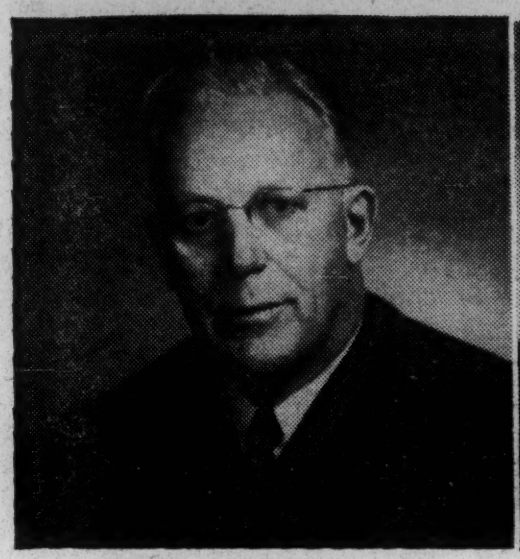
SIGNED,
AUBREY W. WILLIAMS

WHY

THE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE:

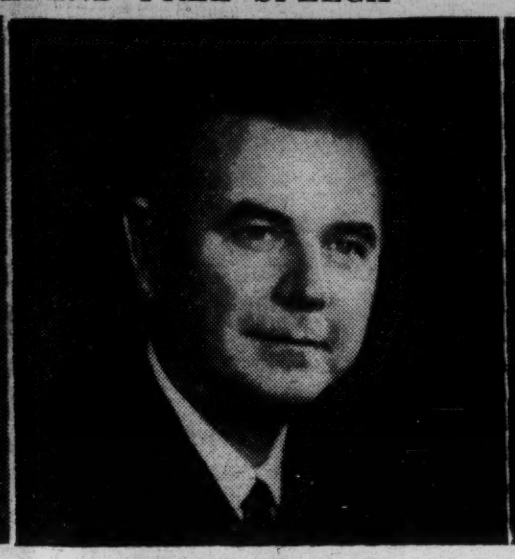
CONTEMPT CASES UPHELD 3 JOIN JUSTICE BLACK IN STIRRING DISSENT

THESE JUSTICES DEFEND FREE SPEECH

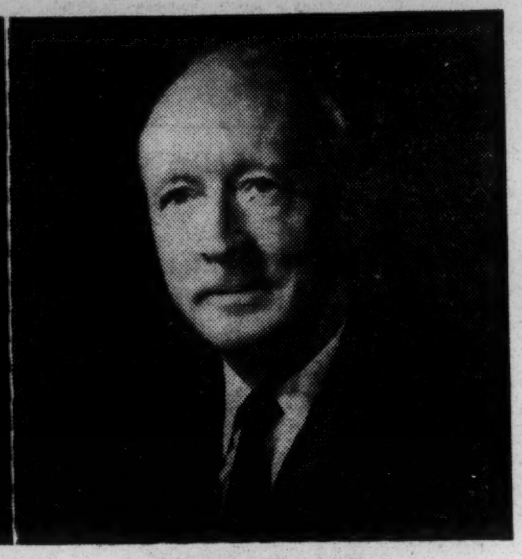


CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN

JUSTICE DOUGLAS



JUSTICE BRENNAN



JUSTICE BLACK

In the eyes of four Justices of the Supreme Court the issue was whether any person had the right to criticise or question the Un-American Activities Committee or actively favor integration.

Five Justices didn't think that was the issue.

As a result two men, Carl Braden and Frank Wilkinson will spend a year in jail for "contempt of Congress."

What did these two men do that their right of free speech as guaranteed by the First Amendment was judged neither a valid defense nor a right that they were entitled to?

What The Un-American Committee Called "Contempt"

Frank Wilkinson was born in Charlevoix, Michigan. Thereafter, at the age of 10 his family moved to Beverly Hills, California, where he lived until he was graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1936. Upon graduation he planned to become a minister, but decided to take a world tour before entering religious studies. In the course of this trip he saw American slums for the first time and upon returning to Los Angeles, abandoned his plan for religious studies and embarked instead on a career in public housing. During the next fourteen years, while he worked with the Los Angeles Citizens Housing Council and the Los Angeles City Housing Authority, Wilkinson became one of the nation's experts on slum clearance and public housing. He was abruptly removed from work in this field in 1952 when, in the course of a slum condemnation proceeding, he was asked to name all the organizations he had belonged to since 1935. When he refused to answer this question, he was dismissed from his position with the Los Angeles City Housing Authority.

In 1953 Wilkinson became executive secretary of the Citizen's Committee to preserve American Freedoms, a Los Angeles group organized in 1952 to seek abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Several years later, as a member of the staff of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, Wilkinson sparked a national campaign to abolish the un-American Committee, traveling around the country to every city where the House Un-American Activities Committee was scheduled to hold hearings in order to help those subpoenaed by the House Un-American Activities Committee understand their legal rights and to help them organize community support on their behalf. In the course of this work in 1958, the Southern Conference Educational Fund invited Wilkinson to come to Atlanta to help organize resistance to a proposed House Committee appearance there. He received a subpoena to appear before the Committee within an hour after he arrived in Atlanta.

Wilkinson was legally represented in this Constitutional challenge of the Un-American Activities Committee by the National Office of the American Civil Liberties Union. (Counsel: Rowland Watts & Nanette Dembitz).

Carl Braden, a Louisville, Kentucky newspaperman, and his wife Anne helped a Negro family buy a house in a segregated suburb of Louisville in 1954. Racists blew up the house with dynamite and narrowly missed killing several persons. Braden was accused of participating in a seditious plot to stir up racial strife and thus bring about a political revolution that would result in the overthrow of the governments of Kentucky and the U.S.A.

He was sentenced to 15 years in prison and served eight months. In 1956 Kentucky's highest court reversed his conviction after the U. S. Supreme Court nullified all state sedition laws. The story of this case is told in detail in "The Wall Between" by Anne Braden (Monthly Review Press, 1958).

Thereafter, Carl and Anne Braden went to work as field secretaries for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, a southwide interracial organization working to end segregation. They also serve as editors of The Southern Patriot, published by the SCEF.

The circumstances of Braden's subpoena before the House Un-American Activities Committee were described by Justice Black as follows:

"The petitioner in this case . . . has for some time been at odds with strong sentiment favoring racial segregation in his home state of Kentucky. A white man himself, the petitioner has nonetheless spoken out strongly against that sentiment. This activity, which once before resulted in his being charged with a serious crime, seems also to have been the primary reason for his being called before the Un-American Activities Committee. The reason the Committee questioned him appears from the record to have been the circulation of two letters, both in the nature of petitions to Congress, urging that certain legislative actions be taken, which, in the view of the signers of the petitions, would help those working against segregation."

Two of the nation's most noted Negro attorneys are among the five who contributed their services in carrying Braden's case to the Supreme Court. They are the Rt. Rev. C. Ewbank Tucker, Louisville, bishop of the 7th Episcopal District of the A.M.E. Zion Church and Conrad J. Lynn of New York City. The other lawyers are John M. Coe, Pensacola, Fla., and Leonard B. Boudin and Victor Rabinowitz of New York City.

Reprinted from NY TIMES.

High Court Backs House Red Panel In Contempt Cases

5-4 Rulings Broadly Upheld Investigating Power and Sustain 2 Convictions

BLACK IN SHARP DISSENT

Finds Freedom Imperiled by Decisions Jailing Critics of Congress Committee

By ANTHONY LEWIS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 27 — A bitterly divided Supreme Court upheld in broad terms today the investigating power of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

By votes of 5 to 4 the court affirmed the contempt convictions of two critics of the House group who refused to testify about possible Communist affiliations They were Frank Wilkinson of Los Angeles and Carl Braden of Louisville, Ky.

The dissenters charged that the court had opened the way for the House committee to intimidate its critics by investigating them. The majority said the mere fact that a man was a critic did not immunize him from inquiry if the committee had reason to think he had Communist affiliations.

Justice Hugo L. Black, in two passionate and despairing dissents, accused the majority of following "a constitutional doctrine that is steadily sacrificing individual control."

Finds Freedom Imperiled

"It is already past the time," Justice Black said, "when people who recognize and cherish the life-giving and life-preserving qualities of the freedoms protected by the Bill of Rights can afford to sit complacently by while those freedoms are be-

(Continued on Page 5)

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Clemency Petition for Carl Braden

DATE: May 5, 1961

SEE:
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Ltr. to Messrs Dabbs and Wright whose signatures appear on petition - Ltr. from LWD to both dated May 5, filed in Dabbs personal folder under Board.

April 22, 1961

The enclosed letter and petition are sent to you for your personal attention, in the hope that you will add your signature, but they are not for publication at this time. We request that there be no publicity on this matter at this moment. When the list of signatures to the petition is complete, a news release will be issued, and you will be sent a copy immediately.

The Hon. John F. Kennedy
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

PETITION FOR CLEMENCY

We, the undersigned, petition for clemency in the matter of the U.S.Supreme Court Court decision in the case of Carl Braden vs. the United States, which causes the one-year imprisonment of Carl Braden for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. Braden, a Southern integration worker, was subpoenaed to appear before the Committee in Atlanta, Ga., during 1958, and was questioned about his activities in the integration movement and his personal beliefs and associations. He took the position that the very asking of such questions by a governmental committee denies a citizen the freedom of speech and association guaranteed by the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, and he declined to answer the questions.

The Supreme Court voted 5-4 to uphold his conviction. In a dissenting opinion, Justice Hugo Black stated: "The petitioner has for some time been at odds with strong sentiment favoring racial segregation in his home state of Kentucky. A white man himself, the petitioner has nonetheless spoken out strongly against that sentiment. This activity....seems also to have been the primary reason for his being called before the Un-American Committee.... (This is) a decision which may well strip the Negro of the aid of many of the white people who have been willing to speak up in his behalf. If the Un-American Activities Committee is to have the power to interrogate everyone who is called a Communist, there is one thing certain beyond the peradventure of a doubt---no legislative committee, state or federal, will have trouble finding cause to subpoena all persons who take a stand for or against segregation..."

It is of some concern to us that Carl Braden has already spent eight months in prison in Kentucky for his stand for integration--- a case in which his conviction was reversed and for which he was never compensated by the State of Kentucky. However, our main concern in this matter is not the welfare of this one man but our fear that the entire cause of integration will suffer as a result of the precedent set in this case.

The House Un-American Activities Committee, Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee, and various Southern state committees modeled after them claim to look for subversive activity, but actually they seem to be used in the South to try to destroy people and organizations working for integration. Their principal targets are white people who stand against segregation, but they are beginning also to attack Negroes, as in the case of the Rev. Theodore Gibson of Florida, who was sentenced to six months in prison for contempt of the Florida Committee. The simple act of subpoena has become a method of intimidation.

We are witnessing today a revival of McCarthyism in the South, because all other weapons of the segregationists are failing. The success of the Un-American Activities Committee in jailing Carl Braden will create fear and thin the ranks of the white people who would join with the Negro in the struggle for a democratic South and may well serve as a springboard to a new wave of repression in the Southern states.

We therefore urge Presidential clemency on behalf of this man to reaffirm the position of the Federal Government supporting peaceful and orderly integration in the South.

_____
(Please sign here)

Please indicate how you wish to be identified:

_____

_____

584 Alfred Rd., N.W.
Atlanta 18, Ga.

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a copy of a petition for executive clemency in the case of Carl Braden. It will be presented to President Kennedy as soon as possible, if the U. S. Supreme Court denies Mr. Braden's petition for a rehearing, which is now pending.

As Southerners working for progress in our region, we are all concerned about the precedent being set in this case and its effect on the integration movement. All indications point to increased use by the segregationists of this kind of intimidation.

We urge you to join us as a signer of this petition.

Sincerely,

Ralph D. Abernathy
(The Rev.) Ralph D. Abernathy,
Montgomery, Ala.

Edgar A. Love
(Bishop) Edgar A. Love,
Baltimore, Md.

William B. Abbot
(The Rev.) William B. Abbot,
Norfolk, Va.

Dorcas Ruthenburg
Dorcas Ruthenburg,
Louisville, Ky.

Sarah Patton Boyle
Sarah Patton Boyle,
Charlottesville, Va.

Rev F. L. Shuttlesworth
(The Rev.) Fred L. Shuttlesworth,
Birmingham, Ala.

Carl P. Brannin
Carl P. Brannin,
Dallas, Texas

Rev. C. K. Steele Sr.
(The Rev.) C.K. Steele, Sr.,
Tallahassee, Fla.

J. M. Dabbs
James McBride Dabbs,
Mayesville, S.C.

Charles Ewbank Tucker
(Bishop) Charles Ewbank Tucker,
Louisville, Ky.

W. W. Finlator
(The Rev.) W.W. Finlator,
Raleigh, N.C.

W. Tee Walker
(The Rev.) Wyatt Tee Walker,
Atlanta, Ga.

Clarence Jordan
(The Rev.) Clarence Jordan,
Americus, Ga.

Aubrey W. Williams
Aubrey W. Williams,
Montgomery, Ala.

Martin Luther King Jr.
(The Rev.) Martin Luther King, Jr.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Marion A. Wright
Marion A. Wright,
Linville Falls, N.C.

James Morris Lawson, Jr.
(The Rev.) James Morris Lawson, Jr.
Shelbyville, Tenn.

bc: Miss Josephine Wilkins

April 10, 1962

Mr. Aubrey W. Williams, President
Southern Farmer, Inc.
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Dear Mr. Williams:

It was very kind of you to write to me recently. I suspect that holding the reins -- and the spurs -- of the Southern Regional Council was never, for any of my predecessors, a simple job. Certainly it is not now. I think I am very fortunate, however, to have the chance at this time.

Enclosed is a piece of mine which you might like to look at some time.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Annealing of the South)

Bc to U. Wilkins

SOUTHERN FARMER, INC.

MONTGOMERY 1, ALABAMA

AUBREY W. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

Montgomery, Ala
Feb. 12, 1962

Mr. Leslie W.Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Mrs Clifford Durr has passed on to me a letter you wrote Nat Welch.

I thank you for your kind remarks with regards to myself. I also wish to take this opportunity to thank you for your much appreciated letter of some time back regarding my health. I should have answered and thanked you sooner.

I think your leadership of the Council has made it into a very strong organization. I congratulate you. It enjoys a splendid reputation among a large and enfluencial number of Southerners. I am happy to witness your responsible employment of it for unequivocal ends.

With evry good wish,

Yours sincerely,

Aubrey W. Williams

Aubrey W.Williams.

"Our concern in this matter is . . . our fear that the entire cause of integration will suffer as a result of the precedent set in this case . . . ."

A Petition for Clemency

THE HON. JOHN F. KENNEDY
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

We, the undersigned, petition for clemency in the matter of the U. S. Supreme Court decision in the case of Carl Braden vs. the United States, which causes the one-year imprisonment of Carl Braden for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. Braden, a Southern integration worker, was subpoenaed to appear before the Committee in Atlanta, Georgia, during 1958, and was questioned about his activities in the integration movement and his personal beliefs and associations. He took the position that the very asking of such questions by a governmental committee denies a citizen the freedom of speech and association guaranteed by the First Amendment to the U. S. Constitution, and he declined to answer the questions.

The Supreme Court voted 5-4 to uphold his conviction. In a dissenting opinion, Justice Hugo Black stated: "The petitioner has for some time been at odds with strong sentiment favoring racial segregation in his home state of Kentucky. A white man himself, the petitioner has nonetheless spoken out strongly against that sentiment. This activity . . . . seems also to have been the primary reason for his being called before the Un-American Committee . . . . (This is) a decision which may well strip the Negro of the aid of many of the white people who have been willing to speak up in his behalf. If the Un-American Activities Committee is to have the power to interrogate everyone who is called a Communist, there is one thing certain beyond the peradventure of a doubt—no legislative committee, state or federal, will have trouble finding cause to subpoena all persons who take a stand for or against segregation . . ."

It is of some concern to us that Carl Braden has already spent eight months in prison in Kentucky for his stand for integration—a case in which the conviction was reversed and for which he was never compensated by the State of Kentucky. However, our main concern in this matter is not the welfare of this one man but our fear that the entire cause of integration will suffer as a result of the precedent set in this case.

The House Un-American Activities Committee, Senator Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee, and various Southern state committees modeled after them claim to look for subversive activity, but actually they seem to be used in the South to try to destroy people and organizations working for integration. Their principal targets are white people who stand against segregation, but they are beginning also to attack Negroes, as in the case of the Rev. Theodore Gibson of Florida, who was sentenced to six months in prison for contempt of the Florida Committee. The simple act of subpoena has become a method of intimidation.

We are witnessing today a revival of McCarthyism in the South, because all other weapons of the segregationists are failing. The success of the Un-American Activities Committee in jailing Carl Braden will create fear and thin the ranks of the white people who would join with the Negro in the struggle for a democratic South and may well serve as a springboard to a new wave of repression in the Southern states.

We therefore urge Presidential clemency on behalf of this man to reaffirm the position of the Federal Government supporting peaceful and orderly integration in the South.

Initiating Signers

THE REV. WILLIAM B. ABBOT, Norfolk, Va.
THE REV. RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Montgomery, Ala.
SARAH PATTON BOYLE, Charlottesville, Va.
CARL P. BRANNIN, Dallas, Tex.
JAMES McBRIDE DABBS, Mayesville, S. C.
THE REV. W. W. FINLATOR, Raleigh, N. C.
THE REV. CLARENCE JORDAN, Americus, Ga.
THE REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., Atlanta, Ga.
THE REV. JAMES M. LAWSON, JR., Shelbyville, Tenn.
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AUBREY W. WILLIAMS, Montgomery, Ala.
MARION A. WRIGHT, Linville Falls, N. C.

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THE REV. JOHN C. STOKES

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GEORGE DANGERFIELD, historian
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O. B. TAYLOR, M.D.

TEXAS:

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RONNIE DUGGER, journalist
VIVIEN FRANKLIN, secretary, Young Democrats, University of Texas
JOHN HADEN, editor
THE REV. H. RHETT JAMES
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DOROTHY MUNRO, ass't. professor
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JAMES STRIPLING, organizer, Hotel & Restaurant Workers
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MRS. SARAH T. OTTO, psychiatric social worker

VERMONT:

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WILLIAM JAY SMITH, state legis'tor
KENNETH WEBB
NORMAN R. WILLIAMS

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HUGH P. GREELEY, M.D.
WILLIAM G. RICE, professor of law
OSCAR RADEMACHER, attorney
EARL F. SCHUMACKER, attorney

WYOMING:

SYDNEY B. SPIEGEL

Additional Signatures

NAME	ADDRESS	CITY & STATE

Several different petitions asking freedom for Carl Braden are circulating throughout the country. You are invited to sign this one even if you have signed others, but do not sign this one twice.

Return to

Braden Clemency Appeal

584 Alfred Ave., N.W.

Atlanta 18, Ga.

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana

POLICY STATEMENT

(Adopted at a meeting of the Board of Directors, Atlanta, Ga., June 12, 1954)

The Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in the public schools has reunited legality and morality in the South. Racial discrimination and exclusion have lost their last vestige of respectability, and the double standard that harassed and thwarted implementation of basic ethical and religious teachings has disappeared.

The Board of Directors of the Southern Conference Educational Fund welcomes this bold reaffirmation of the historic American ideal. As Southerners, we urge our fellow citizens to recognize this opportunity to build for a regional future of unprecedented amity and prosperity.

For the past decade the Fund has devoted its efforts to the elimination of racial segregation and discrimination. It now offers this background of research and regional action to all Southerners who see that quick compliance with the court decision is feasible, just, and mutually advantageous to all citizens.

The task of securing integration in the public schools is no longer a legal problem. The problem now lies in the minds of private citizens and local officials. Parents, both white and Negro, must be convinced that the health of their children's minds and the hope of their becoming normal, mature persons, depends on the leveling of the barrier that blocks out half the world and blights their adult behavior.

School officials and administrators must be reminded that their oaths of office and their professional training prescribe their compliance with this new system—and they should be reassured that they will be the better public servants for doing so.

The SCEF believes that nearly every Southern community has persons with the courage and moral vision to challenge and to convince their fellows. The Fund pledges itself to seeking out and supporting these individuals.

A major premise underlying the Supreme Court decision was the assumption that education is not an end in itself. Democracy in the schools can only have meaning if there is democracy in the adult society outside. Therefore, the SCEF declares the following additional objectives to be part of the obligation America has to its children:

1. Final and complete establishment of a single standard of requirements for voting and jury service.
2. Integration of medical and hospital facilities, with access being determined on the basis of need.
3. Availability of housing on the basis of individual choice and ability to pay, without legal or extra-legal restrictions aimed at minority groups.
4. Integration of the congregations and institutions of those religious assemblies who accept the brotherhood of man under God.
5. Enactment of federal fair employment practices legislation.
6. Enactment of state fair educational practices legislation banning discrimination in all educational institutions, private as well as public.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund does not claim that its program is unique; contrariwise, it is convinced that its views have been inherent in every progressive step the South has taken. What distinction there may be lies in the SCEF's determination to achieve its goals expeditiously, and thus forestall further human suffering and waste.

Give Decency A Chance in the South . . .

We need to take some chances in behalf of decency.

We need to set up advance positions, and make a try at supporting them.

We need to believe a little more in the decency of the common man.

—AUBREY WILLIAMS

FOR MORE THAN
A DECADE,
THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
EDUCATIONAL FUND
HAS BEEN WORKING,
WITHOUT SURCEASE OR
COMPROMISE,
TOWARD A SINGLE GOAL:

The elimination of all forms of racial segregation in the Southern and border States.

WE WORK TOWARD THAT DAY

When second-class citizenship will be a thing of the past in the United States of America.

When racial segregation will no longer place its life-long blight on the bodies of Negroes and the spirit of white people.

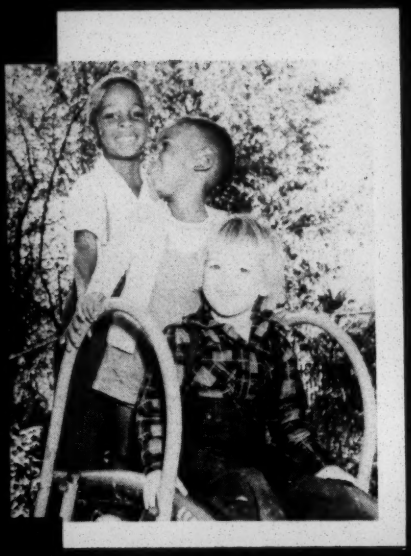
When Negro and white Southerners will build together, like the children on the cover of this booklet, toward greater opportunity for all.

THIS IS OUR PAST . . .

Prior to 1946, the Southern Conference Educational Fund operated as a part of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which was formed in 1938 to seek the way toward economic and social progress for the South. The SCHW turned its energies and its work toward many crucial problems facing the region. Operating as an independent agency since 1946, SCEF has applied itself to only one of these—the elimination of segregation; we believe that herein lies the key to every other problem the South faces.

Always our emphasis has been on interracial activity in pursuit of our goal. We firmly believe that segregation destroys the white people in the South as much as it does the Negroes, corrupting them in subtle ways. We have always been sure that there are many Southern white people who will help to conquer this evil if they can find the way. We have sought to find these people and to bring them together.

We have felt that the struggle for equal rights must not be carried on by the Negro people alone. Not only because it is morally wrong that they should have to bear the burden without help, but also because it is only through joint effort of Negro and white in this endeavor that we can lay the basis for a brotherly society in the future.



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AND THESE OUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Long before the Supreme Court decision of 1954, long before it was the law of the land, we worked for an ending of segregation in the schools, as well as in other areas of life.

Here are a few of the things we have done in the past decade:

- Underwrote a test case challenging the constitutionality of the Georgia county-unit voting system (1948).

- Distributed 125,000 copies of a graphic study of the effect of segregation in education (1947).

- Conducted a conference of prominent Southerners at the University of Virginia to draw up and adopt a Declaration of Civil Rights (1948).

- Served as coordinator for an amicus curiae brief in the Sweatt case, which broke segregation at the college graduate level (1949).

- Brought together educators and students from all over the South for a conference on Discrimination in Higher Education (1950).

- Conducted a series of studies into discrimination in the field of medicine and distributed 25,000 copies of a pamphlet on hospital discrimination, "The Untouchables" (1951-52).

- Conducted an interracial youth conference at Columbia, S. C., bringing together teachers and students from 48 southern colleges (1952).

- Launched a series of regional conferences on compliance with the Supreme Court school decision (1954-55).

- Presented a petition, signed by 2,600 citizens, to the Senate Subcommittee on Civil Rights urging hearings in Mississippi (1956).

- Published an advertisement in the *Washington Post-Times Herald*, opposing crippling amendments to the civil rights bill, sponsored and signed by 82 citizens from all of the 13 Southern States (1957).

- Contributed more than $2,000.00 to help the fight against bus segregation in Tallahassee, and contributed $1,000.00 to help with a registration campaign in Alabama (1957).

THIS IS OUR PRESENT

Today the SCEF has the support of people, white and Negro, in all of the 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia. The affairs of the organization are managed by a 65-member board of directors from this region. In addition, 107 prominent citizens from these states serve on an advisory committee and on a medical advisory committee.

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The Rev. Ben F. Wyland, Fla.
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" . . . . That the SCEF is comprised of citizens of the South actively engaged in the fight for freedom and equality of all people, strengthens our faith that the achievement of the highest ideals of democracy is on America's threshold."

CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Member of Congress

a policy statement saying morality and legality had been reunited in the South. We saw the coming period as one of the greatest opportunity, when we could work for our goals with the law of the land on our side.

In the interim since that decision, we have found that it is also a period of great difficulty. Not enough white Southerners have yet risen to the demands of history, and as a result we have seen a determined minority of rabid segregationists fasten new repressions on the South and create a new climate of fear.

But in the decency of most white southerners, we maintain our faith. The white South is grappling and groping and searching as it has never had to do before. Out of the turmoil, we firmly believe, will come our region's time of greatest achievement.

AND THESE OUR PLANS

To hasten the coming of that day, the SCEF is now in the process of expanding its program of activities.

We intend to increase our efforts to reach and bring together the Southern people who are groping for a way to meet the challenge of the times.

In the area of education, we will continue and expand our work of providing people with the facts they need in this time of searching.

In the area of action, we will continue and expand our efforts to break the silence where it now exists, to strengthen the voice of decency where it now speaks.

Specifically, we plan:

To organize interracial groups to work for civil rights legislation in every Southern and border state. These will work at both the national and state level—for positive civil rights legislation in the border states now, against pro-segregation legislation in the deep South at the present time. Eventually, we envision the day when we can work for positive civil rights legislation at the state level throughout the region.

To organize interracial support for the drive of the Negro people to increase their vote in the South and to assist them in breaking down voting restrictions.

To continue, as we have in the past, organizing community support for all moves against segregation, in the schools, hospitals, libraries, and elsewhere.

AND SCEF NEEDS YOU . . .

If it is to do the gigantic job that must be done, SCEF needs the help of many people.

If you live in the South, it needs your ideas, your suggestions, your time and your energy, your hands and your pen and your heart—whatever and as much as you are in a position to give; and it needs your financial contribution.

If you live in the North, it also needs your ideas and your suggestions, and your time and energy in letting others know about our program and seeking their support; and it needs your financial contribution.

Wherever you live, write to SCEF now. Send a contribution to help carry on this work, and tell us what else you may be able to do. Address all communications to:

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

822 PERDIDO STREET

NEW ORLEANS 12, LOUISIANA

(SCEF is financed by voluntary contributions from individuals and organizations. An annual audit of all accounts is made by Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Company, New Orleans.)

20

THIS WE BELIEVE

". . . HAVE WE NOT ALL ONE FATHER?"

—Malachi 2:10

". . . LOVE THY NEIGHBOR AS THYSELF."

—Leviticus 19:18

—Matthew 22:37-39

". . . ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL."

—Declaration of Independence

". . . SEPARATE FACILITIES ARE INHERENTLY UNEQUAL."

—U. S. Supreme Court

WE STILL believe all men are created equal . . . And that all are endowed with certain rights. We take these rights to include equality before the law and freedom from any discrimination bolstered by law; a right to vote; freedom of expression; unrestricted access to all institutions supported by taxes for the public welfare; equal pay for equal work and equal opportunity for training and employment; and the right of unsegregated transportation, housing and assembly.

For the past decade the Southern Conference Educational Fund has devoted its efforts to securing these rights for everyone—to the elimination of second-class citizenship. It now offers this background of research and regional action to all Southerners who believe that prompt compliance with the Supreme Court decision on segregation in public schools is feasible, just and advantageous to all of us.

WE'RE PROUD OF THESE

AMONG OUR RECENT

ACCOMPLISHMENTS . . .

**A conference* at the University of Virginia and the adoption at the home of Thomas Jefferson of a "Declaration of Civil Rights" signed by 200 Southerners. ➤

**A Southwide conference* at Columbia, S. C., on "Youth and Racial Unity Through Equality of Educational Opportunity," sponsored by 500 representative Southerners, white and colored, including professors from 150 Southern colleges and universities. ➤

**Opinion polls* on racial attitudes of 15 thousand college teachers 24 hundred hospital administrators, and 42.5 thousand doctors in 17 Southern and border states.

the untouchables

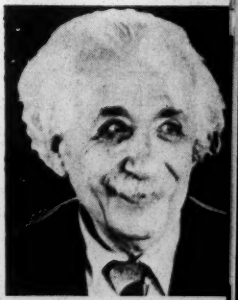
**Publication of* 25 thousand copies of a pamphlet, "The Untouchables, The Meaning of Segregation in Hospitals," written by Alfred Maund, with illustrations contributed by the noted artist, Ben Shahn.

. . . Such organizations as the SCEF will really bring about the change all of us hope for, not only in the South but throughout our country.

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

. . . Every right-minded person will be grateful to you for having united to fight this evil that so grievously injures the dignity and repute of our country . . . Your fight is not easy, but in the end, you will succeed.

ALBERT EINSTEIN



. . . I have a deep and abiding faith and interest in all that the Fund is doing and hopes to do.

MRS. MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE

. . . In helping to eliminate segregation the SCEF is making an indispensable contribution to the cause of freedom and peace.

MADAME VIJAHA LAKSHMI PANDIT

. . . It stands for equal rights and equal opportunities for all American citizens.

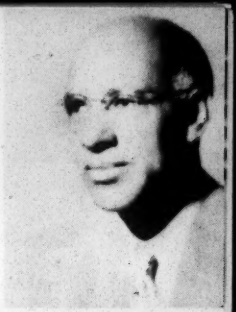
JOHN WESLEY DOBBS

. . . Careful ascertainment of the facts, penetrating interpretation of what the facts mean, control of all procedures by a highly intelligent grasp of how social change is effected combine to make the SCEF truly "educational." As an educator, I naturally like to support a program so well conceived and executed.

DR. ALBERT E. BARNETT

. . . No organization in America today is doing a more effective work in bettering human relations, than the SCEF.

BISHOP EDGAR A. LOVE



. . . Few organizations have proved themselves a more constructive friend to the South and hence to all America than has the SCEF.

DR. ESTHER LUCILE BROWN

. . . I applaud the commitment of your organization to the great principle of human dignity for all men which stems from the Judeo-Christian ethic of the brotherhood of man,—the negation of racism, communism and fascism.

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CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.
Member of Congress

. . . The American Way is the way which opens equal opportunities to all Americans in every field of life. Let us all help point the way.

BORIS SHISHKIN

. . . The SCEF challenges the best that is in southern leadership, in the interest of the best that the South itself can be, in lifting the burden of racial segregation from the mind and spirit of its people.

DR. HERMAN H. LONG

. . . The SCEF angers nobody except those who are angered by injustice.

IRVING BRANT

. . . It is trying to bring about peace, justice, and good will among all persons in the South, regardless of race, creed or color.

ROBERT A. CHILDERS

THIS COUNTRY will not be a good place for any of us to live in unless we make it a good place for all of us to live in. Our cause is the cause of justice for all in the interest of all.

These beliefs are translated into action by the SCEF's Board of Directors, all living in the Southern and border states and the District of Columbia. The Board includes 22 college and university professors (including 6 presidents and deans); 6 editors and writers; 4 business men and women; 2 labor officials; 7 ministers; 4 lawyers; 5 doctors and dentists, and 2 YMCA secretaries.

The Fund is financed by voluntary individual contributions from about 3,000 persons. An annual audit of all accounts is made by Peat, Marwick, Mitchell & Company.

If you would like to take part in this movement for truth and decency, address your contribution to

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822 Perdido Street, New Orleans, Louisiana

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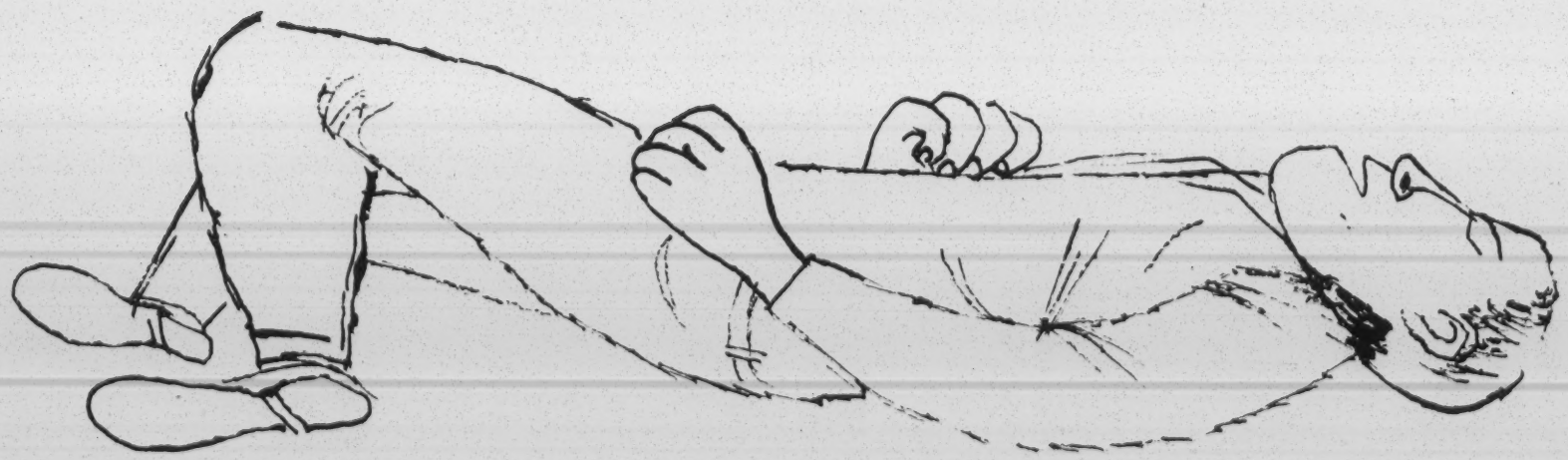
Arthur Wright, Louisiana

Mrs. Fred Zengel, Louisiana

the untouchables

THE MEANING OF SEGREGATION IN HOSPITALS

Until men learn to love one another as brothers, pain, with its disregard for race and color, remains the strongest bond between man and man. Suffering is not competitive. Epidemic and accident ignore social station. Yet precedent and present policy in many medical institutions



treat the Negro, so long a second-class citizen, as if his bodily afflictions were also secondary.

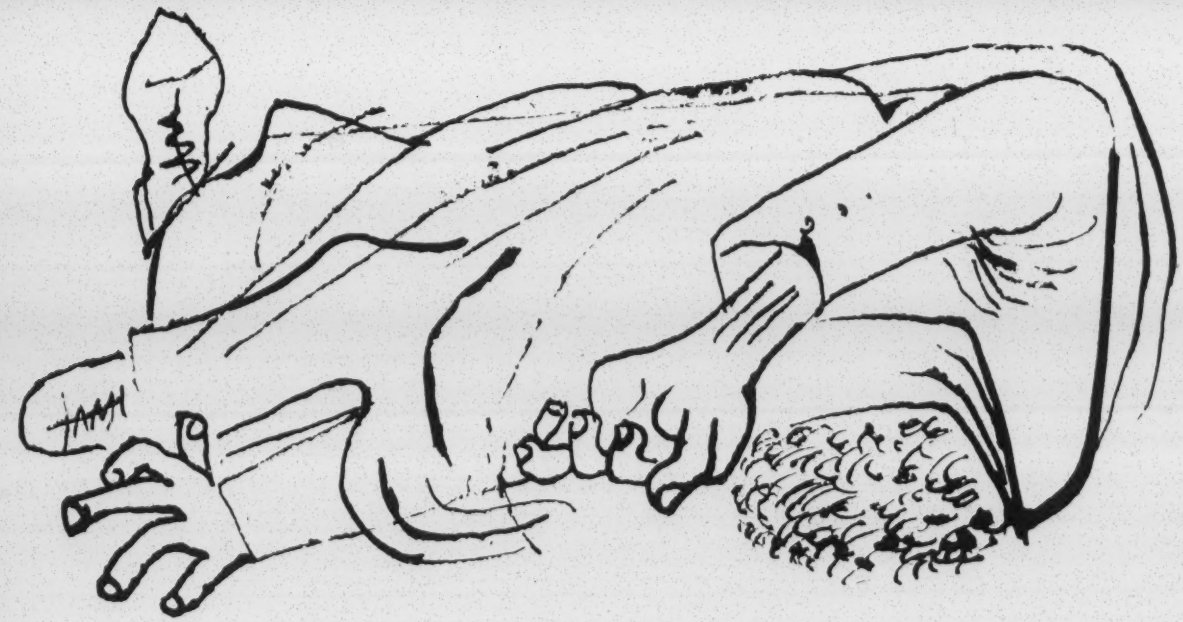
The Southern Conference Educational Fund recently polled the 2414 medical institutions listed in the American Hospital Directory for 18 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia. From 711 replies —a 29 per cent return—it was learned that 584 (82 per cent) admit Negroes as patients and that 33,451 beds (32 per cent) of a total of 102,969 beds are available to them.

While the amount of bed space seemingly follows census figures for the region, more than two-thirds of this space is fixed by quota, with no allowance made for degree of need or special contingencies. By virtue of seg-

regation practices then, the Negro, whose generally depressed economic status tends to increase his need for hospitalization, is often turned back by an inflexible, arbitrary barrier.

The hospital administrators were also asked what racial policy they considered best suited for the health needs of their communities. Approximately 62 per cent favored the admission of Negroes on a segregated basis; 10 per cent favored the maintenance of separate hospitals for whites and Negroes. But how does this approved order of things work out in practice?

The administrative machinery of a segregated or "lily-white" hospital is always taxed by emergency cases. A prospective patient, lying bleeding and unconscious on a stretcher, cannot be crisply told to go to an institu-



tion that serves "his own people." Yet, in essence, that has been done, is being done, and will be done—even though the rejected one dies as a result. Such brutality derives unthinkingly from the premise to which a Jim Crow hospital is dedicated. If routine medical and surgery cases are to be treated only on the basis of a person's skin color, the healing hand suffers

atrophy and is fumbling at a time of undiscriminating crisis.

Consider this log of accidents and emergencies, extending over a period of 20 years, which ended in inexcusable suffering and tragedy.

1/ In the fall of 1930, George S. Moore, Jr., son of a noted physician, was motoring from Nashville to Tuskegee to attend the Fisk-Tuskegee football game. Then, according to W. Dickerson Donnelly—now alumni secretary at Fisk—who was in the car, the following events took place:

About 2 1/2 miles out of Huntsville, Alabama, the automobile in which six of us were riding overturned and all escaped serious injury except Moore who was found to have a broken back.

Moore was carried to Huntsville for treatment, but on arriving in Huntsville,

we were told there were no hospital facilities available for Negroes and the best thing to do would be to take him to Athens, Alabama, approximately ten miles away, for treatment.

When we inquired about ambulance facilities, there were none in which Negroes could ride. But with a great deal of persuasion and seeing the condition of Moore, we were able to get the white people to let us use a hearse to make the journey.

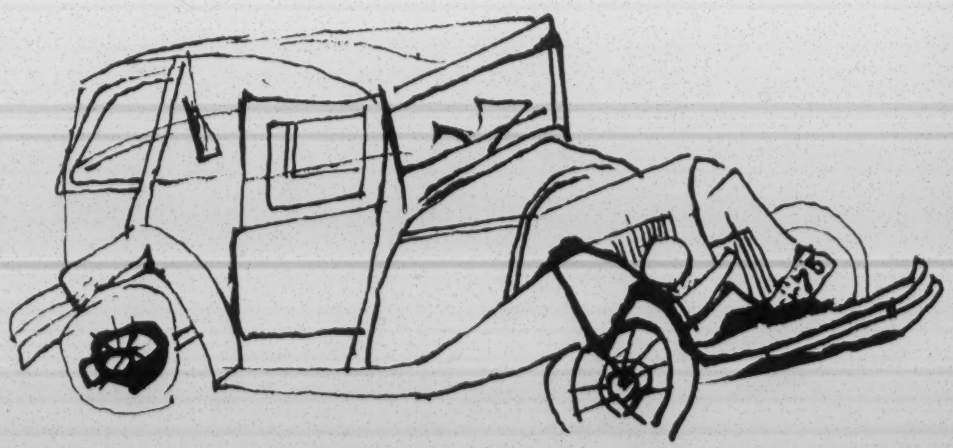
During the ride . . . Moore contracted pneumonia and with other complications died before Dr. Moore, Sr., his father, could reach him.

Dr. Moore grieved over the condition, I am told, because the ailment which afflicted his son was one that he had been most successful in curing during that time.

2/ On the afternoon of November 6, 1931, Miss Juliette Derricotte, a nationally known dean at Fisk University, and three students became involved in an auto accident on the outskirts of Dalton, Georgia. Miss Derricotte and Miss Nina Johnson, a Fisk senior, were critically injured.

Three white physicians administered first aid treatment in their homes, then took the women to a "house where Negroes are sent in emergencies."

Completely unconsidered was the modern, publicly supported Hamilton Memorial Hospital at Dalton. When asked if any effort



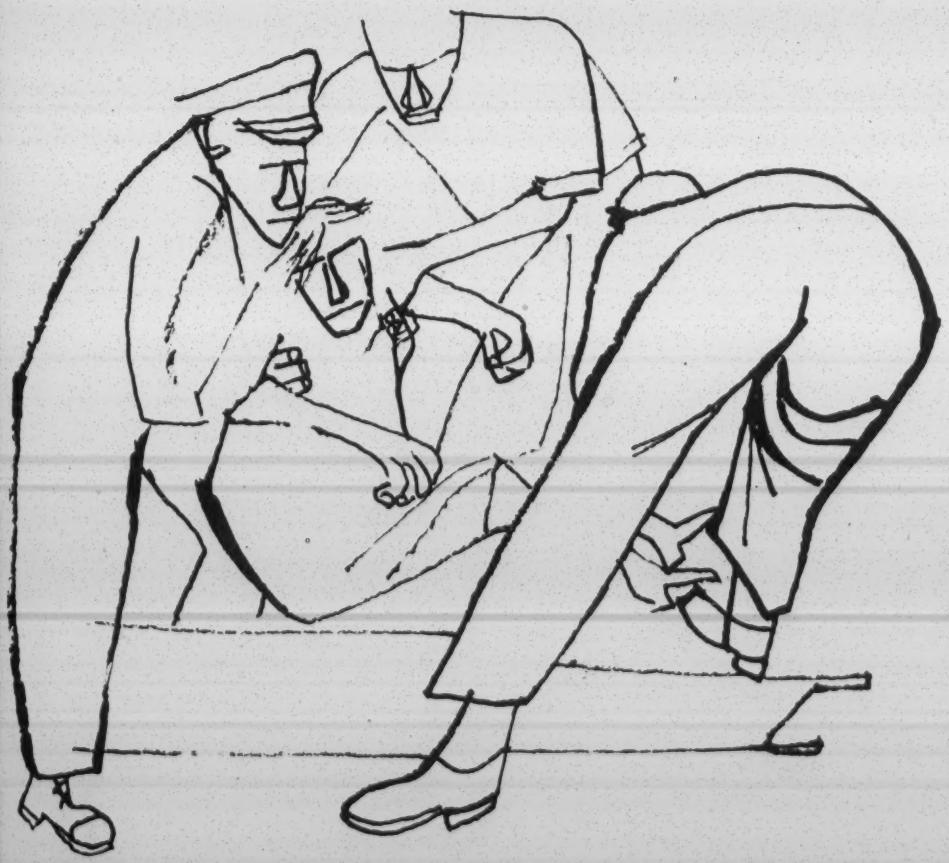
had been made to gain admission at that institution, one of the white doctors replied in surprise, "Oh, no, ma'am. You see, we don't have any wards for them there."

Subsequently, although the injured women were clearly in a grave condition, an ambulance had to be summoned from Chattanooga, 66 miles away, to take them to a hospital there.

Miss Johnson died that night; Miss Derricotte the next day. (Source: The Crisis, March, 1932.)

3/ In March, 1932, a 17-year-old Negro girl, with a bullet wound in her head, was denied admission to two hospitals in Washington, D. C.: Sibley Hospital and Homeopathic Hospital.

Finally she was taken to Freedman's Hospital, but was dead on arrival. (Sources: Washington Tribune, March 4, 1932: Negro World, New York, March 19, 1932.)



Thirteen years later Sibley Hospital, a church-supported institution, was the scene of another unseemly episode. A Negro woman, in labor, was denied admission to the emergency ward. As a result, her child was delivered on the cold windswept sidewalk outside.

The hospital staff did supply a sheet to cover the mother and child until the municipal ambulance arrived to take them off. (Source: Survey Graphic, January, 1947.)

4/ In March, 1937, the wife of W. C. Handy, "Father of the Blues", was taken to Knickerbocker Hospital in New York City, suffering from a cerebral hemorrhage. Her admission was delayed, however, while the following phone conversation took place between a hospital business office representative and Mrs. Handy's physician, Dr. Farrow R. Allen:

"Doctor, you did not tell us that the patient was colored."

"Color has nothing whatsoever to do with it. I gave the diagnosis and symptoms over the telephone and that was all that was necessary.

"We do not accept colored patients in our private wards, and since you did not tell me that she was colored, you misrepresented the case."

"I do not think you are capable of thinking and I hope you would not put a person at the point of death out into the street."

After Mrs. Handy had been left alone in the ambulance for nearly an hour, the hospital finally accepted her. She died a short time later. (Source: Amsterdam News, March 20, 1935.)

5/ On April 25, 1947, the Clark College track team was traveling to Nashville for a meet. At Pelham, Tennessee, one of the two cars in which they were riding was struck by a truck and completely demolished. Two students were seriously injured.

An ambulance took the pair to Manchester, Tennessee, about 14 miles away, where they were denied admission to the city hospital on the ground that the hospital was full. They were carried back through Pelham to the hospital at the University of the South, a distance of 30 miles.

Here, because "the hospital was full . . . the Negro wards were occupied—there being but one bed in the maternity ward vacant in the hospital," they received only first aid.

Finally, in Fayetteville, some 50 miles from the scene of the accident, space was found for them in a Negro hospital. And, nearly four hours after the accident, they received adequate medical attention for the first time.

One of the boys died an hour after reaching the Fayetteville institution. The second remained unconscious for two weeks, but recovered. (Source: Report of President Brawley of Clark College, December 18, 1947.)

6/ In December of 1949, a Puerto Rican-born author, Eric Hercules, was struck down by an auto in Chicago. An ambulance took him to Woodlawn

Hospital, where, an hour and forty-five minutes later, he was transferred to the Cook County Hospital. Three hours later he was dead of a fractured skull.

The supervisor at Woodlawn was quoted as offering this reason for refusing Hercules admission: "I don't think we had a bedroom at the time. We could have set up a bed in the hall-

way, but did not want to assume the responsibility for the man." Woodlawn generally only accepts Negroes as out-patients. (Source: The Chicago Defender, December 17, 1949.)

7/ On August 27, 1950, three victims of an auto accident were denied beds in Breckinridge County Hospital, Hardinsburg, Kentucky, because the establishment had "no facilities for colored people." They were left lying on the floor of the emergency room for three hours. Their wounds were untended and the only medication given them was morphine.

One of the men died on the floor—and, ironically, his family later received a bill for "services rendered." The others were removed to Louisville General Hospital where they eventually recovered—one sustaining permanent

partial paralysis as the result of a broken back. (Source: Interracial Hospital Movement, Louisville, Kentucky.)

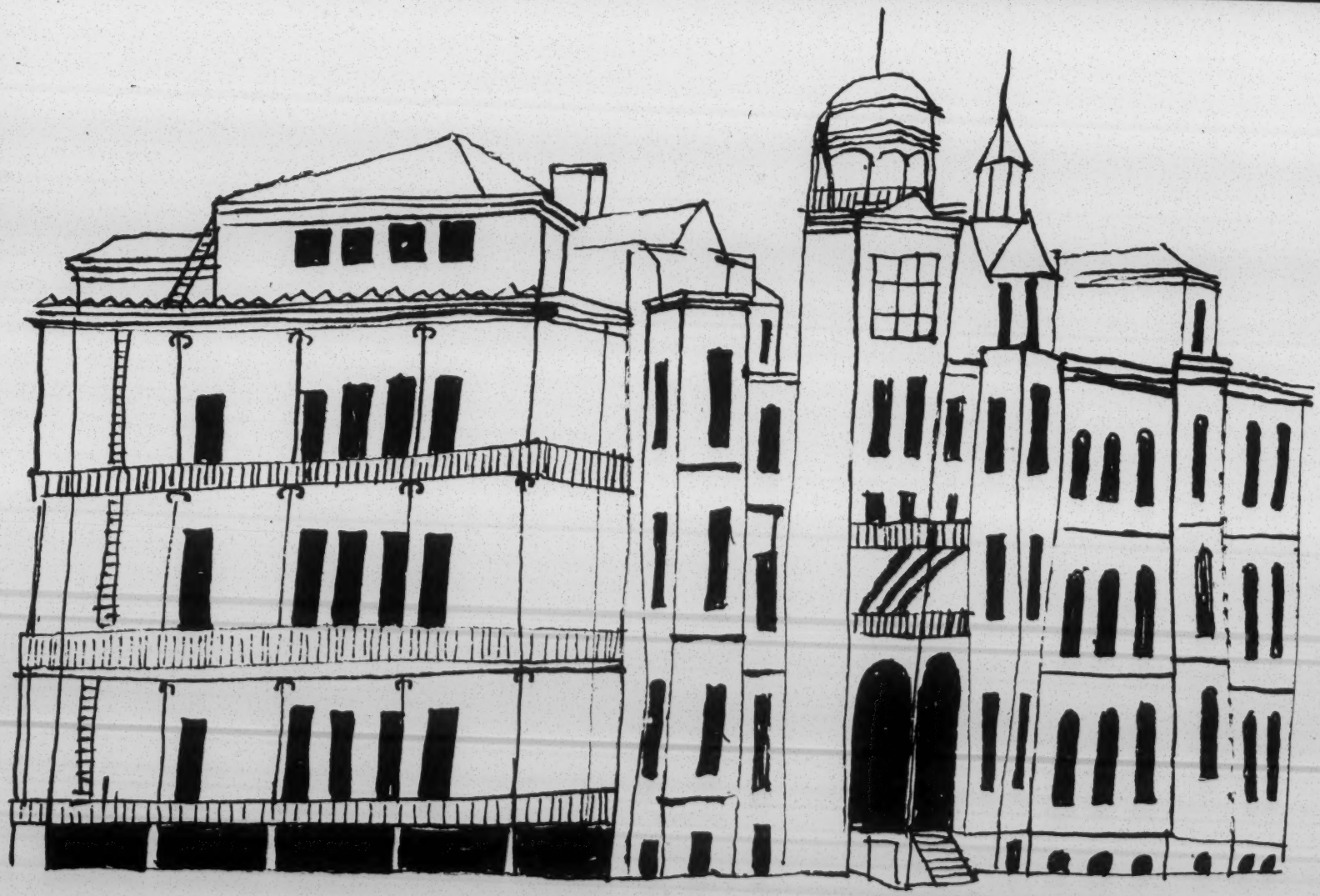
8/ On December 6, 1950, Matthew Avery, a 24-year-old World War II veteran attending North Carolina A. & T. College, was critically injured in an automobile accident near Mebane, North Carolina. He was brought to Alamance General Hospital, where it was learned he had sustained fractures of the skull, cheekbone, jaw, leg, and arm.

But every one of Alamance's five Negro beds was full so he was shunted on to Duke Hospital at Durham. Here, according to the account of the superintendent, "our regular facilities were filled" (i.e., the Negro ward was filled) and the question whether Avery would stand the best

chance "from treatment in our emergency room or by transfer to Lincoln Hospital" (a Negro institution) was debated.

The latter course of action was decided upon and Avery was sent to Lincoln where he died an hour after admission. Despite Duke's apparent solicitude, the ambulance driver's request that someone phone ahead to Lincoln went unheeded. Attaches there reported no such call had been received and they had been unable to make any preparations for the patient's arrival. (Sources: Afro-American, December 16, 1950; Carolina Times, December 9, 1950; North Carolina A. & T. Register, January, 1951.)

9/ In February, 1951, an 18-year-old boy, suffering from sugar diabetes, died after being refused admission to the Akron (O.) City Hospital. When



the lad, Robert Hudson, a star high school basketball player, became seriously ill, his physician tried to place him in one of the city's three hospitals. But the best he could do was to get him on the "waiting list" where he remained for 27 hours. When Hudson lapsed into a coma about midnight, his mother called an ambulance, took him to City Hospital and sought a room without success. Hudson died in the emergency room five hours later.

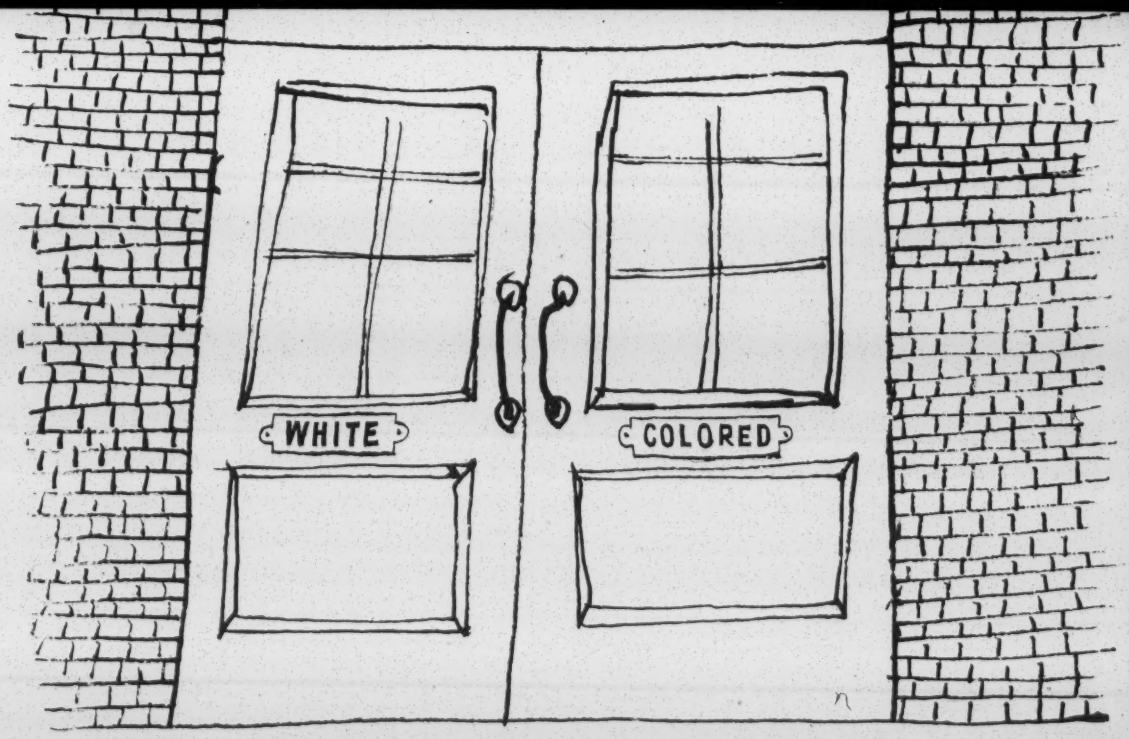
The hospital could not provide a bed because they claimed they were "all filled up." What was meant was that all the Negro beds were filled. While the wards were not segregated, it was the hospital's policy not to "mix" its semi-private rooms, their being occupied on either an all-white or an all-Negro basis.

While Hudson lay dying, there was an empty bed—but it was in a room occupied by a white man. (Sources: Cleveland Beacon-Journal, February 16, 1951, et passim; Cleveland Call-Post, February 24, 1951.)

10/ On March 6, 1951, Mrs. Emma Dangerfield, critically ill, was brought to Jefferson-Hillman Hospital in Birmingham, Alabama. Her Negro doctor, not allowed to practice there, had made arrangements with a white doctor to meet her. Both physicians understood there was a bed available. Her husband brought money for admission fees—and the patient had insurance.

But, "then began a series of tragic happenings," to quote the Birmingham News of March 25.

"The husband was informed that he must make a cash deposit of $100 before his wife could be admitted. He had $50 in cash with him, but was told he must produce $50 more. He called his employer, explained the situation. The concern informed the hospital that it would stand good for the second $50 and that a check for that amount would be delivered to the hospital the next morning.



"Nevertheless the patient was refused admittance. It was the understanding of her doctors, of her husband and of her friend that she was refused because her husband could not produce $100 in cash at the moment."

After lying in the stretcher for over two hours, the patient "was put back in the ambulance and taken home. Her husband was told to bring her back to the hospital the next morning when he was to have $100 in cash.

"The patient was never returned to the hospital. She died at approximately 8 o'clock the same night . . . little more than an hour after being returned to her home."

The News interviewed the hospital administrator.

He "made the point that Jefferson-Hillman already had unpaid accounts on

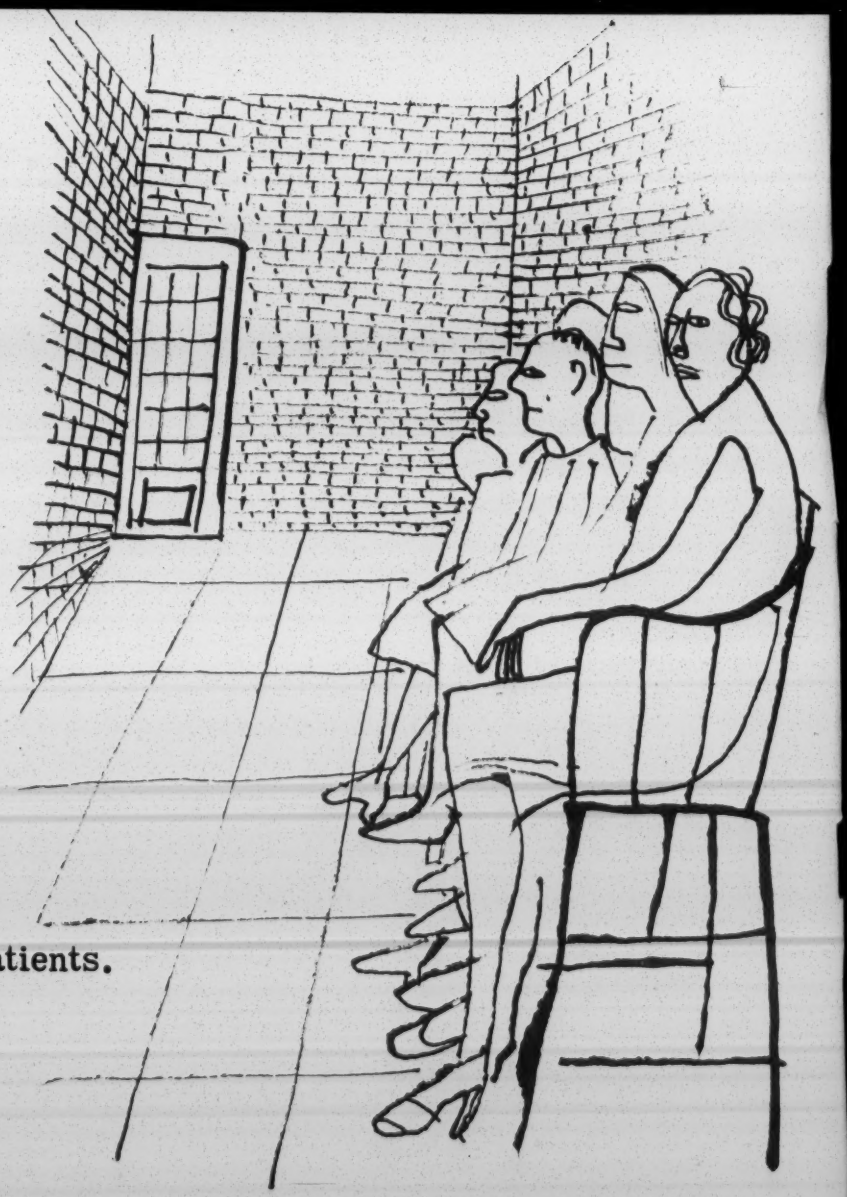
its books of more than $300,000 and it does not wish that sum to be enlarged if it can help it."

He denied that there was a bed available for Mrs. Dangerfield. "There is, he says, a limit to all things . . . There are approximately 175 beds for Negroes . . . Of that number 27 are for private pay patients. On . . . the day in question, (he) indicates there were 47 private Negro patients in the space normally taken by 27."

The News reporter apparently did not think to ask if there were any beds available in the white wards "on the day in question."

11/ In October, 1951, Mrs. Sinia Donaldson of Memphis, Tennessee, was sent home by John Gaston Hospital after a doctor there had informed her

she was "in the early stages of labor." She didn't even have time to reach her bed. On the front porch of her home she gave birth to twins, one of which died of strangulation by umbilical cord. It was three hours before help arrived from the hospital. This was the bitter fruit of a policy by the city-owned institution which decrees that Negro maternity cases be only treated as out-patients.



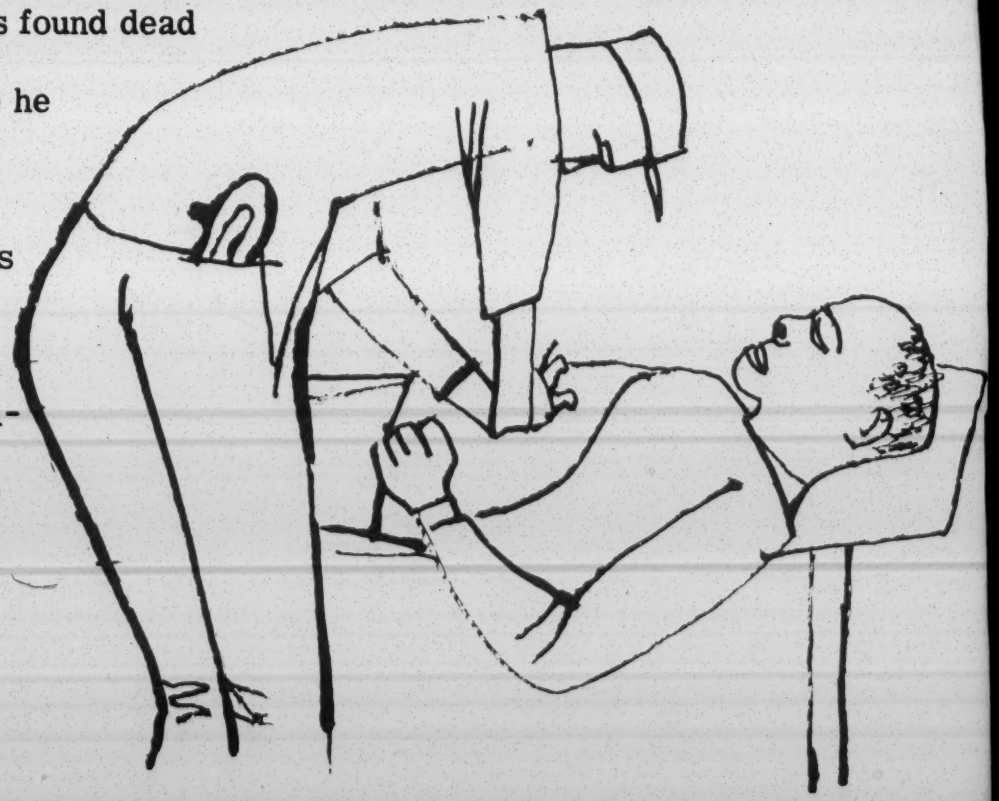
Indeed, Lawrence Dean, the hospital administrator, was anything but contrite about the incident. "She disregarded previous instructions by coming to the hospital," he declared. "She had been told that her baby would be delivered at home and that when the time came she was to call for a home delivery team at the hospital . . . There is no indication of medical negligence." (Sources: Memphis Commercial-Appeal, October 9, 1951; Associated Negro Press.)

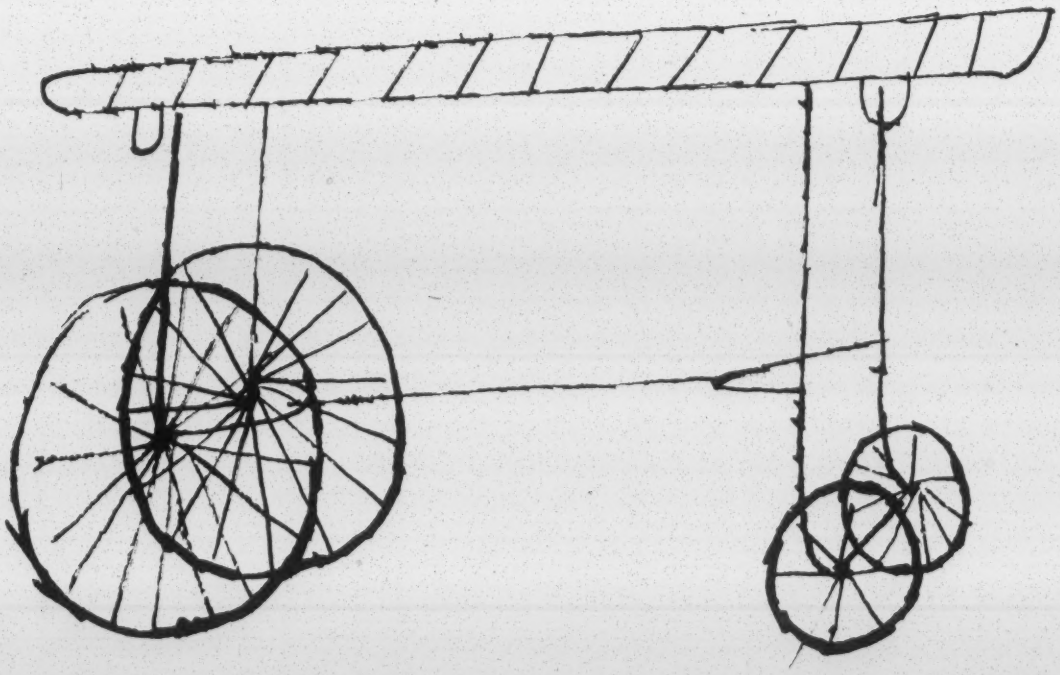
12/ On November 10, 1951, Robert Dorsey Smith was struck down by an automobile in Galveston, Texas. He was taken to John Sealy Hospital, a unit of the School of Medicine of the University of Texas.

After examination and treatment Smith was discharged, although he was

unable "to get fully dressed" when he left—his shoes and wallet were later found in the hospital. The police started to drive him home but half-way there they let him off with about nine blocks to walk.

Early the next morning he was found dead in an alley not far from where he had got out of the police car—his face swollen, large bruises on his legs and back, naked except for his trousers. "Accidental death due to skull fracture, multiple fractures of

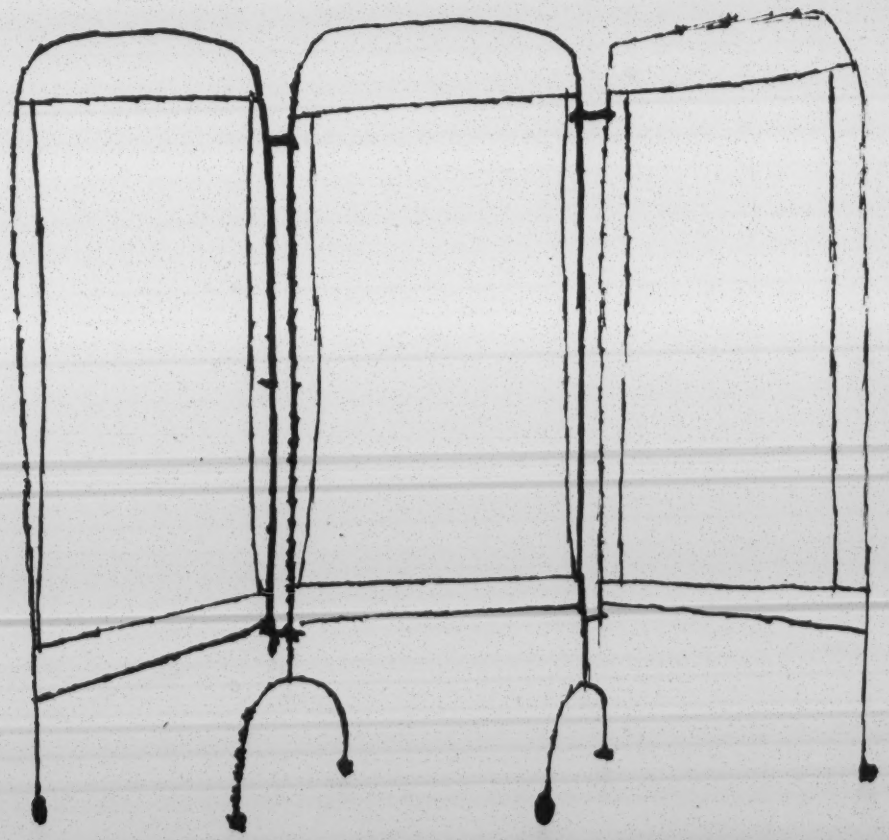




the pelvis, and internal injuries," read the autopsy report.

The medical student and intern at Sealy had previously diagnosed a

"small minor hip injury and intoxication." The police declared that the arrangement of Smith's clothes and the nature of his injuries precluded the



possibility that he had been assaulted on the way home. Robert Dorsey Smith was a Negro. (Source: The Nation, February 16, 1952.)

These twelve cases, ranging over two decades and touching almost every sector of the country where there is a large Negro population, represents only a sampling. Others, many others, lie veiled behind the tight lips of evasive officials and fearful witnesses.

These cases show that racial segregation, in any degree, presents a rigid calculus terribly inappropriate for an institution responsible to the unforeseeable demands of human misfortune.

They show, by their extension to the present, that the atrocities of Jim Crow provoke no spontaneous, repentant remedies.

But will these conditions prevail unto eternity?

In Wilmington, Delaware, a group of conscientious citizens, of all faiths and walks of life, decided they had had enough.

They formed the Delaware Fellowship Commission. And from this membership they chose a Citizens Committee on Hospitals. This committee studied all available surveys of Delaware health facilities. They sought out witnesses and made personal inquiries. Then they drew up a list of the most glaring racial inequalities.

The list was sent to 300 civic, service, church and fraternal organizations and their support was solicited in the fight to abolish these bad practices. The boards of directors of the various hospitals were visited.

So far, one hospital has appointed Negro physicians to its courtesy staff for the first time and the labeling of lavatories and equipment as "Colored" or "White" has been discontinued. A beginning has been made. The citizens are still pressing for their other objectives.

In Kentucky, the brutal incident at Breckinridge County Hospital related above led to the formation of the Interracial Hospital Movement, and a petition containing more than 10,000 names was submitted to the governor of Kentucky demanding that steps be taken to provide hospital facilities for all citizens, regardless of race.

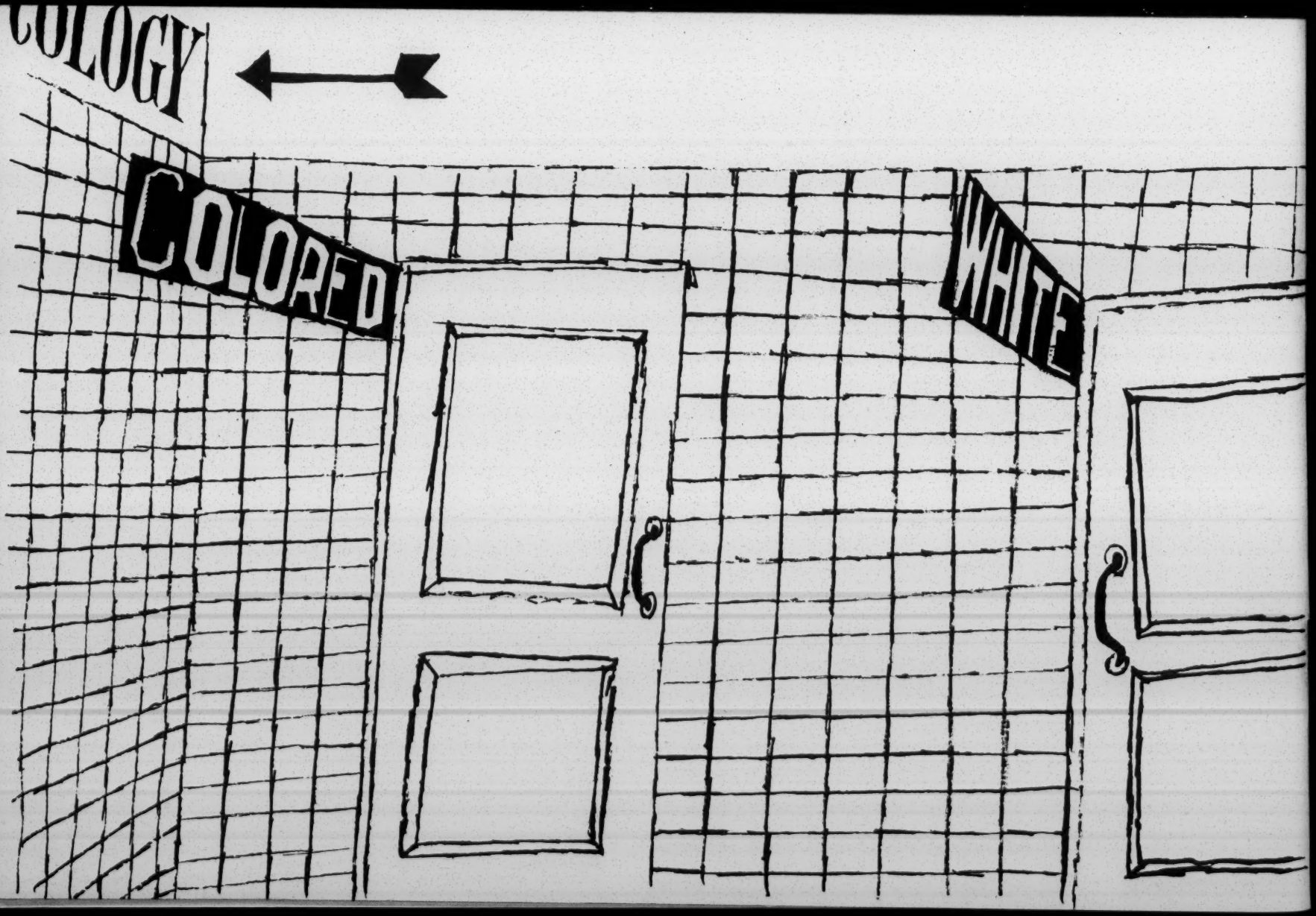
And last February, the Kentucky State Senate passed, by unanimous vote, a bill forbidding all licensed medical institutions to deny care

to any person on the basis of color or creed.

In at least six cities similar citizen movements combatting Jim Crow medical care are under way.

Such local action will, if persevered in, undoubtedly prevail. For the opposition, however entrenched, has no moral or legal standing. Hospital facilities are in increasing short supply the nation over, and the only humane and democratic way to meet the situation is to share what there is according to need and not on the basis of racial fiat.

THE UNTOUCHABLES, written by ALFRED MAUND, designed and illustrated by BEN SHAHN, lithographed by CRAFTON GRAPHIC COMPANY, Inc., has been published by the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC., 822 Perdido Street, New Orleans 12, Louisiana


COLOGY
COLORED
WHITE

Fil - SCEF

How legislative inquisitions stifle integration and social progress

"My beliefs and my associations are none of the business of this committee."

Make file: "Scientific Resources, Incorporated"

September 29, 1967

Mr. Irving Goldaber
Director of Programs
Scientific Resources, Inc.
1191 Morris Avenue
Union, New Jersey 07083

Dear Irving:

Please forgive me this delay in answering your letter, but to be of any value we have had to think about it considerably here and to talk to a few other people. We even gave a little consideration to making an exception to our policy in having SRC as recipient of the federal money. But, we have now determined that the principle is too valid from our point of view to make an exception, even for such a good program as this.

One thing that occurs to me -- both the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Congress have strong interests in this field, and both would be appropriate sponsors of such a program. What do you think of approaching them with this idea? Certainly, any program that was developed, while we could not formally be a sponsor or recipient of the funds, we

could be a cooperating agency -- without financial remuneration -- and would be happy to do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

SRI

SCIENTIFIC RESOURCES
INCORPORATED

1191 MORRIS AVENUE
UNION, NEW JERSEY 07083
TEL. 201-687-2100

August 29, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Herewith the letter you requested in your conversation with Marjorie Cohen. First, though, I want to add my thanks for the extraordinary help the SRC was to us in our recent foray to the South. We were delighted with the caliber of the groups set up for our meeting and realize that it would have taken months of work on our part to achieve results even approaching those we were handed on a platter.

Most important was having John Boone with us. He is an outstanding person and I can't exaggerate his helpfulness.

Now to the matter at hand. The SRI Executive Committee heard my report on our southern trip and the opinion of the group is that the piece-meal approach to police-community training in the South will be costly and less productive than would a regional approach. If we should get the green light from a couple of cities, there would be problems. We would first have to prepare the applications for federal assistance. Then, if that were successful, send the staff to survey the needs and follow them with trainers and programmers. Because we are a business concern, the staff time and travel expenses would necessarily come from the total project, to the detriment of the training program itself.

If, on the other hand, we could apply for grants for 10 or 20 cities at the same time, the staff time for preparing the application for grant would be greatly diminished. Equally, would be our ability to arrange for staff members to travel from one city to the other in the South with far less travel

expenses and time involved. In short, we feel we could provide far more training at far less cost with a regional plan. We feel, too, that the authorities in Washington would look favorably upon a plan involving a number of southern cities.

Marjorie told me the reasons that SRC is not able to sponsor such a program. The validity of your reasoning cannot, of course, be questioned. If, however, you and John Boone can come up with any alternatives, we would be eager to discuss it with you. We feel that the expertise and the reputation of SRC are essential to the building of a successful program.

Please let me hear from you soon and maybe together we can formulate feasible plans. Thanks for your help. It was good to see you and I hope for many such opportunities.

Sincerely,

SCIENTIFIC RESOURCES INCORPORATED

Irving Goldaber, Ph.D.
Director of Programs

IG/kmc

THE Seabury Press

TELEPHONE TOwnsend 9-7400

HAVEMEYER PLACE • GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT

September 30, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We are sending you separately a copy of BIGGER THAN LITTLE ROCK by Robert R. Brown, Bishop of Arkansas -- a book we believe to be an important contribution to the dialogue now taking place on the South's problems.

Mrs. Alexander generously referred your name to us as one who would be vitally interested in this book. We shall be very happy to receive any comments you may wish to make after your reading.

Cordially yours,

A. R. Buckley

Arthur R. Buckley
Associate Editor

ARB:es

September 18, 1958

Mr. Arthur R. Buckley
Associate Editor
The Seabury Press
Havemeyer Place
Greenwich, Connecticut

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Mrs. Alexander has asked me to reply to your letter of the 15th. We are indeed anxious to see Bishop Brown's book and will do whatever we can to see that it is called to the attention of the appropriate persons.

For SRC you might send a copy to the following persons:

James M. Dabbs
(SRC President)
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, S. C.

Marion A. Wright
(SRC Vice-President)
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N. C.

Dr. Rufus E. Clement
President
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

John Constable, Dir.
of Information and
Editor, NEW SOUTH
Southern Regional Council

Ralph McGill, Editor
The Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

There are a number of other persons, whom you may or may not have on your mailing list, who might profitably receive a copy of the book. These are mainly persons in the social action departments of the major denominations active in Southern race relations. A list of such persons is attached.

If we can be of additional help, please let us know.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (List)

L I S T

Nathaniel Griswold
Executive Director
Arkansas Council on Human
Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dr. A. C. Miller
The Christian Life
Commission of the
Southern Baptist
Convention
161 Eighth Avenue, N.
Nashville, Tennessee

Tartt Bell
American Friends Service
Committee
P. O. Box 1307
High Point, N. C.

A. Dudley Ward
Board of Social and
Economic Relations
The Methodist Church
740 Rush Street
Chicago 11, Illinois

H. Ben Sissel
Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian
Education of the
Presbyterian Church, USA
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Will D. Campbell
National Council of Churches of Christ
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Rev. Cornelius C. Tarplee
National Council of the Protestant
Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Mr. John R. Marion
Presbyterian Church in U.S.A.
1409 Chowan Road
Richmond, Virginia

Herman Long
Congregational Christian Churches
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Miss Thelma Stevens
Woman's Division of Christian
Service
The Methodist Church
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York

Rev. Colbert S. Cartwright
Pulaski Heights Christian Church
Hillcrest and Spruce
Little Rock, Arkansas

THE Seabury Press

TELEPHONE TOWNSEND 9-7400

HAVEMEYER PLACE · GREENWICH, CONNECTICUT

September 15, 1958

Miss Ruth H. Alexander, Secretary
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Miss Alexander:

The Seabury Press is publishing on October 7 BIGGER THAN LITTLE ROCK by Robert R. Brown, Bishop of Arkansas, who has played an important role in developing the Church's Ministry of Reconciliation in Little Rock. This is an important study which will be of great interest to everyone, but we think perhaps of special interest to some of your officers and members. Therefore, if you would be so kind as to send us some half dozen names of officers and members to whom this study will be of special interest, the Press will be happy to send them gratis copies. We should also appreciate having the address of Mr. James McBride Dabbs who, I believe, is one of your officers.

Thanking you for your cooperation in this,

Respectfully yours,

A. R. Buckley

Arthur R. Buckley
Associate Editor

ARB:es

Dabbs
Fleming
MAW
Constable
Clement
McGill

Ashmore
Cartwright
Coriswold
Campbell
Tarplee
Soc action

February 29, 1960

Mr. Robert Alan Seigel
685 North Crescent Avenue
Cincinnati 29, Illinois

Dear Mr. Seigel:

Since Mr. Routh is no longer with the Council, I am responding to your letter of the 17th.

Enclosed is an article prepared by SRC on the resistance groups of the South.

I think you would find it interesting to write directly to the Citizens' Councils for further information.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf

P. S. The address of the Citizens' Council is:
1014 Plaza Building, Jackson, Mississippi.

PA

685 North Crescent Ave.
Cincinnati 29, Ohio
February 17, 1960

Mr. Frederick Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

I am in needs of some information and have no idea from where I may receive it. Perhaps you will be able to help me.

I am writing a paper on the Citizens Council and would like to have all the information I can obtain. It would be greatly appreciated if you could help me with this and perhaps suggest where I might be able to obtain additional information.

Any information you could supply me with would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Robert Alan Seigel

Robert Alan Seigel

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

March 1, 1960

MEMO TO J.CONSTABLE

At HCF's request Mr. Jacob Seidenberg, 1511 Cavalier Corridor, Falls Church, Va. should be placed on your "all purpose" list. He is already receiving N.S.

March 1, 1960

Mr. Jacob Seidenberg
1511 Cavalier Corridor
Falls Church, Virginia

Dear Mr. Seidenberg:

We will be happy to see that you receive our press releases and other reports.

Any time we can be of assistance to you in your new work, let me know.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Seidenberg
1511 Cavalier Corridor
Falls Church, Va.

February 22, 1960

Mr Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
68 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3. Ga

Dear Mr Fleming:

You may learned that I recently resigned as Executive Director of the President's Committee on Government Contracts to enter the field of private consultant in area of race relations.

I would appreciate receiving your press release. I already receive "The New South"

Thank you.

Jacob Seidenberg

January 20, 1961

Mr. R. H. L. Sexton
444 West Chestnut Avenue
Chestnut Hill
Philadelphia 18, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Sexton:

We are happy to send you, under separate cover, some of our material which may help meet the needs of your exchange student.

There are, of course, many books on American race relations that might be read with profit. The bibliographical materials in our separate mailing give you some idea of the range of reading material available, depending on how thorough a study the visiting student might care to make. Among the best are those by Ashmore, Dabbs, William Peters, James Stokely, and an older but still valuable one by W. J. Cash. The titles and publishers of these are given in the material we are sending.

If we can be of any further help to you in this matter, you have only to let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Hodding Carter

R. H. L. SEXTON
444 WEST CHESTNUT AVENUE
CHESTNUT HILL
PHILADELPHIA 18, PENNA.

17th January 1961

Mr Harold Fleming, Director,
The Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr Fleming:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Mr Hodding Carter who tells me that you will be able to help me by recommending suitable books, pamphlets or other material for the purpose which follows. I have at present living with me a french foreign exchange student and in the course of inevitable questions and answers about our life in these United States the racial problems of the negro has come up. I am most anxious to give him an unbiased description of the background and also the current status of this national problem of ours, and it was with this in mind that I wrote Mr Carter knowing that he could and would advise me how to proceed. His first piece of advice was to write you and ask for your suggestions of suitable reading material. Also he asked me to ask you for "the more pertinent pamphlets which the Council itself has published". If you will be kind enough to let me know the cost of these pamphlets I will send the suitable sum to cover the price and the postage.

I find it remarkably difficult to give what I think is a clear and balanced description of the negro situation to a foreigner, and as I have just written Mr Carter, I suspect that I will learn more than my visiting french boy before we finish this particular bit of research!

Should this letter reach you at a time when other and more important matters are pressing please do not hesitate to delay answering it until you are relatively free of pressure for the student will be staying with me for several months to come. For what help you do give me in suggested reading for him (and myself) I shall be most grateful as well as for your time and trouble.

Sincerely yours,

R. H. L. Sexton

R. H. L. Sexton

Encl: HCF's Reporter Article"The Price of a Cup of Coffee"
May 1960

February 24, 1961

Miss Margaret Seidl
17 Roosevelt Drive
Valhalla, New York

Dear Miss Seidl:

The question you pose is a very timely and significant one.

I am sending you separately several pieces of our material which deal with the sit-in protest. I refer you particularly to the report entitled, "The Student Protest Movement, Winter 1960." The view of the sit-ins expressed in that document coincide with my own personal views. I have had various occasions to speak to this question in articles or before audiences. I am enclosing a copy of an article reported in The Reporter magazine which you may find of interest.

To state briefly here what is said in greater length in this material, the sit-in demonstrations have had great value in dramatizing for both Negroes and whites, North and South, the growing impatience with injustice and segregation among Negro Americans, particularly younger Negroes. Of course, this value derives largely from the orderly non-violent quality of the protest movement.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Margaret Seidl
17 Roosevelt Drive
Valhalla, New York
February 20, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

As a senior attending White Plains High School, I am presently engaged in writing a problem-solving research paper. Your opinion on the question "Is there a value for the sit-in demonstrations which have occurred recently in the South?" would be of extreme interest to both myself and my fellow classmates. I believe that your comments on this subject are necessary for the completion of my paper, and I am therefore anxious to receive your reply. Any information which the Southern Regional Council has printed concerning this subject would also be appreciated.

Sincerely,

Margaret Seidl

March 8, 1961

Miss Joan Seaver
Joel O'Brian Productions
225 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Seaver:

As to suggestions for a person for the position that the South is moving quite fast enough in the matter of school desegregation, the best candidate seems to be Everett Tucker, a member of the Little Rock, Arkansas, School Board. I think he would fit most of your requirements.

Another less likely candidate would be Albertis Harrison, present Attorney General of the State of Virginia, probably the next Governor of that state. Another suggestion of a person from Virgin ia has been a Richmond attorney, Carlton Denny, Jr. From the enclosed clipping you can determine Denny's position. It sounds, however, as if Denny is opposed to any speed.

Don't say that I sent you. Best Wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
~~Administrative Assistant~~
EXEC ASST

PMA/sm
Enc.

March 21, 1961

Miss Joan Seaver
Joel O'Brian Productions
225 East 46th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Seaver:

I am enclosing, as you requested, biographical data for Mr. Fleming. I am not able, at the moment, to send you a glossy print since our supply is exhausted. However, I will do my best to see that Mr. Fleming takes care of this matter and if this is done in time for your purpose, I will send one along to you.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Director

MF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

January 9, 1969

Mr. William Seaborn
1703 Taylor Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20011

Dear Bill:

Enclosed is a summary of information which one of our researchers has taken from the morgue of the Atlanta newspapers.

I hope it will be of help.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

MARION A. WRIGHT, LINVILLE FALLS
PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, HOUSTON
VICE-PRESIDENT
GORDON B. HANCOCK, RICHMOND
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALFRED MYNDERS, CHATTANOOGA
VICE-PRESIDENT
ALBERT W. DENT, NEW ORLEANS
VICE-PRESIDENT
GEORGE S. MITCHELL
EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR
KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER
HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION
MRS. M. E. TILLY
IN CHARGE OF WOMEN'S WORK

Not sent

Segr. in '61

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

January 9, 1953

Southern Passenger Association
Terminal Station Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.

Gentlemen;

Our Council noted the November action of the Supreme Court in refusing to upset a lower court decision that railroads may no longer forbid Negroes to travel in the same cars with white people.

I write to urge that Railroad Companies in the Southern States speedily come over to acceptance of this doctrine and cease to make distinctions among passengers on the basis of race.

Those Companies which have offered no barrier to unsegregated seating have, in my observation, met with general acceptance of their practice.

The present devices, too frequently in use, under which Negroes are segregated, wholly or partly, cannot be in accordance with the spirit of the Supreme Court's various rulings, and we hope that the Companies will now abandon these practices.

Sincerely,
George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

transportation

January 20, 1953

Rev. George E. Clary
631 Victory Dr.
Savannah, Ga.

Dear Mr. Clary:

We duly wrote a letter, copy enclosed, to the Southern Passenger Association. Before I mailed it, I took a trip over to their office and inquired about a bit as to whether they were an appropriate body to act upon it. They turned out to be railway clerks without any policy authority, limited to the carrying out of stated arrangements as to reduced fares for military personnel and clergymen. They denied having any knowledge of, jurisdiction over, or particular interest in matters of segregation in passenger transport. They also said that, so far as they knew, no inter-railway organization was in existence with policy authority in that field, and agreed that the only way to get at that would be to write individually to the presidents of all of the various railways serving Southern territory.

So when I came back, I did not mail the letter.

We have thought of an alternative proposal. We will be reviewing in this year's issues of NEW SOUTH various fields of progress and controversy in the South. One of these is transportation. We thought perhaps we could write out to all the Board members of the Council and to other informed individuals and ask them to give us an account of their own observations of the status of segregation on railways and buses in their own area. Then we could fit that together in a round-up article on the present situation in both forms of transportation. We think we could do that in a spring issue. That seems more promising than a letter to all the various railway presidents. What do you advise in the matter?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

Segr. — 161

February 18, 1953

Mr. Herman H. Long
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fist University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Dear Herman:

Many thanks for the SEGREGATION IN INTERSTATE RAILWAY COACH TRAVEL. It's a useful job and is going to do a lot of good. It came opportunely for us, because we were wondering how in the world we could collect the facts on which to base insistent notice to the South that the era of segregation in coach travel is over.

With your permission, we would like to use your study as the basis of an early issue of NEW SOUTH. Accepting your findings, we would like to cast our effort mainly on the history of legal development. We would lay out the regulation of the ICC and show the Mitchell Case and the Morgan Case and the Henderson Case and lastly the Chance Case, as successfully blocking off different areas. We would try to make it simple, so that a railway trainman could get it.

I went recently to talk with the office here in Atlanta which for various Southern carriers regulates clergy tickets and military fares, and hoping that they had something to do with regulation in seating. The minor official in charge, when I told him about the Chance Case, said, "Is that so? I thought they were still going on 'separate but equal.'" It seems to me the next job is to make it clear to guys like him that the old doctrine is no longer valid. I think we could get some help on getting our issue distributed to members, or at least to locals, of the Order of Railway Conductors and perhaps to the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Meanwhile, it seems to me your study in full ought to be sent to two officers of each of our State organizations. That would be 26 people. We ought to have a small reserve supply. Could you send me for pay thirty copies?

Is it all right also if we make generous use of your study in an early NEW SOUTH article?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

copies

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

February 12, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 16
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am enclosing a copy of the findings of our study "Segregation in Interstate Railway Coach Travel." I hope that in some way the study can be made useful to your own program in the larger civil rights field. I consider this to be the most opportune area for immediate modification of segregation practices. As you know, Senator Humphrey has proposed legislation in the Senate which will penalize the railroads for continued segregation of Negro passengers; and Representative Adam C. Powell is introducing a bill in the lower house. Judge Soper's decision in the William Chance case, which the Supreme Court refused to review in November, clearly ruled that segregation regulations effected by trains were an unconstitutional burden upon interstate commerce. The issue of the state segregation laws had already been disposed of by Irene Morgan case.

With best of wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman H. Long

Herman H. Long

Enclosure
HHL:ma

February 24, 1953

Mr. Herman H. Long
Race Relations Department
American Missionary Association
Fisk University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Herman:

I like greatly your plans about Segregation in Interstate Coach Travel. Do save and send us the thirty copies, and we will find the money to pay for them.

I expect we will go ahead and make use of it in NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

Segr. - 61

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES

FISK UNIVERSITY OFFICE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

February 21, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 24
NASHVILLE
Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 -- 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I very much appreciate your recent letter reacting to our study SEGREGATION IN INTERSTATE RAILWAY COACH TRAVEL. I am glad that you have found it useful and that you are going to make direct use of it in Atlanta and through your state organizations.

I regret very much that we do not have copies on hand that we could send to you now. We only had a limited number, about 200, and the supply already has been exhausted. We did this small number because we were primarily aiming at the Interstate Commerce Commission, the special committes in the House and Senate, and other members of Congress. As you know, there are two bills in process -- one introduced by Senator Humphrey and the other by Representative Powell. I do not expect too much from the legislative approach but Senator Humphrey believes that the findings we have may serve as an additional point of persuasion. I have sugested to him that, if possible, he use his office as a basis of effecting a direct conference with the Interstate Commerce Commission, involving some of the railroads and representatives from such organizations as ours, and the general public, as a means of discussing exactly what kind of orders the Commission can put into effect that would lead toward elimination of segregation practices. Our thinking was that if the President himself, or certain responsible members of the Republican Party could be interested in this approach, it would provide an opportunity of getting something done through direct administrative channels. I believe that this really is an opportunity for the President, inasmuch as he has made certain rather general promises about civil rights and as yet does not appear to be certain at what points he will be able to do anything effective. I will let you know of developments in this direction, and hope that in some way it will be possible for you to participate if such a conference matures.

Because of the rather immediate demand which has come from other quarters for copies of the study, we are having 500 additional copies reproduced by offset process. The printer here will probably have these copies ready for us in the next two weeks. However, since we have

had to get these extra copies, I am afraid that we will have to place a charge upon them. I will reserve 30 copies for you and send them as soon as they are off the press. I know at the present time how much we will charge for these, but I will reduce the cost in your case to the bare price of the cost of reproduction. You are rendering us a valuable service in this way and we certainly appreciate it.

Please feel free to use any of the findings of the study in any way that you find valuable, whether it be in the NEW SOUTH or in reproduction of any sections in which you may be interested.

With appreciation and best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Herman

Herman H. Long

rw - 161

April 14, 1953

Miss Louise R. McKinney
Stillman College
Tuscaloose, Ala.

Dear Miss McKinney:

I do appreciate your letter of April 10, and my warmest sympathies go out to you for the distress and heavinessof heart caused you.

It so happens that the next issue of our little magazine NEW SOUTH, which will be out now in lessthan two weeks, has a lead article on just this general subject. We took Herman Long's report (copy of which I send you separately) and made it the basis of a general discussion of the problem. I think we will probably send copies of our article to all the railroads in the South and will try to get it distributed to minor railway officials if we can.

The Council has no way of getting at these matters except through building public opinion. We are not equipped to make the various incidents into legal cases. We do, however, know that Mr. Robert Carter of the NAACP, at 20 West 40th Street, New York 18, was recently in Birmingham at a meeting which touched on this general subject, and said he would like to be informed of cases suitable for prosecution. You may care to send him the accounts of incidents that you sent to me.

Our general experience has been that such an article as we will be doing in the March-April NEW SOUTH brings wide attention and discussion in the South. I can't promise that it will get prompt action, but we have reason to believe that it will do a good deal of good. I will be at pains to send you some copies of it when it comes out.

Meanwhile, if there is some further step you would like us to take, let me know.

With the warmest wishes,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

RECEIVED
APR 13
Southern Regional Council

April 10, 1953

Mr. George Mitchell
Executive Secretary
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

This letter has to do with segregation on the railroads, and does not need your personal attention if there is a committee working on this.

I am writing for suggestions of action to be taken in the case of subtle or indirect violations of the inter-state travel decisions as regards segregation of passengers. The situation itself is bad; doing nothing about it is unbearable. A personal letter to the railroad gets a polite, evasive answer; protest on the spot is not effective as you will see from the enclosed accounts of incidents.

I took a roomette on the L.and N. from Birmingham to the meeting of student personnel workers in Chicago last week. This meeting was important to me in my comparatively new work and I needed to be rested and emotionally fit when I arrived. I could give up something and "afford" a roomette whenever I travel in the South - this is the most comfortable way out for a Negro, but I don't like evading issues. (Although as a person I love travelling in comparative luxury on a train.)

Coming back, I took the Illinois Central Seminole, a non-reserve seat through train. I ran into the trick which I am sure the Council is aware of. (When boarding a very long train one does need help since not all the cars go to the same destination.)

One thing I should like to be able to do, or to know that someone else is doing it, is to get in touch with the porters' union (if there is one separate from the Brotherhood of Sleeping-car Porters) and urge them to embolden the Negro porters to be men and refuse to be used. They could say their piece as ordered and then add, "But <u>this</u> car is going to _____ too." Or in some way circumvent the subterfuge of the railroad.

I am including also an incident which illustrates the subterfuges used on reserve-seat trains. Please advise me.

Sincerely yours,

Louise R. McKinney

Louise R. McKinney
Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

A CAREFULLY-WORKED OUT PLAN TO AVOID REFUSAL BY NEGROES
TO BE SEGREGATED IN INTERSTATE COACH TRAVEL

Like the Seaboard Airline Railroad even before the Supreme Court outlawed segregation in interstate travel, the Illinois Central Railroad places (or at least it did place on April 2, 1953) its Negro porters at the coach steps where passengers board the Seminole (Chicago to points south).

I had already told the "red-cap" that I did not want him to take my bags to the "jim-crow" car if one was on. He understood and was sympathetic, but his reply was typical of the change in "red-cap" behavior. (They used to carry the bags on ahead and wait for the passenger at a seat. Increased volume of baggage may partly explain this change - as witness the cart, but it also removes from the "red-cap" any responsibility either for segregation of the passenger or for not segregating him.) "You go wherever you want to and I'll bring the bags to you.

There were two places for entering the coaches and a Negro porter was at each of them. (I interpret this use of Negro porters to mean that the railroad, if questioned, can always say, "We're sorry. Our porter made a mistake.") I stepped up to the nearer one and, when asked, said I was going to Birmingham. I wish I had been smart enough to say I was going to Columbus, Georgia as did the white woman just in front of me. The porter then could not have told me to go to the next coach since he had just let her on. And as recently as Christmas I had boarded the Seminole in Birmingham on its way to Columbus. I had been going to a near-by town in Alabama, but I knew back in the recesses of my mind that a coach on the Seminole going to Columbus, Georgia had to pass through Birmingham.

When I got inside, although five or six white persons were in the car, I recognized it as the divided car used for jim-crow purposes, and I began to remember this as the train I had ridden on at Christmas. In the meantime, more and more Negroes were coming in.

I went back and looked into the coach behind me and saw not one Negro, so I spoke to the porter. I asked him if that car behind was not going to Birmingham also. "No", he said, hurrying along. "It's going to cut off. It's not going all the way." I had come up on a train which divided at Nashville, some cars going to Cincinnati and some to Chicago, so I was undecided what to do.

I remembered the "red-cap" who certainly would not be looking for me in the "later-to-be-jim-crow" car, so I went to the door to look for him. The porter noticed me and cut loose. "Do you want to go in that car?" (with a sneer) "You told me it wasn't going to Birmingham". "Yes, it's going to Birmingham and the one behind it too. I was just trying to save you trouble. When you get across the river (Cairo, I learned later) you would have to move anyhow, and all the seats might be taken".

As a matter of fact, most of the seats were already taken in both coaches I could see into and people were still coming, so there was practically nothing to do but let the "red-cap" put my bags where I had a seat.

Most of the white persons in my car came and went, and were going short distances and when I went to sleep only four were left. Sometime during the night, they disappeared and we became completely a Negro coach.

When I came back to the car from breakfast, the new porter said, "While you were back there we did some moving around. I moved your things up in the next section just inside the partition." White people were occupying the section I had been in (one of the two sections of this divided car). I assumed they were the ones who were going on beyond Birmingham. When I asked the porter why he had moved me since I wasn't occupying any more space back there than I was up here, he said those were his instructions and he hadn't known I was getting off at Birmingham. (As a matter of fact, all the Negroes - getting off and staying on - were in this front section now.)

I knew that the porter was acting on orders, so I looked for the conductor. He was nowhere to be found. I never saw him even after I got off the train.

Louise R. McKinney
Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama
4/9/53

HOW, IN SEPTEMBER 1952, THE CLEVELAND, OHIO, TERMINAL WAS HELPING THE L.AND N. SEGREGATE NEGRO PASSENGERS

In the terminal station in Cleveland, I was told by a ticket-seller that a seat reservation was no longer necessary on the Humming Bird out of Cincinnati. Looking back, I could understand wh why he engaged in a little "smart" talk. "Of course I wanted a seat. Everybody wants a seat." I thought it odd that a ticket-seller should be so pedantic - want me to say "seat reservation" rather than just "seat". He was engaged in a trick and it made him uneasy.

Since the time-table said "All seats reserved", I asked another ticket-seller the day I was leaving. ("Information" would have been more logical, but would not have let me know that two ticket-sellers said the same thing - "No longer necessary.")

That night in Cincinnati, when I told the "red-cap" I was taking the Humming Bird, he said, "You can get your reservation right over there." "Do I have to have one?" "Oh yes." (Observe that he knew I would not already have it.

So, although I bought my ticket on Monday, I did not get my reservation until Thursday, one hour before train time. This did make a difference, for seats are assigned from the back forward and the late-comers are nearest the engine.

On the train, I met another woman who had bought her ticket in Cleveland and had had the same experience. This means , of course, the Cleveland officials will not let their men assign Negroes to a jim-crow car, but they will cooperate with the L.and N. Railroad to the extent of not selling Negroes any reservations.

(I hope that in all these months this situation has been cleared up, but since I had not recorded it before, it seemed well to do so at this time.)

Louise R. McKinney
Stillman College
Tuscaloosa, Alabama
4/9/53

File
D. Si -- gen-corresp

August 16, 1965

Mr. John Seiler
637 "C" Street, N. E.
Washington 2, D. C.

Dear Mr. Seiler:

The draft research proposal which you sent to Dr. Leslie Dunbar has been brought to my attention. The proposed study is very much in our scope of interest, but we cannot budget it at this time.

We might consider being involved as sponsor and take the responsibility of publishing and distributing the report, provided you are able to raise the money from Carnegie or elsewhere to conduct the research. You did not include publication costs in your budget. That, if added, would double the amount of your budget estimate. While seeking support from Carnegie, perhaps you might like to include publication cost.

Our interest in your proposal may be greatly increased in a few months, depending on the outcome of certain project proposals for which we hope to obtain foundation support. We will maintain an interest in your efforts, and we hope to hear from you regarding this research.

Sincerely yours,

Samuel L. Adams
Director of Research

SLA:js

Rec'd 8/11/65

637 C Street, N.E.
Washington 2, D.C.
10 August 1965

SAY
TA
Comments please

Dear Les,

Enclosed is the draft research proposal which I discussed briefly with you over the phone. I am sorry a previous writing commitment kept me from getting it to you sooner.

Implicit in it, if SRC can take on formal sponsorship, is open discussion about the choice of districts and approaches which yield information most relevant to SRC.

As for funding, I have sent a carbon to a friend at Carnegie Corporation with the request that he check out both its resources and any indirect ones he or his associates may have at hand. I would welcome any degree of financial support SRC could give. If doing the study depends on it, I could and would cut about $200 of my income figure; more than that would not make sense.

I'd welcome your reaction to this as soon as possible. I saw the press notice yesterday of your new job. I hope to find out more about it and to meet your successor at SRC soon, regardless of the outcome of this immediate proposal.

Sincerely,

John Seiler

John Seiler

Fred Mosher is the Carnegie man. I asked that he consider channeling the money directly to you. Therefore, he might contact you, or you might get in touch with him.

JS

FREE CHOICE REGISTRATION AND ASSIGNMENT IN GEORGIA

A Draft Research Proposal

A. Purpose of Research.

The freedom of choice option for voluntary desegregation plans is the most basic issue in the Office of Education's implementation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Free choice, as it is more commonly called, is intended by OE to be a transitional process by which Southern and Border school districts may move from the traditional dual system to some more permanent form of desegregated educational system. OE has set forth and held to relatively precise formal requirements and procedures for those districts adopting free choice plans for the school year 1965-1966. Most accepted plans do take this option. OE has said nothing about how long free choice plans may continue and what might appropriately follow them. Its General Statement of Policies, or guidelines, sets September 1967 as the date for desegregation of all grades; either geographic attendance areas (zoning), freedom of choice, or some combination of the two, would be an acceptable way to meet this deadline. Since free choice is transitional and zoning is not, there is ambiguity in assessing how full or final desegregation is expected to be by the deadline. That nothing is said of what follows free choice is more understandable: this gives OE greater freedom in policy development.

Evaluation of free choice plans is vital. The Civil Rights Commission has just begun an overall evaluation of school desegregation under Title VI; free choice plans will certainly be an important part of its study; it is not clear just how intensive its work will be, since it is obliged to deal with over 5000 school districts in the seventeen states involved. The Commission staff will probably not get into the field until Fall. It will have to rely on retrospective

interviews for its judgment about the free choice registration process and initial reactions to desegregation in communities and classrooms. OE itself will probably carry on some evaluation, although nothing substantial is underway and the press of compliance problems will leave little time.

B. Approach.

The basic aim of this research proposal is to examine a few of the hypotheses either already in common usage and/or likely to shed insight on the free choice registration decision-making process. Georgia is selected both for its greater accessibility and my contacts with a number of Atlanta-based organizations. The three-five districts to be observed would be chosen with the advice of the Southern Regional Council, the Georgia Human Relations Council, the American Friends Service Committee, and other knowledgeable individuals. The districts would share the common factor of professional staff effort by these organizations to encourage Negro student registration in formerly white schools; they would differ in their rural-urban composition and, to some extent, in the proportion of Negro students. Field visits would be preceded by a close reading of local newspapers and consultation with Atlanta people who know the districts. Optimal use of limited time would entail some shuttling from one district to another. Interviews and observation of meetings would be basic techniques. No strict methodology is involved; it would overweight this study, whose aim is simply to sort out conclusions and suggest tentative explanatory hypotheses.

The most general hypothesis is that school desegregation in its initial phases can be appraised only in the overall context of the community's history of racial relations and especially its experience with and reaction to the desegregation of other facilities and services. White attitudes are obviously vital; at the same time, it would be wrong to discount the inertial

tendencies of Negro communities. AFSC staff suggest that the crucial assumption of their registration drive is that a small infusion of professional staff assistance can trigger a substantial initiative by the Negro community. This hypothesis needs examination: some variation in response might be expected from rural to urban districts; it contains an unvoiced corollary about minimal negative reaction by the white community. My own preferred hypothesis, extrapolated from negotiatory experience with Texas school officials, is that the district superintendent (and, to a lesser degree, principals) is the key catalytic agent in getting substantial Negro student registration in formerly white schools; this has an obvious negative corollary. Other hypotheses will grow out of the research itself.

The immediate focus of this research is on the actual exercise of free choice: the assumptions, attitudes, and actions of school administrators; the nature of public and parental notification; the registration campaign; the reaction of both Negro and white students, parents, teachers, and community leaders; the resultant registration distribution. As far as practicable, some secondary attention will be given to a more descriptive picture of the first days in desegregated classrooms.

Generalizations drawn from the research might be useful in evaluation of free choice plans in other Georgia districts, or, even more tentatively, in making larger generalizations across the entire seventeen state area. Both the substantive conclusions and the discussion of the practical difficulties of meaningful evaluation should prove useful to the Office of Education, the Civil Rights Commission, the National Education Association and its affiliate state associations, and a wide range of human relations, educational, and civil rights organizations with an active concern in school desegregation.

C. Costs.

Costs are estimated only for the field research period. Analysis and writing would take some additional weeks, for which neither expenses nor income is asked, with the understanding that some flexibility would be necessary in setting deadlines for final reports or monographic material. The research period would extend over one month, ideally from 16 August to 15 September. Expenses would be as follows:

1.	Salary, at $200/week	$800.
2.	Transportation, round-trip, Washington-Atlanta	80.
3.	Intrastate transport	150.
4.	Room, 20 days, $8/day	160.
	TOTAL	$1190.

Arrangements have been made for free lodging for a part of the time actually spent in Atlanta. Food cost is not budgeted and would be taken from salary; it would be about $150.

D. Sponsorship and Distribution of Research Results.

I would welcome formal sponsorship by the Southern Regional Council. SRC would retain control over distribution of the research, whatever form it might take. I would want to be free to write articles growing out of the research.

E. Background and Relevant Experience.

I have most recently been working as consultant to the Office of Education in final review of school desegregation plans submitted under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. I anticipate continuing work in this area on completion of the research project. The enclosed resume should make clear my overall research, writing, and editing background.

Resume

Name: John Joseph Seiler

Address: 637 C Street, N.E., Washington 2, D.C.

Telephone: (202) 543-9389

Date of Birth: 18 October 1933 Place of Birth: New York, New York

Citizenship: United States Marital Status: Single

Education: Ossining High School, Ossining, New York
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (B.S., Economics and Engineering, 1955)
Boston University (M.A., Government and African Studies, 1961)

A. Research.

U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, Policy Review and Research Staff (Dr. James A. Moss): contract study, Southern African Students in the United States, 1964.

U.S. Government: political analyst, Nigerian and African affairs, 1962.

Office of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey: survey report, "AID Reorganization and Coordination in International Educational Development", January 1962.

David Owen, Executive Chairman, U.N. Technical Assistance Board: survey report, "U.S. Activities in African Affairs", Fall 1961.

Boston University, Center for Development Research and Training (Dr. John D. Montgomery): research assistant; research and writing case studies of ICA projects in Liberia (Gbedin Swamp Rice), Sierra Leone (vocational technical education), and Ethiopia (Gondar Public Health College and Training Center); preliminary research on ICA projects in Ghana and Nigeria; revision handbook of basic data on African political, social, and economic development; 1960-1961.

B. Publications and Papers.

African Studies Association, conference, San Francisco, October 1963: "The Politics of Crisis: Nigeria, 1962-1963".

Africa Report: December 1963, review of Post's The Nigerian Federal Election of 1959;
August 1963, review of Odumosu's The Nigerian Constitution: History and Development;
February 1963, "Nigeria's Tangled Web";
November 1962, "The 'New Wave' of Soviet Africanists".

C. Editing.

Operations and Policy Research, Inc. (Richard T. Greer, executive director), for USIA distribution: Goldschmidt, The United States and Africa, 1964;
McKay, Africa in World Politics, 1963.

Africa Report (Helen Kitchen, editor): May 1963, special issue on African socialism.

D. Reviewing.

Operations and Policy Research, Inc., for USIA distribution: thirty books on African and general international affairs, 1962-1965.

E. Curriculum and Program Development; General Administration.

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Equal Educational Opportunities Program (David S. Seeley, director): final review of Southern school district desegregation plans submitted under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; preliminary development of research and evaluation program; May 1965 to date.

St. Albans School, International Seminars, Africa (John Davis, director): development of overall curriculum and selection of guest speakers, films, and other resources; Summers 1963, 1964.

U.S. Department of State, Foreign Service Institute, School of Language and Area Studies: acting chairman, African Regional Program, Winter 1963.

Harvard University, Graduate School of Education (Leo E. Klopfer): writing teachers guide on diffraction of light for History of Science Cases Instruction Project, Fall 1960.

Physical Science Study Committee, Educational Services, Inc. (Dr. Elbert P. Little, Dr. Gilbert C. Finlay): assistant to executive director (Dr. Little), general administrative responsibilities with special attention to teacher-training programs; under Dr. Finlay, administrative development and coordination of two Boston-area inservice teacher-training programs and participation in evaluation of classroom use of PSSC materials via 125 visits to secondary schools in New England and the Middle Atlantic states; 1958-1959.

F. Teaching.

St. Albans School, International Seminars, Africa: Summer 1963, West African history, African social-political change; Summer 1964, African history, African social-political change.

The Buckingham School, Cambridge, Mass. (Miss Marian Vaillant, principal): taught PSSC physics curriculum to senior girls, 1959-1960.

The Choate School, Wallingford, Conn. (Paul Juliff): taught general science and physics, 1955-1957.

G. Intercultural and International Activities.

U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, leader grant program: escort; Kebede Anissa, editor, Voice of Ethiopia (Amharic edition), Fall 1964; Gabriel Idigo, editor, Nigerian Outlook Fall 1963; four Nigerian student leaders, Summer 1963 (Kebede and students programmed by African-American Institute; Idigo by Governmental Affairs Institute).

International Students Association of Greater Boston (George Pettengill, director): volunteer; programmed first Boston visit of Soviet student exchangees, Summer 1959; programmed Africa Month, Spring 1960.

World University Service (Wilmer J. Kitchen, executive secretary): field secretary; visited 75 colleges in sixteen midwestern and southern states to discuss students' role in international affairs and to assist in campus international programming; 1958.

Young Adult Council of the National Social Welfare Assembly (U.S. member of World Assembly of Youth; now U.S. Youth Council; Miss Bernice Bridges): USNSA representative, 1955; chairman, 1956; member, WAY Council delegation, West Berlin, 1956; chairman, delegation to NATO Consultative Conference for Youth Leaders, Paris, 1956; ex-oficio member, Executive Committee, 1956-1957.

United States National Student Association; chairman, New England region; member, National Executive Committee; member, International Advisory Board; 1954-1956.

H. References.

Dr. William O. Brown, African Studies Program, Boston University, Boston, Massachusetts.

Richard T. Greer, Executive Director, Operations and Policy Research, Inc., 4000 Albemarle Street, N.W., Washington 16, D.C.

Dr. C. Walter Howe, Staff Associate, Liaison Committee on African Education, American Council on Education, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

637 C Street, N.E.
Washington 2, D.C.
28 August 1965

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I spoke to Mr. Adams on the phone yesterday. We agreed that I should mail this revised proposal directly to your home for your consideration and hopefully for your approval. I regret that the revisions involved made it impossible for me to get it to you while Mr. Adams was still in Atlanta. He and I have made tentative plans to get together in Washington this next week which should help to speed the proposal's quick acceptance if, in fact, OE does have questions of substance or of finances.

Before I get to details, let me outline the overall schedule which appears feasible. Assuming your approval and your completion of the several small substantive and budgetary items I've left open and will cite below, I'd assume you could get back to me at the above address by Tuesday morning, 31 August, eight or nine copies of the proposal, one original and the rest verifax perhaps rather than carbon, all signed and dated on the cover sheet. I'd sign all six copies for OE submission (the rest are handy for me in discussion with other OE staff when I discuss selection of districts, etc) and carry them over to the Bureau of Research, Research Development Branch, on Tuesday. Dr John Blue there has promised a decision in a week. I think he can get one by Friday, 3 September, if he hand carries the proposal, as he promised to do. Excluding Labor Day, by the end of Tuesday, 7 September, if approval is given, substantive and budgetary points would be negotiated and amended, if necessary. The contract could be ready in another day or two; I admit to not knowing how long it would take for the flow of money to start. I'd be ready to leave on the 8th. If money is the only hindrance then, perhaps SRC could make an advance for plane fare, etc.

I am enclosing the mimeod guidelines I've used to prepare the proposal. In retyping there are only a few points to watch: I've inked in on the pages for the cover sheet and the budget and items 6 and 8 points on which I rely on you for either inclusions or amendments. Will there be an editor, what will he be paid, what is his background? What are publication and duplicating costs? What percentage overhead do you want, up to 20%, remembering only that the total must be no more than $7500? What are standard secretarial rates? How much secretarial time will you need for report & publication preparation?

As for the retyping itself, the guidelines call for singlespacing, which I think cramped for a short proposal, with the single problem that item 1, the abstract would then run over the single separate page allowed it. The budget and the cover sheet are the only other sections given distinct pages. The other sections are to run consecutively from page to page, in contrary to my setup.

I will be at home most of Sunday, except for dinner. My phone is 202-543-9389. Please call if there are questions. I do appreciate your willingness to deal with this quickly and I hope it will meet with your approval.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Seiler

John Seiler

David Seeley
Allen Lesser

SMALL CONTRACT PROPOSAL

Submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education
Under the Provisions of Public Law 531

Project Title: Free Choice Registration and Assignment in Selected Georgia School Districts: Community Response to Voluntary Desegregation Under the Provisions of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Submitted by: Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303.

Initiated by: John J. Seiler

637 C Street, N.E.
Washington 2, D.C.
(202) 543-9389

(my signature)

Transmitted by: (full name, position, & signature of the official approving the transmittal of the application. He must have the authority to commit the institution or agency to the proposed project)

Date Trabsmitted: (you completed)

1. Abstract.

The freedom of choice option for voluntary desegregation plans is the focus of the most basic questions about the immediate impact of the Office of Education's implementation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As an open-ended transitional phase from the traditional dual system to some yet undefined more permanent form of desegregation, free choice plans have been half of all submissions and 86 of 92 Georgia submissions accepted by OE. Compliance machinery can evaluate the completion of required procedures for student registration and assignment; it cannot get at the underlying network of community traditions, relationships, attitudes, and expectations, which profoundly influence the registration choice.

The nexus of community response is the focus of this exploratory study which could make an important contribution to policy development and serve as stimulus for more studies into the social change involved in this crucial phase of educational desegregation.

Student registration is the basic act under examination. Three related central questions will focus the study: What kinds of organizational and individual influences brought to bear from outside the community are instrumental in determining community response to free choice desegregation? What kinds of organizational and individual influences within the community are similarly instrumental? What is the inter-relationship and relative impact of these two kinds of influence?

This study treats the community as a distinct social system under the general influence of a number of external stimuli variously concerned with school desegregation and under the particular influence of the Office of Education requirement of an acceptable voluntary desegregation plan. Community groups receive various external "messages"; their perceptions and responses vary. In turn, they interact on one another to influence the immediate focal and symbolic act of student registration. Interviews with representatives of both external and community groups would be the primary research tool; primary documents and press material would be used as supplemental sources. Four districts

1. Abstract (continued).

would be selected: two would be urban and two rural; one of each would have had an active Negro student registration campaign.

The time schedule calls for preliminary discussions with pertinent staff of OE in Washington before 7 September 1965; field research in Atlanta and in the four districts from 7 September to 4 October 1965; analysis, writing, and editing of the final report for OE to be submitted on 1 December 1965; and any additional editing required for preparation for publication of a Southern Regional Council monograph following 1 December 1965.

2. Problem.

The freedom of choice option for voluntary desegregation plans is the focus of the most basic questions about the immediate impact of the Office of Education's implementation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Free choice, as it is more commonly called, is intended by OE to provide a transition for Southern and Border state school districts from their traditional dual systems to a more permanent form of desegregated education. 521 of the 1035 voluntary desegregation plans accepted by OE as of 18 August 1965 are free choice plans. Georgia's proportion is much higher: as of 25 August 1965, 86 of its 92 accepted plans are free choice plans.

OE set forth and has held to stringently precise legal requirements for free choice plan procedures. The registration of students, and particularly of Negro students, is the single key act in free choice plans. OE has insisted that school districts give full publicity to their plans once accepted and well in advance of the registration period. Registration procedures must be simple and free of any possibility of suasion: at least two weeks must be given for the return of a checklist form, usually by mail; this form requires minimal information about the student and has no racial connotations; school officials are not to offer any suggestion toward the completion of the form; the dismissal or threatened dismissal of Negro teachers if a sizeable number of Negro students choose the formerly white school is taken to be an infringement on the students' free choice. The precision of these requirements makes them especially amenable to subsequent compliance investigation based for the most part on complaints filed with OE, other federal agencies, or private organizations.

The completion of these procedures without incident or complaint does not guarantee that any considerable number of Negro students will take the opportunity of desegregated education. This decision will be profoundly influenced by an interlocked network of community traditions, relationships, attitudes, and expectations, which are not easily accessible to the procedures and perspective of formal compliance investigation. The Civil Rights Commission recognizes this limitation. It has just begun an overall survey of school

2. (continued)

desegregation under Title VI in which an evaluation of free choice plans will certainly be an important focus; but it is unlikely that intensive examination of community response will be feasible with a small staff of lawyers, an obligation to generalize in some way about the entire seventeen-state area, and a January 1966 deadline for submission of a final report to the President and to Congress as the basis for administrative and legislative modification of the program.

The nexus of community response is the focus of this exploratory study. The study could make an important contribution to the policy development ~~of policy~~ of both public and private agencies. It should serve as a stimulus for more detailed studies into the social change involved in this crucial phase of educational desegregation.

3. Project Rationale.

Meyer Weinberg suggested recently that one important and neglected focus for desegregation research is "an analysis of the decision-making process in communities faced with problems of school desegregation." (Research on School Desegregation: Review and Prospect, p.25) Weinberg's voluminous bibliography cites only nine papers relevant to this study; they deal variously with the aspects of open enrollment, the role of the family, and the acceptance of separation.

The basic intellectual model of this study is that of a social system responding to externally-applied factors of change. At this level, the study draws from the whole body of sociological theory focused on systemic change and structural-functional change.

The case study approach to be used is especially powerful for comparative analyses of systemic change; it has many precedents, more often drawn from developing societies in other continents than from the United States; it is strengthened in this usage by the existence of common external factors of change and the common focal event of student registration. Fewer extrapolations should be necessary to generalize about the school district sample under study than in most comparative studies; to the extent that the districts selected are representative of other Georgia districts and, more diffusedly, of Southern districts under free choice plans, some tentative broader generalizations should come out of the study.

4. Objectives.

The basic act under examination in this study is the student registration under free choice desegregation plans. The description of what happens before, during, and immediately after registration is the skeletal structure of the study. Three related central questions will focus the study: What kinds of organizational and individual influences brought to bear from outside the community are instrumental in determining community response to free choice desegregation? What kinds of organizational and individual influences within the community are similarly instrumental? What is the inter-relationship and relative impact of these two kinds of influences?

The study must seek answers to these related subsidiary questions:

What external influences have been brought to bear on the community?

Where and in what way within the community have these external influences been recognized and responded to?

In what way have these recognitions and responses been affected by the recent history of community racial relations and desegregation of other facilities and services?

In what way have these recognitions and responses been affected by the social distinctness of white and Negro subcommunities within the larger community?

What role has been played by community leaders, by school officials, by teachers, by parents, and by students?

Does the community have some sense of the next steps and ultimate aims of educational desegregation?

5. Procedures.

(a) General Design.

This study treats the community as a distinct social system under the general influence of a number of external stimuli variously concerned with school desegregation and under the particular influence of the Office of Education requirement of an acceptable voluntary desegregation plan. Community groups receive various external "messages"; their perceptions and responses vary. In turn, they interact on one another to influence the immediate focal and symbolic act of student registration.

The external stimuli come from the Office of Education, state agencies, national and regional communication media, education organizations, civil rights organizations, religious and fraternal organizations.

The community response may be divided functionally into:

1. the interpretation of external stimuli;
2. the development of attitude orientations;
3. action on the immediate issue of free choice registration;
4. the formulation of attitudes and programs toward the long-term resolution of the desegregation issue.

Within the community, attention must be given to the essentially distinct white and Negro subcommunities. External stimuli will come to bear on subcommunity leaders, local media, local government and education officials, teachers, parents, and students.

(b) Research Methods.

Interviews with selected representatives of both external and community groups would be the primary research tool. These would be supplemented by the use of primary documents and press material, whenever available. Sampling would be irrelevant,

5 (b) (continued)

except for interviews with parents and students. Given the substantial overall number of interviews to be held, some kind of sampling would be necessary based on place of residence and socio-economic status. If the number of Negro students choosing formerly white schools is small, as is probable, and if there is enough time, interviews with all of them and their parents would be useful, but not vital to the overall objectives of the study. All interviews ~~will~~ would be developed so as to bring out the four general functional aspects of community response; they would be relatively unstructured, since their purpose is clarification of process rather than the production of comparability from interview to interview.

(c) <u>District Selection.</u>

There are 196 school districts in Georgia. By 25 August 1965, 92 had submitted accepted voluntary desegregation plans to the Office of Education; of this total, 87 were free choice plans. Most of the free choice plans provided for twelve-grades desegregation in the school year 1965-1966.

Four districts will be selected for this study. They will share these characteristics:

1. a twelve-grade free choice plan accepted by the Office of Education;
2. no complaints about educational discrimination filed with OE, the Justice Department, or the Civil Rights Commission;
3. no operative court orders dealing with school desegregation;
4. no school desegregation prior to OE implementation of Title VI.

Two of the four districts will be essentially urban; the other two will be essentially rural. One urban district and one rural district will be selected from those in which active Negro student

5(c) (continued)

registration campaigns were conducted by the Georgia Human Relations Council and the American Friends Service Committee. Final selection will be made after consultation with appropriate officials of OE, the Southern Regional Council, and other Atlanta-based organizations.

(d) Time Schedule.

1. before 7 September 1965: preliminary discussions with Office of Education staff responsible for Georgia desegregation plans.

2. 7 September-4 October 1965: field research, Atlanta and four selected districts.

3. 4 October-1 December 1965: interview analysis; report writing; editing and preparation of OE final report for submission on 1 December 1965.

4. following 1 December 1965: any necessary further editing toward publication of Southern Regional Council monograph.

6. Personnel.

Investigator: John J. Seiler is a political scientist educated at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Boston University. He was most recently a consultant to the Office of Education doing final review of voluntary desegregation plans submitted under the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. As a result of this work, he is intimately knowledgeable about the overall pattern of community response to the OE program and the detailed free choice procedures required by OE. He has good working contacts with OE, the Civil Rights Commission, and the several sponsors of the Georgia student registration campaigns. He has extensive research, writing, and editing experience. Among other research, he did a series of case studies on the administrative evolution of foreign aid projects (for the International Cooperation Administration) and an evaluation of the situations of Southern African students in U.S. colleges and universities (for the Department of State). He has traveled throughout the South on a number of occasions, most recently for the Department of State study.

Editor: ?

7. Facilities.

The Council has access to a wide range of individuals, organizations, communication media, and public agencies, in Georgia and throughout the entire South.

8. Other Information.

(a) There is no other source of support for this project.

(b) Preliminary drafts of this proposal were submitted informally by Mr. Seiler to the Carnegie Corporation and to the Taconic (Foundation). No commitments were made by either, since no funds would be available until after Board meetings in October. Mr. Seiler posed the general possibility of support at that time for the publication costs of the proposal.

or is it Institute?

? (c) This proposal is not an extension of or addition to any previous or current project supported by the Office of Education or any other group or agency.

? (d) There has been no previous submission to OE of this proposal or any similar one.

9. Budget.

Investigator: John J. Seiler

Organization: Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Duration: Three Months.

Beginning: 7 September 1965.

Ending: 1 December 1965.

Category	Federal Funds Requested
Personnel:	
Investigator, salary, 4wks, fulltime, $200/wk	$800
8 wks, halftime, $100/wk	800
per diem, 28days, $16/day	448
Editor, salary, - - - - - - - - -	xxx
Secretary, salary, typing interview transcriptions (160hours of interviews), 240 hours, $x.xx/hr	xxx
preparation of final report, — hrs, $x/hr	xxx
preparation of SRC publication, — hrs $x/hr	xxx
Supplies and Materials:	
Tape recorder, rental, one month	30
Tape magazines, one hour capacity each, sixteen (two day supply), at $13	208
Paper, postage	100
Telephone	100
Services:	
Duplicating, final report, 50 copies	xxx
Printing, SRC monograph, xxxx copies	xxx
Travel:	
Interstate, Washington, D.C.-Atlanta, Georgia, two roundtrips, jet coach, plus airport limousines in Washington	150
Intrastate, car rental, 28 days, at $10/day	280
SUBTOTAL	$xxxx
Overhead: (no more than 20% of subtotal)	xxxx
TOTAL	$xxxx

OE-2105-4

BOB CLEARANCE # 51-R267.3
APPROVAL EXPIRES 6/30/65

John Seibe

SMALL CONTRACT PROGRAM
(Reprinted from Application Instructions for Research Contracts: Cooperative Research Program, OE 12017)

Division of Educational Research
Office of Education
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

SMALL CONTRACT PROGRAM

The Small Contract Program is designed to provide support for small-scale research or development with a minimum of delay for proposal review. The following are a few examples of the wide range of activities that may be supported by this program:

1. Experimental research, surveys, demonstrations, and curriculum studies.

2. Pilot or exploratory studies designed to obtain a clear indication of the feasibility and potential value of a more extensive research or development effort on the same or similar problems.

3. Analysis of existing data or materials to which access has been assured.

Special Conditions.

1. The funds requested may not exceed $7500.

2. The research or development must either be conducted or sponsored by a staff member of a college, university, or State education agency. A project which is to be conducted by an undergraduate or graduate student must be sponsored by a faculty member who will assume the responsibility for seeing the project to completion according to the terms of the contract.

3. The funds requested may not be used primarily for (a) preparing or publishing a book, or (b) conducting meetings, conferences, and seminars.

Review Procedures. All small contract proposals are evaluated by field readers competent in the subject matter and techniques embodied in the proposal. A review of the recommendations of these readers is made by the Research Advisory Council, and final recommendations are submitted to the Commissioner of Education. When a project has been approved by the Commissioner, a contract is negotiated with the institution which submitted the proposal.

Deadlines. There are no deadlines for submitting small contract proposals; they may be submitted at any time. Ordinarily an applicant will be notified within two months after he submits a proposal as to whether or not it has been approved.

Length of Proposal. A proposal should be complete enough to communicate all the information necessary for sound evaluation. The usual length is from six to eight single-spaced pages.

Number of Copies. Six copies of the proposal are required, each typed or otherwise reproduced on one side of letter-size, white paper.

Mailing Address: Small Contract Program
Division of Educational Research
U.S. Office of Education
400 Maryland Avenue, SW.
Washington, D.C. 20202.

Proposal Format

The cover page of the proposal must contain only the following information in the order indicated:

SMALL CONTRACT PROPOSAL

Submitted to the U.S. Commissioner of Education
Under the Provisions of Public Law 531

Project Title : (Be concise, descriptive, and as specific as possible. Avoid obscure, technical terms.)

Submitted by : (Name of institution or State agency and address)

Initiated by : (Full name, position or student status, and signature of the individual who will direct the project. Include the telephone area code, number, and extension.)

Sponsored by : (Full name, position, and signature of the faculty member who will sponsor the project if the initiator is a student. Include the telephone area code, number, and extension. Omit this item if the initiator is a faculty member.)

Transmitted by : (Full name, position, and signature of the official approving the transmittal of the application. He must have the authority to commit the institution or agency to the proposed project.)

Date Transmitted:

In preparing the remainder of the application, the initiator should use the following format, identifying each section with the number and underlined word(s) given below.

1. Abstract. On a single, separate page present a summary of the proposal using two headings: (a) Objectives and (b) Procedures. Place the abstract immediately after the cover page.

2. Problem. Give a brief statement of the problem, explaining its significance to education.

3. Related Literature. Summarize the most pertinent related literature, and describe the rationale which serves as a basis for the proposed research or development projects.

4. Objectives. State the objectives to be achieved, the hypotheses to be tested, or the specific questions to be answered.

5. Procedures. Describe the procedures in detail, listing the steps to be followed. When appropriate, provide specific information about each of the following:

(a) General Design -- Describe the general design of the study and indicate why this design appears particularly appropriate for achieving the stated objectives. In experimental research, for example, the independent and dependent variables should be stated with the rationale for their selection.

(b) Population and Sample -- Describe the group of subjects from which the sample will be drawn and indicate why the sample is to be drawn from this group. Explain the sampling method, and the number and characteristics of the subjects to be chosen. Indicate how experimental and control groups will be equated.

(c) Data and Instrumentation -- Indicate the data to be gathered and the collection methods to be used.

(d) Analysis -- Indicate the specific methods of analysis to be used in achieving the objectives, answering the questions, or testing the hypotheses. (When several hypotheses are to be tested or several questions are to be answered, it is usually helpful to specify the analysis in relation to each hypothesis or question.)

(e) Time Schedule -- Indicate in chronological order the approximate length of time required for each major aspect of the study.

6. Personnel. Give the name, title or student status, and a brief statement of the pertinent experience and unique qualifications of key personnel. Indicate the individuals who have tentatively agreed to serve on the project.

7. Facilities. Indicate any special facilities and similar advantages available to your institution or agency which will aid in the conduct of the project. When the cooperation of other schools or agencies is essential to the conduct of the study, indicate the extent to which such cooperation has been assured.

8. Other Information. Make a brief statement concerning each of the following items. The information given here will in no way jeopardize approval of the project.

(a) The amount of support available for this project from sources other than the transmitting institution.

(b) Whether this proposal has been submitted to any other agency or organization.

(c) Whether this is a proposed extension of, or addition to, a previous or current project supported by the Office of Education or any other group or agency.

(d) Whether this or a similar proposal was previously submitted to the Office of Education.

9. Budget. (Start this section on a new page.)
In a tabular presentation similar to the illustration shown on page 26, give the estimated cost of the project. Round all amounts to the nearest dollar. In the first column list the items of expenditure, using the categories shown. After each line item, add a brief parenthetical statement which explains how the cost of the item was computed. For example: Secretary (½ time for 3 months at $380 per month). In the second column list the funds requested from the Office of Education for each line item. Fill in the information regarding the duration of the project in the space provided on the budget page. Do not plan to start the project sooner than 3 months following the proposal submission, nor 1 year following approval.

10. Attachments. Where any of the following items apply to the proposal being submitted, provide the information requested in each instance. Each attachment is to appear as a separate item on a separate page(s).

a. Instruments. Any applicant who plans to use an unpublished instrument (e.g. a questionnaire or interview guide) in his study should include a copy; if an instrument is not as yet developed or only partially completed, a page of sample items should be submitted.

b. Revisions. If an application is being resubmitted to the Program, a statement should be appended describing the major revisions which have been made. This does not apply to those applications which have been submitted previously in draft form for informal review.

c. Status Report of Current Projects. If an applicant (or any of the key personnel of the proposed project) has a current project with the Program, the status of this project should be indicated. Included in this should be a statement of the amount of time that the person(s) is (are) devoting to the current project. If the proposed study is an extension of the current project or proposes work in the same area, specify the most pertinent results available from the previous project.

d. Completed Projects. If any of the key personnel of the proposed project have completed a Cooperative Research project, give the title and Cooperative Research serial number of the completed project. It is not necessary to attach reports of projects previously completed. If any of the findings are particularly important to the current application, they may be summarized briefly in an appended statement.

EVALUATIVE CRITERIA

Educational Significance

The information to be obtained, or the technique, method, or instrument to be developed should have potential value to educational research or practice.

Research Plan

1. The problem, background, objective(s), and procedures are clearly stated with an appropriate amount of detail.

2. The problem and objective(s) are appropriately delimited.

3. The objective(s) and procedures are technically sound.

4. The relationship between the problem, objective(s), and procedures is clear.

5. The related literature section reflects sufficient familiarity with the previous research in this problem area.

Personnel and Facilities

1. The principal investigator(s) is (are) competent to carry out the research.

2. The facilities available to the investigator(s) are adequate for carrying out the research.

Economic Efficiency

The relationship between the anticipated outcome and the cost of the project is highly favorable.

BUDGET

Investigator: _____

Institution: _____

Duration: _____ yrs. _____ mos.

Beginning Date: _____. Ending Date.

Category	Federal Funds Requested
Personnel (List all position titles, such as director, research assistant, secretary, consultants. State percent of time on project and per annum salary of each person.)	$_____
Supplies and Materials (No capital equipment to be purchased with Federal funds.)	
Research materials (Itemize)	_____
Office Supplies (Include paper, telephone, postage, etc.)	_____
Services	
Statistical	_____
Mimeographing (Include 25 mimeographed copies of final report.)	_____
Other (List essential travel and other items not covered above.)	_____
SUBTOTAL	$_____
Overhead (Federal funds for overhead may not exceed 20% of the total Federal cost shown on the SUBTOTAL above.)	_____
TOTAL	$_____

Note: Salaries, service charges, travel costs, etc. must conform to the standard rate of the institution.

S A M P L E

Cooperative Research Project
BUDGET WORKSHEET

S A M P L E

Investigator: Dr. John Doe
Location: University of America
Coordinator: C. R. Program

Project No: XXXX
Date: XX November 19XX

Starting Date: X January 19XX **Ending Date:** XX August 19XX

Categories	FY XX		FY XX		FY XX		FY XX		All Years	
	6 months		12 months		12 months		2 months		TOTAL	
	Federal	Local	Federal	Local	Federal	Local	Federal	Local	Federal	Local
Personnel										
Project Director (1/x time at $XX,XXX per annum)	$ XXXX		XXXX		XXXX		XXXX		$ XXXX	
Research Associate (1/x time at $XXXX per annum)	$ XXXX		XXXX							
Graduate Assistants (2 for 1/x time each at $XXXX per annum)		XXXX		XXXX		XXXX		XXXX		$ XXXX
Secretary (½ time at $XXXX per annum)	$ XXXX		XXXX		XXXX		XXXX		$ XXXX	
Fringe benefits (x% of Salaries of secretary, director, and research associate.)		XX		XX		XX		XX		$ XXX
Supplies and Materials										
Test forms (300 at 30¢ each)	$ XXXX		XXX						XXX	

For contracts of ~~18~~ 12 months or less, all of the Federal funds are obligated from one fiscal year. In such contracts only one column should be used for listing the Federal funds and likewise for the local funds.

Note: Salary rates and other charges in the computation of this budget are at the local rate of the institution or agency.

Signature: (Fiscal Officer at institution or agency)

Budget Worksheet (Continuation) Project No: XXXX

Categories	FY XX 6 months		FY XX 12 months		FY XX 12 months		FY XX 2 months		All Years TOTAL	
	Federal	Local	Federal	Local	Federal	Local	Federal	Local	Federal	Local
Office supplies		XX		XX		XX		XX		$ XXX
Communications	$ XX		XX		XX		XX		$ XXX	
Services										
Statistical services (IBM XXXX at $xxx per hr. for x hours.)			XXXX		XXXX				$ XXXX	
Duplicating research materials							XXX		$ XXX	
Preparation of final report							XXX		$ XXX	
Other										
Travel (X people at an average of $xxx/trip. [Or, xxx miles at x¢/mile])	$ XXX		XXX		XXX		XXX		$ XXXX	
Overhead										
Federal (up to 20% of sub-total)	$ X,XXX		X,XXX		X,XXX		XXX		$ X,XXX	
University (xx% of salaries, less Federal contribution)		X,XXX		X,XXX		X,XXX		XXX		$XX,XXX
TOTAL	$XX,XXX	X,XXX	XX,XXX	X,XXX	XX,XXX	X,XXX	X,XXX	XXX	$XX,XXX	$XX,XXX

BR-27B(64)

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

February 6, 1948

RECEIVED
FEB 7 1948
SRC

Miss Margaret Price
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Price:

I thank you for the full name of Judge Favrot and also the courageous stand you took with the man who wants to go to Washington with false ideas about sex crimes in the South. I am enclosing my files on this question, including two columns which I wrote. I do not have any other copies and would be grateful if you would ask the gentleman not to take these from the office.

He should know that similar happenings come daily in any of the southern states but that newspapers lack the courage to report them. Many of these items come from the colored papers because of the fact that only three white papers in the South have the courage to publish instances of violence by white men against colored women. It might do him good to investigate some of these cases. The one from Jackson, Tennessee never got into the paper. The three white men who broke into the colored preacher's house at Collins, Mississippi were fined $10.00--this was a joke. This news item was flashed over the wires of the press; AP no white papers had the courage to publish it even though it was a case of record. If the gentleman intends to present evidence in Washington to show that sex violence in the South is a male Negro crime, I shall prepare evidence to the contrary and present it in refutation. He is either asleep or blind.

Please guard these clippings and my own notes carefully since I have no other. I will get them when I see you on February 25.

SAINT AUGUSTINE'S COLLEGE
RALEIGH, N. C.

OFFICE OF PRESIDENT

Miss Margaret Price
February 6, 1948
Page 2

With every good wish, I remain

Yours very sincerely,

Harold L. Trigg
PRESIDENT

HLT:jc
Enclosures

Sex Crimes
copy in Trigg, article & letter
2/24/48

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Notes on sex crimes in the South

The wave of rape hysteria which engulfs the southeast is an example of the emotional reaction to the problems involved in regional human inter-relations when the sex factor is uppermost.

Men apply the processes of critical thinking to cotton, cane, and rice production, but in some affairs involving the races thinking is limited to the printed page and the book is closed with a bang.

In these periods of tension the strangest distorted conceptions come forth from persons of all classes

The editor of an old and established southern newspaper says that the "abolition of slavery halted amalgamation . . . in the South . . . Almost it has come to an end insofar as Southern white people are concerned."

Another commentator thinks that "the victim of a lynch mob is usually guilty of a capital crime while his victims are as a rule, innocent white girls, women and men," and that so long as the Negro is guilty of such acts of violence lynching will continue.

Still another reaction is stated in the words of a person close to a "trouble spot," "Until the Negroes are educated to the fact that they were brought here as servants and are not to be placed on a basis of equality with whites, I fear we shall have trouble in this country."

A chief of police in an area of tension thinks 19 alleged sex crimes in his immediate vicinity are due to Negro soldiers mixing with white women in the European war theatre, and to lewd pictures of white women which seem to have received wide distribution.

One unique contribution to the general comment comes from a man who has studied alleged Negro rapists two years and finds that they come from homes without father, have low I Q's, are non-church goers, did not belong to boys' clubs, have had up to five grades of schooling, and are of low economic status.

A substantial proportion of southerners are of the same belief expressed in the first four comments. These reactions are old and unmodified. They come to the surface whenever there is a crime of violence in which the Negro is the alleged criminal and a white person the victim.

Emotionized attitudes and stock reactions are the problem of race relations. They stem from personality conflicts. To eliminate the conflicts one must begin with the cause. This is a slow process, and, at the present time, there is little understanding of the problem and no organized effort to solve it.

The picture which is so tragic on the surface has one bright spot which deserves the consistent attention of those who watch for signs of change, and who would give some intelligent direction to evolving trends.

It is the changing conception of applied justice, the struggle to elevate the administration of justice to a level that is closer to the

ideal in which race, creed, color, sex and socio-economic status are not factors in the due process of rendering to the individual what is due or deserved in the form of reward or punishment.

This struggle to a higher level of justice in the South is spearheaded by top jurists when free from the restrictions of the "twelve peers".

Sacredness of personality, inviolability of the person, freedom from violence to the body is a fundamental concept of democracy. It is within recent years, however, that Negro women were included in the category of inviolability. Formerly the woman of color could not be raped. The act was always by consent. Evidences of widening the principle to include all women are accumulation. The following instances come from press reports.

Two white police officers of Richmond, Virginia, who raped a colored woman in October, 1946, were convicted and sentenced to 7 years each.

A white man who raped a 5 year old girl, daughter of a Negro minister at Laurel, Mississippi, in March, 1947, received a life sentence.

A white man who raped a pregnant Negro woman in November, 1946, near Baltimore, Maryland, was convicted by an all-white jury.

A white man who raped a Negro woman at Apex, North Carolina, in 1945 was convicted and sentenced to 10-15 years.

In Florida a white man who raped a Negro woman in 1938 was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

In August, 1947, three white men posing as police officers entered the home of a Negro preacher during his absence at Collins, Mississippi, and, while one held a gun on an aunt, the other two took the two daughters out. The minister returned shortly and prevented the rape. The men were fined $10 each.

There were also two cases in South Carolina in the past five years in which white rapists of Negro women were convicted.

It need not be said that punishment meted in many cases was light. Nor have all such cases involved convictions and punishment.

A white taxi driver raped an 80 year old woman at Jackson, Tennessee, on a cold night in February, 1947. He was indicted and held without bond. The cab company published an apology in a local Negro newspaper. A local jury's verdict was "not guilty."

A wealthy landowner took a Negro veteran's wife from him (according to the statement of the veteran) in February, 1947, and had the husband driven out of the community.

In March, 1947, a white youth of Collins, Mississippi vied with a Negro [illegible] for the affections of a Negro girl, and the white youth won

young Negro for the affections of a Negro girl, and (the white youth) won out by having his friends assist him in castrating the colored boy.

In Williamsburg County, South Carolina, a white storekeeper raped a 13 year old Negro girl in April, 1947. The magistrate to whome the offense was reported upbraided the father of the girl and refused to issue a warrant.

At Burlington, North Carolina, on June 2, 1947, a 12 year old Negro girl was raped by a white man. No arrests had been made at the last report.

The important fact is that the courts have finally recognized the broad principle of personal inviolability in some southern states. It is probable that a very small percentage of the cases involving Negro women subjected to violence by white men are even reported because of the conviction on the part of colored people that nothing will be done, or because of the ignorance of what constitutes rape. The North Carolina Supreme Court ruled on December 11, 1946 that "force necessary to constitute rape need not be actual physical force. Fear, fright, or coercion may take the place of force."

A further advance in the concept of justice which is about to become evident is that sex violence is not racial but emotional immaturity. Many people are certain that rape and race (Negro male) are synonomous. The facts show that there is no connection between the two. Emotional control on the infant level provides the same results regardless of the skin color. "Our innocent women and children" is an expression which could well come from any many in America if the discussion involved the wolves of all colors who cruise the highways and byways, day and night. Those who are yet unaware of this fact are naive, blind, or conscious self-deceivers.

So long as the public conceives of every male (Negro only) as a potential rapist, crimes of sex violence will continue in North, East, West, and South.

Community functions which provide for maturing the personality--physically, mentally, socially, and emotionally are the only sure preventives of crime of this type.

Progress in broadening the principle of inviolability to inclue all women should be recognized and encouraged. Rape is the most revolting of all crimes. It is the surpeme instance of disregard for the sacredness of personality. It should be punished summarily. It is rape if the skin of the victim is white and that of the perpetrator black. It is equally rape if the skin of the victim is black or brown, and that of the perpetrator white. The recognition of this principle is essential to the effective treatment of the problem.

Mass rape hysteria stems from some traditional causes which can be eliminated by the cooperative thinking and action of white and Negro leaders.

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

(A second set of notes.)

1. Amalgamation halted with abolition. Naive. e.g.
   a. Two white police officers of Richmond, Va. convicted of raping Negro woman. Sentenced to 7 years each. Crime: Oct. 20, 1946. Defender, 1/25/47.

   b. Three white men posing as officers entered Negro preacher's home at Collins, Miss. One held gun on 40 year old aunt while other two took preacher's two daughters out, attempted to rape them. Fined $10 each. August 16, 1947. Guide 8/31/46; Defender 8/31/46.

   c. Jackson, Tenn. White taxi driver raped 80 year old colored woman. Arrested and held without bond. Jackson Citizen printed apology. 2/15/47. (Alleged crime--2/15/47/.

   d. Wealthy white land owner took Negro vet's wife and had him run out of community. Windy Hill, Miss, Feb. '47. Afro-American 2/22/47

   e. White youth competed with Negro youth for Negro girl. Sheriff refused to do anything. Collins, Miss., March '47. Defender 3/8/47.

   f. White man raped 5 year old Negro girl, daughter of minister. Sentenced to life. Laurel, Miss. March '47. Defender 3/29/47.

   g. Kingstree, S.C. White storekeeper attempted to rape 13 year old Negro girl. Magistrate refused to issue warrant and upbraided father for reporting it. Williamsburg County. Lighthouse and Informer 4/6/47.

   h. White man raped pregnant Negro woman Nov. 13, '46 near Baltimore, Md. Conviction was first in Maryland in such a case. Atlanta World 3/21/47.

   i. White man raped Negro woman, Apex, N.C. Aug. 20 '45. Sentence 10-15 years.

   (j. 1938 Florida case)

Miscegenation
Louisiana

LAW OFFICES
COCO AND BENNETT
JOFFRION BLDG.
MARKSVILLE, LOUISIANA

CHESTER J. COCO
B. C. BENNETT, JR.

February 25, 1953

RECEIVED
FEB 27
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Father Marvin Bordelon has asked that I write you concerning some details of a miscegenation case which arose in his parish.

The case is simply that a white woman had a child by a negro man. Both parties admitted the possibility that the child was born of their union. The white woman was married at the time to a man considerably older than herself. She was the mother of three children, the father of whom was not her husband.

Immediately after the birth of the child, its father pleaded guilty to the crime of miscegenation and was sentenced to serve a period of five years in the State Penitentiary at Angola, Louisiana. The details of his arraignment and sentence are unknown to me since I knew nothing of the case until after the child's father was taken to serve his sentence.

We have discussed this case among ourselves and find as stumbling blocks to the development of clear-cut issue the following facts:

1. The child's mother has a very poor reputation for fidelity to her husband.

2. We want to thoroughly consider the public attitude toward an adulterer, in view of the many forces (religious and otherwise) which tend to make the race question complicated.

Strangely enough, the opinion of a great number of responsible people here is that the father of the child should not have been punished in the absence of a statute making adultery a crime.

I have given you these facts so that you may be prepared to give us the benefit of your experience in this field.

We are all looking forward to being with you on your visit to Avoyelles Parish.

Yours very truly,

B. C. BENNETT, JR.

BCB/fcn

"GETTING READY FOR DESEGREGATION IN SEPTEMBER"

is the subject for consideration at the next meeting of Shands-Rohrer Group, being held at

Luckie Street YMCA - Room 210
Tuesday, May 16th -----Supper at 6:00 P.M.

Dr. H.A. Bowen, with Atlanta School System, will open the discussion.

Phone supper reservation to:

H. W. Rohrer - DR 7-6844
of Mrs. Bertrand at "Y"- JA 5-5401

4/27/'61

Following are summaries from our files of sample cases of sex crimes involving white men and Negro women. Several convictions brought by all-white, Southern juries indicate that such crimes do take place, but in many cases sentences are light, or no conviction is made.

1. In Laurel, Mississippi, a white man was found guilty of attacking a five year old colored girl, and was sentenced to life imprisonment. Chicago Defender, March 29, 1947.

2. An all-white jury in Baltimore, Maryland, convicted a white man of raping a pregnant Negro woman. Atlanta World, Mardh 21, 1947.

3. Two white police officers found guilty by an all-white jury in Richmond, Virginia, of attacking a 32-year-old Negro mother. The policemen were each given a 7 year prison term. Chicago Defender, January 25, 1947.

4. In Collins, Mississippi, two white men were charged with attempted rape of two sisters, 18 and 20, daughters of a Negro minister. The men were convicted of lesser charges and fined $10 each. Chicago Defender, Aug. 31, '46

5. At Apex, North Carolina, a white man pleaded guilty to assault with attempt to commit rape against a 20-year-old Negro girl. He was given a 10-15 year imprisonment penalty. News and Observer (Raleigh, N.C.)

6. An 80 year old Negro woman charged whe was raped by a taxi driver in Jackson, Tennessee, February 15, 1947. The taxi company published a full page, paid advertisement in a Jackson Negro paper (Jackson Advocate), apologizing "for the unfortunate conduct of one of our drivers." The man was found not guilty by a local jury.

The following exerpt from an article by Dr. Harold Trigg helps explain the fact that these cases, and others like them, are sometimes not widely know among Southern white citizens, and helps show how racial tensions develop from reports of sex crimes.

"Race relations in the South are placed under strain which in many

cases is altogether unnecessary by headlines which identify the Negro as the assailant either when there has been no rape, or when there was no Negro involved.

"The problem of human relations in the South is too important to be subjected to pressure which could be avoided by a modified policy in publicity.

The white and Negro press are not together on the publicizing of violence to person. Both publish incidents involving colored men and white women, or colored men and colored men and colored women. The white press reports incidents involving white men and white women, but seldom or never of white men and Negro women. The Negro press reports cases involving white men and colored women, but seldom of white men and white women. The Negro reads the white papers, but few white people read the Negro papers.

Some dangerous misconceptions could be destroyed or modified and tensions could be reduced and eliminated:

1. If no publicity is given an incident until there is substantial evidence that there has been at least the attempt to rape. If a community gives out "scare" headlines every time a frightened white woman meets a Negro man on a public street after dark and the latter runs from her, that community necessarily lays itself wide open for "foreign" needling.

2. If the alleged assailant is not identified as to race until his race is established. The headline says "Negro Rages White Woman". Too frequently there is no rape, or rape and no Negro, but no headline follows up with this correction. The harm to race relations is done.

3. If the same type of publicity is given white man-colored woman rape as is given colored man-white woman rape. This will enable the public to see the problem of rape as personality maladjustment in white and black instead of predatory Negro male."

CITY OF GARY
FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE COMMISSION
ROOM 306 - CITY HALL
GARY, INDIANA
PHONE 5-8441
PETER MANDICH, MAYOR

COMMISSION MEMBERS
ELI MANDICH, CHAIRMAN
ADOLPH J. FEINBERG, VICE CHAIRMAN
THELMA E. MARSHALL, SECRETARY
EDWARD J. EVANS
GEORGE ZUDAK

WAITSTILL H. SHARP
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
BESSYE C. ATKINS
SECRETARY TO COMMISSION

RECEIVED
SEP 18
Southern Region

September 16, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RE: MARQUETTE BEACH INCIDENT

Dear George Mitchell:

I have been egregiously negligent in replying to Virginia's August 11 request for a resume of this summer's most important local violation of the civil rights of dissimilar people. I am to blame that the letter was mislaid at my house. Regrets!

These several enclosures to each of you are not the boiled-down summary desired so earnestly by George Mitchell. But they will so clarify the immediate (1953) Incident, that it can be concisely retold by an old hand like George. If I tried to write the whole story afresh, there's no telling when it would be completed; how much local trouble it would entail for the FEPC functions of this Commission. But much more important, the entire story of the 1953 Marquette Beach Incident, and its background here and its parallels here and in other cities, ought to be protected from over-simplification. This 1953 malfeasance, misfeasance and nonfeasance ought to be assured of the interpretation which it deserves as one more warning posted for municipal officials, for private human relations agencies, for church leadership in our industrial cities with large ethnic blocs and a rapidly-expanding Negro proportion.

The Urban League of Gary turned in an excellent job of observation, spotting of ring-leaders, reporting, interpretation, enlistment of public opinion. Out of this good work of Mr. Clifford E. Minton, Executive Secretary of the Gary Urban League, may

AMERICANS ASK:
"Is he a good worker?"
NOT
"What's his Race or Religion?"
Support FAIR EMPLOYMENT Practices

Mr. George Mitchell
September 16, 1953
Page Two

Look up II

emerge a Gary Commission on Human Relations.

I send each of you in this same mail these following materials:

1. A complete set of Mr. Minton's factual releases.
2. Circular Order 482, 12/2/49, of Chicago Police Commissioner John Prendergast, issued after the Peoria Street Riot, 11/8-11/49
3. Sharp to Minton, Backemeyer, Snyder, 7/28/53
4. Sharp to Race Affairs Committee, Chamber of Commerce, 7/29/53
5. II Sharp to Charles E. Decker, 8/27/53

Gary is learning the hard way, but is learning (hoffentlich!)

Sincerely yours,

Waitstill H. Sharp
Executive Director

WHS/ofj

cc/ Mr. Clifford E. Minton, Ex. Secretary Urban League, Gary
Miss Virginia Huebner, Director Fair Employment Division, Wis.

AMERICANS ASK:
"Is he a good worker?"
NOT
"What's his Race or Religion?"
Support FAIR EMPLOYMENT Practices

Letter sentto: Hotel Raleigh
Richmond, Virginia
where Mr. Shand will be for a few weeks

June 29, 1954

Mr. Gadsden E. Shand, Jr.
112 South Saluda Avenue
Columbia, South Carolina

Mail not delivered

Dear Mr. Shand:

Nice to hear from you; we have been missing you.

More money brings more problems and particularly it seems to bring a plague of people who jump on us and call us a bunch of Communists. The latest is Roy Harris who jumped on us in his weekly sheet.

I am sending some dope to Mr. C. Pinckney Layton*. Distressingly, we haven't got any proper literature about the Council to hand out to prospects. The Board is all changed around and there are so many new factors and so much change that we have not printed anything, and the last mimeographed edition is way out of date. The best I can send you is some application blanks, and you will have to rely for the rest on your own rich persuasiveness.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls.

* material to Pinckney Layton returned "unclaimed" sent to Gadsden Shand for forwarding

$3.00 - check + membership form to Ruth for processing

Gadsden E. Shand, Jr.
112 So. Saluda Ave
Columbia, S.C.

RECEIVED
JUN 28 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 25, 1954

Dear George -

I have been in W. Va. for 3 months setting up an office and organizing the work for Small Business Admin. I am now leaving for Richmond where they want to keep me but I intend to get back to the Carolinas before long, probably other work.

I am sorry that I have not had an opportunity to talk to you and Marion for so long. However I have been doing a lot of observing and thinking and as soon as I get settled down here again I will have some things to say.

Please send literature and several application blanks to C. Pinckney Layton, P.O. Box 782, Charlotte, N.C.

I would like to have some information about So. Reg. and application

blanks to give to prospects.

I will see Dr. Thos. Carroll, Asso. Dir. of Ford Foundation, in Chapel Hill Monday. I think that his field is strictly economic but I will put in a plug for So. Reg. Council.

For the next few weeks I will be in Richmond, Hotel Raleigh.

Sincerely
Gardner

August 12, '54

Dear Mr. Shank,

Bad luck! I've promised to be teaching at an AF of L Southern Labor School at Charlottesville, Va. August 29 - September 3. I may be able to get back down here in the course of Saturday, September 4, and certainly by the morning of the 5th. So please calle me, at home (Dearborn 5961), and we can get together, belatedly.

Sincerely,

George S Mitchell

You'll be most welcome at this office at any time during your stay, and Harlod Fleming or Grace Hamilton here could be helpful. GSM

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
CINCINNATI 21, OHIO

DEAN OF THE SUMMER SCHOOL

incoming of 7/29 and your reply to mr. Bragdon attached. GL

RECEIVED
AUG 9 1954
Southern Regional Council

6 August 1954

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

This brief note is sent to follow the letter of 29 July which was dispatched to you by Mr. Marshall Bragdon of our local Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee. Mr. Bragdon's communication is of sincere interest to the faculty and friends of the Summer School of the University of Cincinnati. I should be very glad to follow through on Mr. Bragdon's suggestion and confer with you on the subject, if you so desire.

I will be in Atlanta beginning with Monday, 30 August and will remain through Sunday, 5 September. I am attending a national convention of a college fraternity, whose sessions will be held on the campus of the Georgia Institute of Technology. While in Atlanta I shall be stopping at the Hotel Biltmore. Although my time is mostly obligated I feel certain we should be able to find a mutually free hour for our conversation. I await your judgement on the matter.

Very sincerely yours,

Spencer Shank

Spencer Shank
Dean, Summer School

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

SS:pm

August 13, 1954

Mr. Spencer Shank
Dean
Summer School
University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Dean Shank:

All straight about meeting you at the Biltmore Hotel late Sunday afternoon or Sunday evening, September 5.

Suppose we set 5:00 p.m. now as the time, and I will shopw up at your room then unless you otherwise propose by telephone to me. My home telephone is Dearborn 5961.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

September 10, 1954

Mr. Spencer Shank
Box 467
Pineville, Kentucky

Dear Mr. Shank:

I explored with care the matter we discussed on Monday.

I am sorry to say I got no encouragement toward any arrangement under which the State Superintendents of Instruction in the South would request an arrangement for the training of select teachers for assistance in the problem of integration in the schools. It is judged that people in authority in most of the Southern states have persuaded themselves that integration can be postponed for a long time, and whether or not that supposition is correct, few of them are now disposed to take steps which identify them with voluntary and pre-planned compliance with the decision of the Court.

There is some thought, also, that when and if the time comes that officialdom within the public school system of the South seeks training of this kind, they will wish to arrange it at this or that institution or several institutions well within the borders of the South.

I, myself, think this is short-sighted, and that it is a part of statesmanship to prepare painstakingly, at just this stage, for easy transition to unsegregated education.

My recommendation would be that the Summer session of the University of Cincinnati proceed with as lengthy and as substantial a training program as it can devise and get financed. And that it make known to teachers in the South the availability of instruction in this new and needed skill. I think that quite a number of teachers would go on their own; their prescience being greater than that of the officials above them.

I am sorry to report this conclusion, as I had hoped that some quasi-official request could be made on behalf of the state school officers for the particular kind of training you are prepared to offer. I believe my information is correct that such a request will not be forthcoming, and, again, I can only recommend that you proceed, as all of us must, to do by voluntary and unofficial devices what so greatly does need to be done.

We, in this Council, stand ready to help you in any way we can. It may be that a few weeks from now a further conference on the matter would see some ray of hope.

In any case, I am strongly of the opinion that whatever you can do toward offering organized instruction in this matter will turn out to be greatly beneficial to the South and to the nation.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

cc: Mr. J. Curtis Dixon
GSM/eab

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
SUMMER SCHOOL
CINCINNATI 21, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

5 PM - Biltmore - Sun. Sep 5
e, 5 PM to go.

17 August 1954

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your kind and prompt reply to my inquiry of 6 August. I note that life in Atlanta, as in Cincinnati, refuses to be direct and simple when one would most want it that way.

Although I should very much like to discuss certain proposals with your Mr. Fleming and your Miss Hamilton, I feel that the point which should be thoroughly laid before us needs to be given direct presentation to you as well as to your staff members. Hence I make the following proposals insofar as your own time and availability are concerned:

I suggest that I confer with you late on Sunday afternoon or on Sunday evening of the 5th September. I believe that our Convention meetings and conferences will be ended by one o'clock on that date.

Mrs. Shank and I will be staying at the Biltmore Hotel. I should appreciate having you call me sometime during the morning or noon hour of the 5th that we might make more specific arrangements.

In the foregoing I in no wise mean to suggest that Mr. Fleming and Miss Hamilton not sit in on the conferences; I do mean to suggest that my own time will be rather heavily obligated until late in the day of 5 September.

Very sincerely yours,

Spencer Shank

Spencer Shank
Dean, Summer School

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

SS:pm

RECEIVED
AUG 19 1954
Southern Regional Council

file

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI
SUMMER SCHOOL
CINCINNATI 21, OHIO

OFFICE OF THE DEAN

RECEIVED
11/6/54
Southern Regional Council

4 November 1954

My dear Mr. Mitchell:

At long last I am prepared to give you something of a conclusive response to your kind and helpful letter of 10 September. My delay in writing has been due to the usual work that attends the Autumn months. We have been completely engrossed in the work of planning for our 1955 Summer School.

Faced with the story that you so frankly laid before us, we concluded that any effort we should make towards having a workshop or other unit in the field of Integration should be designed for local application, and not especially as something which should serve more distant parts. We have, therefore, surveyed our community needs and have concluded that we had better not schedule a unit in this field for next summer. I do not now foresee any change in this decision, although the gate is not so tightly locked that it could not be opened should there be valid reason for doing so.

I write not only to thank you, but to express my sincere appreciation of your time and your efforts on behalf of what seemed to be a very reasonable and very timely proposal. I trust that I shall have the pleasure of meeting you and talking with you in the future, either here or in your own part of the country.

Very sincerely yours,

Spencer Shank

Spencer Shank
Dean, Summer School

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

cc: Mr. Marshall Bragdon

SS:pm

May 3, 1955

Mr. A. C. Shropshire
Director
Division of Education
Langston University
Langston, Oklahoma

Dear Mr. Shropshire:

We would be happy to supply, without charge, at the appropriate time, samples of various of SRC's currently available publications for the Intercultural Workshop at Langston in June.

Please write us ahead of time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

cc: KS

Langston University
Langston, Oklahoma

DIVISION OF EDUCATION

April 23, 1955

MAY 2 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The first week in June, Langston University is conducting an Intercultural Workshop. Dr. William Van Til is directing this project. We are interested in securing all the free and lending resource materials at your disposal.

Please indicate whether you will be in a position to render this service.

Very truly yours,

A. C. Shropshire

~~A. C.~~ Shropshire
Director
Division of Education

ACS/mjj

Contributions-
general

January 4, 1956

Mrs. Inez R. Shearer
297 Linwood Avenue
Buffalo 9, New York

Dear Mrs. Shearer:

I have been trying to find out how that business in the Bible about the one and three talents applies to you. I can't quite hook it up, but you know what I mean.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

GADSDEN E. SHAND, JR.
112 SO SALUDA AVE. PHONE 2-8925
COLUMBIA 5, S C

Oct. 2, 1956.

Mr. Marion Wright
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Marion -

Last spring I wrote an article Who Shot Jim Crow which I gave to Horace Carter. He gladly accepted it and tried to place it with several magazines wi thout success, under his name (confidential of course). He recently returned it to me to use or destroy. I fully appreciate that I am no writer and that the magazines do not want editorial types of articles. As a matter of fact I would rather not publish anything on the current controversy under my name at this time.

However I do think that there are some points in this paper that should be brought to the attention of authorities in both North and South. Southern legislators particularly need to consider these facts.

If you or George can make use of this paper or any part of it you are welcome to it.

Unfortunately I still have to work fora living and I cannot afford to give up my present job now but I will get back to the Carolinas some day, and I will take up where I left off.

Rosa is at Randolph-Macon again this year and there is no one home but Mary Boykin and myself so we have plenty of room for you and would love to have you stay with us if you come to Washington. I would certainly like to see you again.

I am now in charge of screening all Gov't procurements, both military and civilian, in the Washington area in the interest of small business but my net income is less than it was in Columbia.

Sincerely

January 9, 1957

Sheraton-Cadillac Hotel
Detroit 31, Michigan

Gentlemen:

I was surprised to get your bill for room for my stay December 28, 1956. I was a guest and on the program of the Delta Sigma Theta Sorority Convention and was told to sign the hotel bill. My first impulse was to immediately mail you a check, but there is a possibility of a mix-up somewhere, so I am referring the bill to the sorority and am sure you or I one will hear from the national office and the matter will be most assuredly taken care of at an early date.

In this connection I wish to say that I, as a Southern white woman, was deeply appreciative of the hospitality and courtesy that you extend to all the people and I long for the day when this will be the pattern of every hotel in our nation.

Yours very truly,

(Mrs.) M. E. Tilly
Director of Women's Work

MET:mm

cc: Miss Dorothy Height, President, Delta Sigma Theta Sorority

March 7, 1957

Mr. Gadsden E. Shand, Jr.,
1518 44th St. N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Gadsden:

I sent the article which you forwarded me on October 2nd to the Atlanta office and hope very much that it has not been misplaced since you would like to have it returned.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the Office with the request that your excellent article be sent back to you.

You ask about Mrs. Spearman. She is still in Columbia and I had the pleasure of seeing her at a recent meeting of the Penn Community Services Board.

With kind regards, I am

Yours sincerely,

M. A. Wright

M. A. Wright

MAW:ejg

c. c. to Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

1518 44th St N.W.
Washington, D.C.

GADSDEN E. SHAND, JR.
~~112 SO. SALUDA AVE. PHONE 2-5925~~
~~COLUMBIA 5, S.C.~~

Sunday
March 3, 1957

Dear Marion -

Please return the article that I sent to you on October 2nd. I expect to make use of most of this in another form.

You will hear from me before long.

I have no reply to my last two letters to Alice. Is she still in Columbia.

Sincerely
Gadsden

May 27, 1957

Dr. O. L. Shelton, Dean
School of Religion
Butler University
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Dr. Shelton:

Thank you for your letter of May 22nd inviting me to participate in the institute "The Church in a Multi-racial Society." I note the date you suggest is June 19th at 2:00 p.m., and the topic will be "The South and Desegregation." Fortunately, I am to be up that way near that time and will be glad to be with you for the proposed date.

My expenses will be paid by another organization, but an honorarium of $50.00 to the Southern Regional Council will make possible future travel by our staff members. Though we do not like to base participation on financial requirements, our limited travel budget makes this request necessary.

I note from the little pamphlet that you sent that Lewis Deer is participating and he and I have been friends for some time.

I look forward to hearing from you in the near future indicating whether the arrangements suggested are acceptable.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf

June 10, 1957

Dean O. L. Shelton
School of Religion
Butler University
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Dean Shelton:

Thank you for your letter of June 5th and I shall turn up at your workshop some time prior to 2:00 P.M., June 19th. The check for the honorarium should be made out to "The Southern Regional Council, Inc."

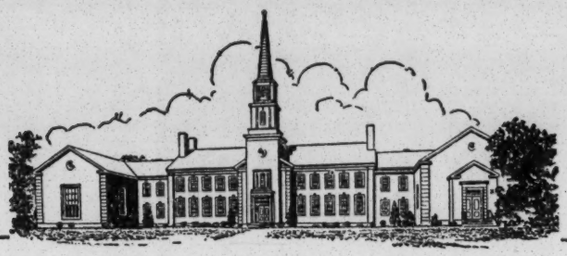
Thanks for your cooperation in this matter.

With all good wishes,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm



School of Religion

Butler University

A Graduate Theological Seminary

INDIANAPOLIS 7, INDIANA

O. L. SHELTON
DEAN

B. A. NORRIS
ASSISTANT DEAN

BIBLICAL FIELD

Old Testament
Semitic Languages
Toyozo W. Nakarai

New Testament
Greek
S. Marion Smith

Biblical Theology
Inter-Testamental Literature
Hebrew-Greek
David C. Pellett

DOCTRINAL FIELD

Christian Doctrine
Theology
James G. Clague

Historical Theology
Frank J. Albert

Ecumenical Theology
Robert Tobias

Philosophy of Religion
Christian Ethics
Psychology of Religion
Walter W. Sikes

HISTORICAL FIELD

Church History
Disciples' History
Ronald E. Osborn

Historical Theology
Frank J. Albert

Ecumenical History
Robert Tobias

History of Religions
Missions
Joseph M. Smith

PRACTICAL FIELD

Administration
Worship
O. L. Shelton

Pastoral Work
City Church
Counseling
Preaching
B. A. Norris

Town and Country
Church
F. E. Rector

Religious Education
J. B. Miller

Speech and Drama
Radio and Television
A. R. Edyvean

Church Music
James Carley

June 5, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

We shall be very happy to have you coming for June 19 at 2:00 p.m. and will pay the $50.00 honorarium which you suggest to be the proper remuneration.

Looking forward to seeing you, I am

Cordially yours,

O. L. Shelton, Dean

OLS:ss

July 8, 1957

Mr. O. L. Shelton, Dean
School of Religion
Butler University
Indianapolis 7, Indiana

Dear Dean Shelton:

I was happy to participate in the workshop while at Butler University. The group with which I met was alert and interested in what is happening in the South. I met with another group that same evening at Lewis Deer's house. Both groups I found to be stimulating.

We have received a check for $50.00 for the expenses incurred by me in coming to the institution.

Thanks for the kind words in the letter which accompanied the check.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:lcc

School of Religion

Butler University

A Graduate Theological Seminary

INDIANAPOLIS 7, INDIANA

O. L. SHELTON
DEAN

B. A. NORRIS
ASSISTANT DEAN

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Administration
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City Church
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B. A. Norris

Town and Country
Church
F. E. Rector

Religious Education
J. B. Miller

Speech and Drama
Radio and Television
A. R. Edyvean

Church Music
James Carley

June 29, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

RHA 7/1/57

According to our agreement, I am enclosing the check for $50 for the expense incurred by your coming here. We want to express our very deep appreciation for your participation in this conference and for the contribution you rendered. We feel that this is a very important and significant area for study, and we shall continue to try to help our church leaders find their way through it.

Thanking you again for your participation, I am,

Cordially yours,

O. L. Shelton
Dean

OLS:md

Enclosure

December 17, 1958

Mr. Donald R. Shepherd
1446 B Street
Apt. A
San Diego 2, California

Dear Mr. Shepherd:

Under separate cover I am sending you some materials relating to the "right to work" laws. Mrs. Hurley knew of my interest in matters related to unions and asked if I could send some materials to you.

The Southern Regional Council is not specifically interested in "right to work" or other legislation affecting unions. However, in my role as labor consultant I do receive a number of publications related to the various interests of the labor movement. Some of these I am passing on to you for your use.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant
(Dictated by Mr. Via, but signed in his absence.)

EFV:ls

bc to John Griffin and copy of Brown's ltr. to HCF

December 29, 1958

Mr. Paul E. X. Brown
Imperial Publicist and Editor - Pyramid
2356 Beach Way, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Brown:

We appreciated your letter advising us of your organization's contribution to the Emory University's School of Medicine.

This is, indeed, a significant gift, and we congratulate you and your colleagues on this generous and statesmanlike gesture.

We should aporeciate being informed of future developments in this and similar matters.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. John Wesley Dobbs

Organized June 10, 1893, Chicago, Ill.
Incorporated Nov. 13, 1901
Washington, D. C.

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ARABIC ORDER NOBLES OF THE MYSTIC SHRINE OF NORTH & SOUTH AMERICA & ITS JURISDICTIONS, INC.

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Imperial Chief Rabban
1124 N. Highland Avenue
Winston-Salem, N. C.

ROSCOE C. WASHINGTON
Imperial Assistant Rabban
240 South Avenue Nineteen
Los Angeles 31, California

REV. JOHN HENRY HESTER
Imperial High Priest and Prophet
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Atlantic City, New Jersey

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Imperial Oriental Guide
40 St. Nicholas Place
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GEORGE CRISUP
Imperial Auditor
6822 Langley Avenue
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G. STEVEN MARCHMAN
Imperial Auditor
7517 Cottage Grove Avenue
Chicago 19, Illinois

R. G. SCHUSTER
Imperial Auditor
446 East Warren Street
Detroit, Michigan

OFFICE OF
IMPERIAL PUBLICIST AND EDITOR — PYRAMID
2356 Beach Way South West

Oasis of Atlanta — Desert of Georgia

18 day of month JOMADI I which corresponds to

Hegira 1378 — 29 November 1958

The Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, Northeast
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

The Emory University School of Medicine has been granted a medical research award of $5,000 from the Ancient Egyptian Arabic Order Nobles of the Mystic Shrine. The grant is the results of an application made to the Imperial Council during its 1958 Convention at Chicago last August.

The grant to the Emory University Medical School is unique in that this is prehaps the first time an all-colored national organization has provided such funds to a Deep South all white institution.

The funds are part of some $33,500 being distributed this fiscal year by the Shriners to educational institutions and hospitals throughout the nation. The grant is made from the Shriners' Tuberculosis and Cancer Research Foundation, a charity organization supported by the Shriners and their Daughters of Isis.

The Shriners' grant will be given to University officials and the qualified research student in formal ceremonies to be mutually agreed upon with the Honorable John Wesley Dobbs, 330 Auburn Avenue, N. E., and representatives of Atlanta's Nabbar Temple.

Very truly yours,

Paul E. X. Brown

Paul E. X. Brown
Imperial Publicist

Contribute to the Shrine Tuberculosis and Cancer Research Foundation . . . Give Today . . . and Save a Life Tomorrow!
Make all Checks or Money Orders payable to Imperial Council, A. E. A. O. N. M. S.

HERE IS A COMPLETE LISTING OF INSTITUTIONS AND HOSPITALS RECEIVING AWARDS FROM THE SHRINERS FOR 1958:

1.	St. Mary's Infirmary Galveston, Texas Cancer Research	$7,000
2.	The College of Medical Evangelists Los Angeles, California Medical Research	$6,000
3;	Homer G. Phillips Hospital St. Louis, Missouri Cancer Research	$5,000
4.	Howard University Washington, D. C. Research in Medicine	$7,000
5.	Meharry Medical College Nashville, Tennessee Cancer Research	$3,500
6.	Emory University Emory University, Georgia Tuberculosis and Cancer Research	$5,000
	TOTAL	$33,500

June 23, 1959

Mr. Gregory E. Shinert
Executive Director
Missouri Commission on Human Rights
Room 102, State Capitol Building
Jefferson City, Missouri

Dear Mr. Shinert:

Since Harold is on vacation this week, I am taking the liberty of answering your letter to him concerning material for your Human Relations Conference.

In answer to an earlier request from your office, we mailed you some material on June 17 for the conference. The material and your recent letter probably crossed in the mail. If there is additional material you would like to have for your conference, please let me know.

Thank you for writing us about the answer to the Putnam letter which appeared in the CALL. We are writing Miss Bluford for a copy.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

JC - Please handle in my absence. HCF

GREGORY E. SHINERT
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
PHONE 5-5726

MISSOURI COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

ROOM 102 STATE CAPITOL BLDG.
JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI

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GOVERNOR

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DR. F. L. McCLUER
ST. CHARLES

REV. LEE F. SOXMAN
ROLLA

LYNN TWITTY
SIKESTON

HOWARD B. WOODS
ST. LOUIS

June 17, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your kind letter of June 12th--please pardon the delay, but I have been out of the state since June 2nd--just returning yesterday.

Thank you for the material sent--especially the article by John Lofton on the Putnam letters. You might be interested in a long, and logically well informed, answer to the Putnam letter, published in the Kansas City CALL some time back, by four priests of the Kansas City diocese. I do not have the date of the issue--but I am sure Miss Lucile Bluford, editor of the CALL and member of the Commission, might supply you with re-prints. It is one of the few answers (intelligent and easy reading) that I have ever read in reply to Putnam--and the only newspaper answer ever printed in Missouri--although all our Missouri metropolitian papers carried Putnam's letter! ((Her address: 1715 East 18th. Street, Kansas City, 8, Mo.))

The Commission on Human Rights, now a permanent state agency--thanks to Governor Blair's signature of House Bill 266 on June 8th--is co-sponsoring a Human Relations Conference (in conjunction with the Central Missouri State College and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith) on the campus of the college in Warrensburg, this July 15-16-17th.

If your Council has any type of exhibit it might wish to show--or materials, publications, maps, etc--and wishes to send them to the Commission free--we will be happy to set up and man such an exhibit at the Conference for you.

With kindest personal regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

G. E. Shinert

Gregory E. Shinert
Executive Director

MISSOURI STATE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS
Jefferson City, Mo.

Room 102
State Capitol

RESUME OF ACTIVITIES FROM JULY 1, 1958---May 10, 1959

The State Commission was created by Senate Committee Substitute for House Bill 125, enacted by the 69th. General Assembly, 1957.

Governor James T. Blair swore in the Commission on April 14, 1958--and the Commission held its first brief meeting on that date.

The first organizational meeting was held at St. Louis University, St. Louis, June 7,1958, at which time an Executive Director was hired, to begin duties July 1, 1958.

The initial quarterly meeting was held in Kansas City, September 25, 1958.
The second quarterly meeting was held in Jefferson City, December 4, 1958, and the third quarterly meeting was held in Springfield, April 2, 1959.

The fourth quarterly meeting will be held in St. Joseph, June 25, 1959.

Some specific activities of the Commission may be discerned in the following:

1) Investigated 16 complaints sent to the Commission.
In four cases, probable cause was found, and the Commission is attempting by menas of conference, conciliation and moral persuasion to eliminate the discriminatory practices complained of.
In one case, the complaintant withdrew her complaint.
After due investigation of facts pertaining to eleven cases, it was determined that either no probable cause existed, or the matter fell beyond the jurisdiction of the Commission.

2) Began a STUDY OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN MISSOURI. A 29-page questionnaire was compiled and distributed to informed and interested persons in each of the 114 counties of Missouri, in an effort to discover the facts about discrimination as it exists in Missouri. Responses from 54 counties have been received, to date.
The results of this STUDY will form the basis of a Report to the Governor and General Assembly.

3) Submitted a Preliminary Report to the Governor and General Assembly on March 1,1959, covering the first seven months of operation , the initial findings of the STUDY, recommendations, and program for 1959-1961.

4) Cooperated with the State Advisory Committee of the Federal Civil Rights Commission, which was established in Missouri in December, 1958. The Chairman of this Committtee is a member of the Missouri Commission on Human Rights.

5) Sent to the Federal Civil Rights Commission in Washington,D.C. 50 copies of the 29-page questionnaire--at their request-- to be used by the State Advisory Committees in each of the 50 States.

6) Sponsored a meeting of interested citizens and community leaders in Jefferson City on December 5,1958. The meeting was attended by members of four human relations councils, thirty-four organizations, three state agencies, and twenty representatives from labor, church groups, education, social work, law, housing, employers, and State Representatives.
These citizens, approximately sixty in number, met with the Commission to plan long-range programs and suggest ways the Commission might function in a prudent way for the first two years.

The program included discussion of human and civil rights in the fields of employment, education, public accommodations, housing, medical facilities, health and welfare services, recreation, community organizations, and related areas of human and civil rights.

The program ended with a suggestion from one of the participants that the group go formally on record in support of the Commission, and urge the General Assembly to make the Commission a permanent state agency, and appropriate it enough money for the next biennium to enable the Commission to satisfactorily perform the duties assigned to it by the General Assembly.

This suggestion was unanimously approved by all present.

7) Prepared a pamphlet on the work, functions and duties of the Commission--with suggestions on how all citizens might assist the Commission in its task. This pamphlet will be distributed to all the public schools, to members of the General Assembly, and to all interested persons and organizations, as soon as budgetary funds permit.

8) Is co-sponsoring a Human Relations Seminar (in conjunction with the Center For Human Relations, Warrensburg; the Central Missouri State College; and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith) this July 15, 16, and 17th. on the campus of Central Missouri State College, Warrensburg.

9) Is preparing a Teaching Unit on Human Rights, in co-operation with the State Dept. of Education. This Unit will be distributed to all the senior public high schools this August, and is planned to integrate with existing social studies curriculum.

10) Answered approximately 100 requests from state agencies in and out of Missouri for information and materials on the Commission; and some 400 private organizations and individuals.

The Commission has mailed out some 2,500 letters of inquiry, information, and general communication since July 1, 1958.

11) Co-operated with a number of other organizations in Missouri to discourage discrimination, as directed by the Act bringing the Commission into being.

On several occasions the Commission has actively assisted local public and private organizations in eliminating or modifying existing discrimination.

12) Used TV, radio and the press to bring the work of the Commission to the attention of the people of Missouri.

13) Adopted a set of By-Laws, a Procedure for the Handling of Complaints, and a Statement of Philosophy.

14) Obtained three "advisory" letters of opinion from the Attorney General in regard to matters before the Commission, and established a close liaison with his office.

15) Adopted a proposal to promote the observance of December 10th. each year as HUMAN RIGHTS DAY--and have the Commission give support to said observance.
a) Endorsed the observance of Human Rights Week (Dec. 10-17) each year.
b) Endorsed the observance of Equal Opportunity Day, Nov. 19th. each year.
c) Endorsed the observance of Race Relations Day, Sunday, Feb. 8, 1959.

16) Received a Report from each of the eleven Commissioners on the human rights picture in each of their eleven Congressional Districts.

17) Instituted a Study of Migratory Labor and associated problems, to ascertain the Commission's area of responsibility in this regard.

18) Elected a slate of Officers (Vice-Chairman, Secretary-Treasurer) for the fiscal year July 1959-June 1960.

19) Instructed the Executive Director to print and distribute a bi-monthly NEWSLETTER throughout Missouri, as soon as budgetary funds permit.
Copies of this NEWSLETTER are to be sent to the Governor, members of the General Assembly, the twenty-five Civil Rights States, to the Secretary of the Governor's Conference on Civil Rights, the National Association of Inter-Group Relations Officials, and such other national organizations as request same.

20) Planned a schedule of future meetings for the Commission, which rotate the quarterly meetings among the eleven Congressional Districts.

21) Prepared a budget for the 1959-1961 Biennium.

22) Appeared before the Governor to present the biennium budget.
Appeared before the House and Senate Appropriations Committees on four occasions to submit the Emergency and biennium budgets.

23) Appeared before various House and Senate Committees in support of House Bills 62, 81, 123, 266, 273, and 502.

24) Staff and Commission members traveled some 20,000 miles on Commission business within the State (Installation, organizational meeting, three regular meetings, appearances before the Governor, House and Senate Committee hearings, appearances before other organizations, investigative work.)
Traveled 3,342 miles outside of the State on official business.

25) Through the co-operation of the Governor, opened an office in Room 102, State Capitol; furnished it from state surplus and performed the day-to-day operations of the Commission.
There is maintained in this office an Official Journal and Ledger, containing the financial records of the Commission, along with the Official Minutes Book, containing the proceedings of all meetings.

26) The Executive Director has been guest speaker at some 25 meetings of various organizations and groups, pertaining to the work, functions and duties of the Commission.
Each Commissioner, in his own District, has performed like duties.

27) The Executive Director has attended, by invitation, two National Conventions to represent the Commission, acting as Consultant on Employment on one occasion.

28) The Chairman, Father Trafford P. Maher,S.J., at the request of the Governor, attended the Governor's Conference on Civil Rights in Detroit, Michigan, January 30-31, 1959, as the personal representative of the Governor.
At this Conference, there were some 25 Governors or their personal representatives.

The Commission on Human Rights envisions a comprehensive program for the next two years, in the areas of employment, education, public accommodations, housing, medical facilities, recreation, community organizations and related fields of human and civil rights.

Our purpose embraces equal rights and opportunities for all Missouri citizens, irrespective of race, ethnic origin or nationality. However, the Commission has been specifically delegated to concern itself with discrimination against certain minorities, to foster mutual understanding and respect among all groups. The encouragement of fair treatment for all persons is our primary goal.

The Commission is essentially an educational commission, with no enforcement powers, no power to hold public hearings, no subpoena powers. The methods used are those of education, conciliation, mediation and moral persuasion to effect what changes are possible,

*** **** *** *** *** **** **** **** **** **** ***** *** ***** ***

October 4, 1962

Miss Pat Sheriff
Television Age
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York 20, New York

Dear Pat:

I should have written to you earlier this week, but things have just been hectic. Now I am afraid you will be off to London before this can reach you. I signed for the bill at the hotel except for the tax and telephone calls which I paid for in cash; receipt is enclosed. This was very grand of you to arrange on short notice.

I was wearied and preoccupied when I saw you last week. I'll be better company another time. Peggy joins me in sending our best to you and your mother, and I hope you have a fine time in Europe.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:a
Enclosure

January 2, 1964

file: "S" & Ipu Corresp.

Mr. Charles M. Sherrod
c/o The Albany Movement
5045 Madison Street
Albany, Georgia

Dear Charles:

I doubt that there is anything I can do, but give me a little more time and I'll be writing to you again.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

December 13, 1963
Albany, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

It has been quite some time since I have seen you but I can still remember a tall gentleman. Let me congradulate you on the stand you took in Atlanta concerning future gatherings of the Southern Regional Council.

Now let me tell you of my troubles. I want desperately to return to school in (this typewriter doesn't have a bell) school in September of 1964. I want to enter Union Theological Seminary in New York, although I was refused entrance in 1961. If I remember correctly, there was some mention made of high standards and the numerous applicats of high academic achievement attempting matriculation. I maintained only a "C plus" at Virginia Union University School of Religion. It was here that I obtained the Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1961. I was leader in the movement then and working at a hospital from 11-7. I've had French in High School, two years of German in college, and two years of Greek in Seminary(two languages are required I believe), but the fact remains that I don't have the grades needed to get into the school of my choice.

I went to a conference in B lack Mountain this past week where I met Dr. John Oliver Nelson of Yale Divinity School. (he's leaving Yale this next year. He advised me to write the Rockefellow brothers Fund, the Danforth Foundation, and a Dr. Lawrence DeBoer. But, even if I got finances from these groups I would still have to get accepted into Union.

Finally, I talked also with Jim Laue and with the understanding that I wanted to go to Union for work on a Phd. in Social Ethics or Sociology and Religion or Religion and Society, knowing also of my problems, he advised me to plead my case to you. Well, this is it.

You may not know that my ambition is to teach in the Seminary(which, incidently will be the basis for the next stage of the Revolution). These days one must get that degree and of course one must also be prepared, unfortunately in that order. Please do what you can for me. I'll be willing to do anything-take subjects for no credit; enroll on a trial basis; take few subjects and stay longer-anything. I want to study under the best men in the country. All I want is a chance; I'm ready to study!

Your brother in the Lord,

Charles M. Sherrod

File "Sh" gen
Cr. ref.
Sec. gen
re: "Shapiro Dissertation with parts being devoted to foundation support for SRC"

MS - file important
talked on phone

385 EAST EIGHTEENTH STREET - BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11226

AREA CODE 212
BUCKMINSTER 4-7788

June 25, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am a graduate student at Columbia University, preparing my Ph.D. dissertation in the Department of Public Law and Government, under the guidance of David B. Truman. The subject of my study is a relatively uncharted course of social science research -- the impact of national philanthropic foundation programs on public policy. I recently spoke with Leslie Dunbar and David Freeman about my project, and it is with their encouragment that I am writing to you.

If it is convenient for you and the research staff of the Council, I should like to focus part of my study on foundation-support for the SRC. Both Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Freeman suggested that I concentrate my research on the SRC as a governmental watchdog and critic and also as a reliable source of data on race relations in the South. Given the scope of the SRC's operations, I am not quite certain which specific aspects of the SRC's program would be the most fruitful focus for my attention. Two possible approaches that come to mind are:

1. History and analysis of reports critical of governmental programs, with particular attention to the 1961 and 1963 reports on the federal executive; governmental reaction to the reports; ways in which the SRC helped governmental agencies to implement the findings of the reports.

2. Analysis of the ways in which the SRC helped to implement the 1954 Supreme Court decision and subsequent federal civil rights legislation, including public education, providing reliable data to the federal governmental agencies, and mediating in southern communities. I would concentrate primarily on school desegregation, and, in this connection, Mr. Dunbar suggested that I might wish to examine the work of the SRC and Georgia Council in Atlanta, 1960-1961.

In addition to examining the specific work of the Council, I would like to read through the clip files and articles that the research division has collected on the work of the SRC. Also, Mr. Dunbar described the SRC as a training ground for individuals who assumed governmental positions, and it would be very useful if I could assemble examples of consultations of the SRC staff with agencies of the federal government and perhaps prepare a list of SRC personnel who have worked or are now working for the federal government. Finally, and this is fundamental to my research, I would want to describe the history of foundation support for the Southern Regional Council, with particular attention to the support after the terminal grant from the Fund for the Republic up-to but not including the recent Ford Foundation grant.

I spoke with Miss Bartley about the possibility of my visiting Atlanta. However, I realize that my request for data is still somewhat vague. Could you give me a call, collect, at (212) 284-7788 some time this week so that we could discuss the aspects of the Council's program which might be a fruitful focus for my study?

I am enclosing a personal resumé, which I thought might be of interest and am looking forward to hearing from you at your convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Marilyn Shapiro

Marilyn Shapiro

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

NAME: Marilyn Linda Shapiro DATE OF BIRTH: September 10, 1941

ADDRESS: 385 East 18 Street, Brooklyn, New York 11226 TELEPHONE: BU. 4-7787
BU. 4-7788

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

HIGH SCHOOL: Packer Collegiate Institute 1955-1958
170 Joralemon Street
Brooklyn, New York

COLLEGE: Wellesley College 1958-1962
Wellesley 81, Massachusetts B.A. June 1962

Major Subject: Political Science
Minor Subjects: History, Sociology, Music

GRADUATE SCHOOL: Columbia University September 1962--
New York, New York M.A. February 1964
M.A. essay advisor:
Vice President
Lawrence Chamberlain
Dissertation advisor:
Dean David B. Truman

Major Field: American Politics
Minor Fields: British Government and French Government

ACADEMIC HONORS

HIGH SCHOOL: Valedictorian (J.H.S.), graduated first in class, various character and scholarship awards

COLLEGE: Freshman Honors
Durant Scholar (awarded to students who attain over a B+ average)
Phi Beta Kappa (elected junior year)
Graduated with Special Honors in Political Science
Wellesley Collge Trustee Scholar 1962-63
Woodrow Wilson Fellow (Honorary) 1962-63
National Defense Education Act Fellow September 1962-June 1965

RELEVANT WORK EXPERIENCE

Summer 1961: Staff member, U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor (Frederick R. Blackwell, Chief Counsel, U.S. Senate, New Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.)

Summer 1962: Research Assistant, Brookings Institution New York Manpower Study (David T. Stanley, Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.)

Summers '63 and '64: Research Assistant, Rockefeller Brothers Fund Special Studies Project (Miss Nancy Hanks, 1290 Avenue of the Americas, New York, New York 10019)

Author: "Foundation Support for the Performing Arts," (107pp.) This paper was prepared for the 30-member Rockefeller Panel as background for its 18-month study of the performing arts. The study was based on interviews and correspondence with more than 70 foundation executives and representatives of performing arts organizations.

Bring up July 29

File - "Sh" gen.

~~Reto~~ Return to files mj

July 18, 1966

Miss Marilyn Shapiro
385 East 18th Street
Brooklyn, New York 11226

Dear Miss Shapiro:

The week of August 1 is fine with us, and we look forward to seeing you then.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MARILYN L. SHAPIRO
385 EAST 18TH STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11226

AREA CODE 212
BUCKMINSTER 4-7788

(2)

July 13, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am planning to arrive in Atlanta over the weekend of July thirty-first -- airplane machinists permitting, and I am looking forward to meeting with you on Monday, August first. I will assume that this will be convenient for you. If you prefer that I delay my trip a week or so, do not hesitate to let me know.

I appreciate your interest and your help.

Sincerely yours,

Marilyn Shapiro

Marilyn Shapiro

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Jim
-Sh" gm

MARILYN L. SHAPIRO
385 EAST 18TH STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11226

AREA CODE 212
BUCKMINSTER 4-7788

August 8, 1966

Dear Mildred:

Just a quick note to thank you so very much for being so helpful during my Atlanta visit -- particularly the Xerox duty which I know is a tedious business at best.

I hope that the final product justifies the kindness of the staff to me.

Sincerely,

Marilyn

Marilyn Shapiro

Mrs. Mildred Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file
"Sh" gen.

August 10, 1966

Miss Marilyn Shapiro
385 East 18th Street
Brooklyn, New York 11226

Dear Marilyn:

I finally got around to xeroxing the whole mess and here it 'tis.

It was great getting to know you, and if we can be of any further assistance, please do let us know.

Come again when you can.

Sincerely,

Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ
Enclosures

P. S. -- You're getting on the mailing list right away. In the meantime, I'm enclosing a recently done report on SRC program for the last six months, and a report to the Development Committee in April.

File "Sh" gen.

August 15, 1966

Miss Marilyn Shapiro
385 East 18th Street
Brooklyn, New York 11225

Dear Marilyn:

It was a real pleasure having you visit for a week, and I have complete confidence in the job you'll do. In fact, I really look forward to reading it.

If we can be of any further help, please let us know.

Undoubtedly, I will be on the money circuit come September or early October, and if so I will let you know when I'm coming to New York in case you have need for us to get together.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

385 EAST EIGHTEENTH STREET - BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11226

AREA CODE 212
BUCKMINSTER 4-7788

(2)

August 8, 1966

Dear Paul:

There is no doubt that your kindness to me in Atlanta will facilitate my coming up with a study that will be of some use to someone -- other than the dissertation secretary at Columbia University. I appreciate your letting me indulge in the Xerox machine which saved me many days work and also will guarantee more accurate research.

I particularly enjoyed our talk on Thursday. You and Paul Ylvisaker are two of the few people who really understand what I am up to. Because of your generosity with your time and the data available at SRC, I feel an increasing responsibility to come up with something creative, and I am looking forward to your reactions to the final product.

Sincerely,

Marilyn

Marilyn Shapiro

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

file "Sh" Gen

MARILYN L. SHAPIRO
385 EAST 18TH STREET
BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11226

AREA CODE 212
BUCKMINSTER 4-7788

August 19, 1966

Dear Mildred:

Again, thanks for your help.

I particularly enjoyed the SRC six-month report.

Sincerely,

Marilyn

Mrs. Mildred M. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

See "Sh" Gen.

December 28, 1966

Mr. Phil Sherburne
516 Green Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Dear Phil:

Thank you for your card and the information contained in it. I am delighted to know you are finally on your way to becoming a lawyer and I know you will make a great one. Just stay away from corporations!

Every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

File
"Sh" "Gen"

Taylor. Female
C.W.R.
S.N.Y.

December 30, 1966

Miss Marilyn Shapiro
385 East 18th Street
Brooklyn, New York 11226

Dear Marilyn:

Thanks for the card and for the report on your life and times.

Do keep us informed on how your work is progressing.

Every good wish for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

See
Pub. gen.
Cr. ref. gen.
JU gen.

April 3, 1967

Mr. Cliff Tuck
Shelby County Development Coordinator
Office of Shelby County Commissioners
Shelby County Courthouse
Memphis, Tennessee 38130

Dear Mr. Tuck:

While we will be happy to be of any possible assistance to you in the very important efforts to create and find funds for a Community Liaison Officer, I am doubtful if we can be of much help.

A somewhat similar situation was developed here in Atlanta with a one-year grant being given to the mayor's office from the Stern Family Fund, 21 East 40th Street, New York, New York 10016. I doubt seriously, however, that the Fund is prepared at this time to make a second grant. You might, however, write it to determine if there is any possibility of this. If you do so, please do not mention that I have suggested this, since foundations can become justifiably irritated at recipients

who creat more work for them.

You might also write to Mr. John Feild, Director of the Community Relations Service, U. S. Conference of Mayors, 1707 "H" Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20006. Mr. Feild has a particular interest in this area, and has substantial contacts with foundations and other sources of private funds. I know he will be helpful if at all possible.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

COMMISSION GOVERNMENT

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HEALTH AND INSTITUTIONS

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COMMISSIONER OF
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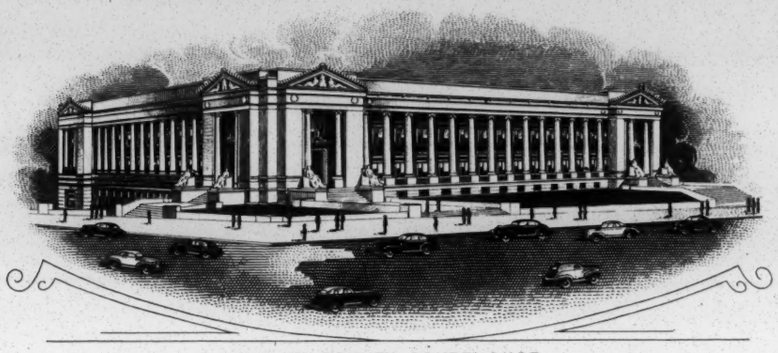

SHELBY COUNTY COURTHOUSE

OFFICE OF

SHELBY COUNTY COMMISSIONERS

MEMPHIS, TENN. 38103

March 23, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Mr. Washington Butler, Director of the War On Poverty for Memphis and Shelby County, Tennessee, has referred your name to me in connection with a possible establishment of an office under the direction of the Shelby County Commissioners for Community Liaison Officer.

It is the intention of the Shelby County Commissioners that we create a post tentatively to be called "Community Liaison Officer" for the following reasons:

1. To serve as liaison between various segments of this community, considered to be of an impoverished nature and a breeding place for possible inter-racial conflict.

2. To help in evaluating and developing the comprehensive program of applicant testing based on socio-economic conditions in the surrounding areas for Shelby County Government.

3. To develope through an analytical study a comprehensive program of on-the-job training for under-employed and chronic unemployed segments of this community as they relate to existing and future Shelby County employment needs.

Mr. Butler is of the opinion that your office may be able to afford counseling and information pertaining to the possibility of receiving financial assistance to help in the initial steps of this demonstration project.

OFFICE OF SHELBY COUNTY COMMISSIONERS
MEMPHIS 3, TENNESSEE

Great progress has been made in Shelby County Government in the past several months. Much of this progress, unfortunately, has been very costly in terms of funds available and while we feel this pressing need for a Community Liaison Officer, we are handicapped because of the lack of finances available during the next fiscal year.

We will greatly appreciate any assistance your office may afford us through information pertaining to the availability of funds and the public or private foundations or institutions engaged in this activity.

Sincerely,

Cliff Tuck

Cliff Tuck
Shelby County Development Coordinator

CT/jb

Grace Methodist Church

THREE NOTCH-KRONER ROAD
MOBILE, ALABAMA 36619

JACK R. SHEARER, B.D.
Minister

CHURCH OFFICE: 661-4951

PARSONAGE: 661-3559

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SECRETARY
C. JACK STEVENS
CHURCH TREASURER
MRS. CARL WILLIAMS
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WORSHIP
MRS. ROY EVERETT
PARSONAGE COMMITTEE
FRED KRONER, SR.
BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS
MRS. DEAN MILES
PASTORAL RELATIONS

March 9, 1968

~~ES~~ MJ-/b

file "Sh" general

Mr. Paul Anthony and
Mr. Ed Stanfield
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul and Ed:

Please forgive this late thank-you note for your hospitality and assistance when I was in Atlanta. I appreciate your giving me so much of your time. I have not followed up on any of the government positions because I have had two other offers in field of counseling: one, an interdenominational position, and another, a comprehensive mental health center. The information and materials I got from you I passed on to some other ministers; so your assistance has benefited others besides me.

Things have been mighty hectic lately. I haven't seen Hollis since I got back but talked to him once over the phone and gave him your regards, Paul.

Please remember me to the Woods. Thank you again for your assistance.

Cordially,

Jack

Jack R. Shearer

JS/sj

April 1, 1970

Dr. Robert C. Shuman
Suite 7
Lewis Drive
Marietta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Shuman:

In response to your inquiry about Mr. Aubrey Williams, while I cannot be positive, I strongly suspect the confusion about Mr. Williams being associated with the Southern Regional Council comes from the fact that he was long associated with the Southern Conference on Human Welfare. Mr. Williams was a well known liberal who for a long number of years published a southern farm magazine in Montgomery, Alabama, and I believe at one point, served as President of the Southern Conference. I also seem to recall that he died several years ago having been largely inactive during the 60's because of poor health.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

TELEPHONE 422-4343 SUITE 7, LEWIS DR.

ROBT. C. SHUMAN, M. D.
SPECIALIZED IN ANESTHESIOLOGY
MARIETTA, GEORGIA

3/13/70

So. Reg. Council
Atlanta, Ga.
Dear Mr. Anthony,

In a recent radio interview you disowned completely a Mr. Aubrey Williams who was said to have been a part of the Southern Regional Council (and on its letterhead).

Who is this fellow? I vaguely recall some association with civil rights) Is he negro? Has he yet been found by you to have been a part of the So. Reg. C.?

Thank you for the information furnished regarding Mr. Manning Johnson.

Yours truly
Robt. C. Shuman

January 2, 1962

Miss Mina P. Shaughnessy
1 Gracie Terrace
New York 28, N.Y.

Dear Mina:

This will be a long, loose letter. I have felt recently as if the deadline I set for us is strangling me and the kind of preliminary work which I hoped to get done before you went to Washington is being badly neglected. We are, however, accumulating a great mass of stuff, which I shall work through as soon as I can. The principal value of your trip, however, is not to track down details, but to conduct some broad-gauge discussions. I have already written to Burke Marshall and John Feild that you are coming and I shall drop a note immediately to Harris Wofford. Perhaps it would be well for you to telephone or otherwise communicate with these people from New York to set up appointments. (Incidentally, please keep track of your expenses; would you want a travel advance?) In the paragraphs below I will list the people we would like for you to see, and run out the questions we would like to have you take up with them. I think it would be a good idea, after you have had a chance to mull this letter over, for you to call me -- collect. I think we will probably need a fairly leisurely talk so if when you call it's a bad time for me, I will tell the operator that we'll call you back. Also I sent you a carbon of a letter to Dan Pollitt which contained the request that Dan make himself available to you for advice if and when you need it. Dan, besides being a good friend, did the spade work for us last year on <u>The Federal Executive and Civil Rights</u>. Why don't you set up a lunch with him after you get to town.

I. If you can arrange it I wish you would see Harris Wofford first. Harris is the White House

Assistant on Civil Rights and so this is a logical place to start. These are the things we would principally like for you to discuss with him:

A. Many persons, including us, (see Recommendation 3 of The Federal Executive and Civil Rights) have thought the President should issue some sort of ringing public statement about the national problem of race relations. He has never done so. Does the President, as Wofford would interpret him, this this unnecessary, inadvisable? Does Harris think that the President by incidental paragraphs or sentences of other speeches, etc., has accomplished the same end? If so, ask him for citations.

Also, we and others have urged full and explicit endorsement not only of the Supreme Court decision, but of the values of school integration (see Recommendation 7.) What would Harris think on this point?

B. We, and many others, urge a continual use of persuasion by the national government with the political and business leaders of the South (see Recommendation 2, 7 and 18). A good bit of this has been done by officers of the Department of Justice. Would Wofford have opinions or evidence contrary to our impression that just about nobody in the Administration outside of the Justice Department has worked at this? What is his thinking on the question, which may be both a question of practicality and of propriety, of whether the law enforcing arm of the government is the appropriate instrument for persuasion, conciliation and even -- as it reportedly offered to supply in the Albany affair -- mediation.

C. What are the White House views and plans regarding issuance of a housing order banning discrimination? In regard to this question you should tell Harris to let us know clearly what he is saying for the record and what he wants off the record. I am enclosing a thermo of a little poop sheet from the National Committee against Discrimination in Housing, which may be helpful background for you.

D. Tell Harris how long you will be in town and where you will be staying, whom you are planning to see and ask him if there are other people he would like for you to see.

II. Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General, Civil Rights Division.

Most of Burke's activities we know about and they represent, as far as I am concerned, the high point of this Administration's record. As to Burke personally, I think he is the best thing to come along in this field in a long, long time. So this is our bias. There is really very little which I think we need for you to get from him.

A. Ask him for his evaluation of the results of the Department's many efforts in the field of persuasion. You might confront him with, as a lever for discussion, this question:

> The Sit-Ins of 1960 occurred during the Eisenhower Administration, which simply watched, if it did that. Nevertheless, in a great many cities of the South, the Sit-In lead to amicable breakthroughts. Does Marshall think this fact has any implications for the value of omnipresent Federal interest?

B. What is the situation re employment of Negroes in the FBI? As U.S. Attorneys, as U.S. Marshalls, in the Civil Rights Division? (See Recommendation 5.)

III. John Feild.

A. Can we get data on complaints more recent than that in the enclosed newsletter? Is there anything wrong with the complaint procedure? Or what is the explanation for only 121 out of 443, and only 70 out of 593 complaints having been disposed of?

B. See the paragraph in the newsletter caption "Making Headway". (This newsletter, incidentally, was received via U.S. mail on January 2 and is the latest). Get elaboration on the various points in that paragraph. What has been the role of the Committee and of Federal agencies?

C. What progress has been made in discussion with unions?

D. Has the Bureau of the Budget yet approved the Compliance Report Form? I think it has. Get a copy.

E. Ask John for his evaluation of the Plans for Progress program (tell John at this point that I would prefer he speak on the record.) This is the program headed by Robert Troutman of Atlanta which has secured the voluntary signing of agreements with about 20 of the super-big contractors. These agreements not only stipulate non-discrimination but commit the companies to take positive steps toward recruiting and training Negroes. If you will look into the Executive Order No. 10925, you will find that concerns which do this are exempted from some of the reporting burdens of that order.

F.1)Ask him generally about his evaluation of the effectiveness of the committee in the light of the following factors:

The absence of statutory authority --is he apprehensive about the effect of this on money for committee operations?

2) The effectiveness of policy making under supervision by a committee?

3) The value and administrative utility of the Atlanta office? Please tell him at this point that I would prefer he speak on the record only. The Atlanta office is Robert Troutman's now an official part of the committee's structure. The question is how this office, headed by a member of the committee himself, can make administrative sense.

G. What is Feild's evaluation of the effectiveness of the work done since the committee was established?

IV. HHFA. Ask Wofford whom you should ask to see there and , if possible, get him to help you set up' an appointment. Tell him that I wrote for information to Jack Conway and have gotten none. With whomever you talk you should, of course, discuss the question of issuance of a presidential order banning housing discrimination. I would like also for you to pose this question:

Does HHFa think it has done things this year to strengthen the housing position of Negroes? What?

V. Health, Education and Welfare. Again ask Harris whom you should see. Tell him that I wrote to James Quigley for information and have had no reply. With whomever you talk, please pose this general question:

> Does the Department have plans to make any contribution in the field of school desegregation? Has it done anything in this field? (See Recommendations 7,8,9). Also, see Recommendation 14 and get some discussion of it.

VI. Adam Yarmolinsky. He is Special Assistant to the Secretary of Defense and I would hope he could be your appointment in the Defense Department. As a matter of protocol, however, you may have to see James Evans who is the Councilor on Minority Affairs, or some such thing, and if this is the way you are directed I suspect you had better go along, although if you can maneuver yourself into Yarmolinsky it would be much better.

There are two things which I would like to have you raise with the Defense Department. One is the question of Negroes in the National Guard (see Recommendation 13). The other is a qu4stion about schooling for children of military personnel. We are trying right now to get the facts from a number of southern military installations and until we do there is nothing for you to ask. I hope, however, to get these data to you in time.

Please call me.

Very truly yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:jl
enc.

December 11, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Sorry for the delay in answering your letter of December 1. I have been working my way out of some schedule complications that I did not foresee when I last wrote you. I think everything is clear now and I can plan to leave for Washington on the morning of the 9th, which will give me at least a day and a half before you arrive. I may have to fly back to New York for a few hours on the 15th. This, of course, I shall do at my own expense.

The assignment is an interesting one and the pay quite satisfactory. Thank you again for thinking of me.

I need as much background material as you can send me. I have had one foot in Elizabethan England for the past semester and feel somewhat out of touch with the Kennedy administration. So pour it on!

Sincerely yours,

Mina

Mina P. Shaughnessy

1 Gracie Terrace
New York 28, New York

Pending

December 1, 1961
Air Mail

Mrs. Mina Shaughnessy
#1 Gracie Terrace
New York, New York

Dear Mina:

I think our schedules can fit fine. Will $30.00 a day plus expenses be all right?

This is what we want to do: As I recall, you were kind enough to read the Federal Executive and Civil Rights. We intend to put out a report, along about next February first, on the record of the Administration during it's first year. We have a great mass of clippings, orders, etc., here which we are pulling together and which should be the basic raw material for our report. We have informed Harris Wofford, who is the White House advisor on civil rights, what we intend to do. We have written to someone in each agency and department, nominated by Harris, asking for any reports, etc., that they want to make available to us.

I am certain, however, that we shall need to do some face to face questioning in the nature of running down loose ends. In one field, I think we shall want to do some interviewing that will get us behind published or written documentation that may be made available to us; this is the field of the President's Employment Committee. In, perhaps, some instances we shall want to do some interviewing to get statements, such as in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, as to why an agency or department has done nothing. It is all this which I thought we might persuade you to do for us.

We would do the writing here.

I think this would probably not require two week's time but it is good to know that you might have that much time available. What we can do, is to send you all the notes you

may need, suggestions as to people for you to see, and then turn you loose with our questions.

Jim Moss and I are expecting to be in Washington January 11-12. If you could get started on January 8 or 9, you would have a couple of days to work before we came up and we could touch base then. How does this sound?

Give my regards to Don.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Nov. 20, 1961
Air Mail

Dear Leslie:

Thanks you for your note. I'm interested in the assignment. The only problem is the time. Does "night after New Year" mean January 2? Or could it be a week or so later?

I'm teaching at Hunter College this semester and my last class meets on January 8. Following that, I would be free for at least two weeks. Before that, I might be able to get away from Jan. 2 through 5, but it would be a squeeze.

Don joins me in sending best regards –

Mina Shaughnessy

January 18, 1962

Dear Leslie:

I enclose the following:

1. Report on Interviews plus illustrative material

2. Material from SRC files

A few remarks about the interviews themselves:

1. I picked up numbers whenever they were dropped, but only to give you a rough idea of the scope of some project or problem. The statistics, in other words, are unverified and full of gaps.

2. I occasionally quote someone directly. When I do, I am quoting from a verbatim note taken during the interview. However, I should feel rather sneaky if any of this were used as direct quotation, since the person being interviewed did not know I was taking close notes.

3. Wofford recommended that I see Conway (HHFA), Quigley (HEW), Fox(State), Wallace (Treasury), Clinchy (Civil Service), and Bookbinder (Commerce). Clinchy was away so I spoke with Wolk in his stead. I didn't get to Bookbinder or his agency, but I understand he got to you via mail. Hopefully, then, you have what you need from him.

I was not able to get anything on the FBI. I checked back with Dan Pollitt on this and he suggested your writing to Walter Lewis at the Urban League in Washington, D.C.

You should by now have material from HHFA, HEW, and the State Dept. And Field's office agreed to send you more recent complaint statistics.

May I also remind you of Yarmolinsky's remark that someone should make out complaints about the discriminatory conditions described in the SRC Memo of Jan. 8, 1962 (enclosed) so that they could be investigated.

I think that takes care of all the loose ends. I am sorry to burden you with more material. Only a small part of it, I fear, will be of use to you.

My over-all impression: All the agencies I visited are, in Fox's words, "tooling up." They - or at least the presidential appointees - are eager to do a good job. They're the "good guys," as Harold Flemming would say. But I wonder if the machinery they are fashioning isn't already antiquated, like the early automobiles that looked very much like horse-drawn carriages. The nation, it seems to me, needs more speed and more power than this machinery can generate. But then, I'm a bad politician and a relative stranger to this field. I shall be most interested in your judgment on the matter.

I continue to be grateful to you for having thought of me for this assignment.

Sincerely,

Max

Interviews

John Field (President's Committee 1

Dan Pollitt (NLRB) 8

Bill Taylor (Civil Rights Comm.) 9

Harris Wofford 10

Adam Yarmolinsky (Defense) 12

Samuel Wolk (Civil Service) 15

Burke Marshall (Justice) 18

Bob Wallace (Treasury) 20

for State 22

Don Slaiman (AFL-CIO) 25

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John G. Field
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

January 9, 1962

Negro staff members on President's Committee

You asked Field by letter about this. His answer:

	White	Negro	Oriental	Total
Clerical...	14	14	—	28
Prof.....	15	6	1	22
	29	20	1	50

Negro employment among contractors

Not known. Information probably available in a year.

Complaint procedure

The Committee has no active program of soliciting complaints. Individuals hear about the channel through "various organizations" and send in their complaints. Most complaints are filed directly with the Committee; government agencies send to the Committee copies of complaints they receive first.

Section 60-1.23 of the Committee's Rules and Regulations for government contract employment (see Append. 1, p. 10) states that employees of government contractors who are making complaints must supply the name of the contractor or subcontractor, a description of the discriminatory act, and "any other pertinent information which will assist in the investigation and resolution of the complaint."

At this point the complaint procedure seems to bog down. ~~The~~

The complainants themselves seldom give enough information to get the investigation under way and the Committee is stuck with the job of determining whether the offending company has a government contract and, if so, which agency is involved. Generally more than one agency has contracts with the company and it then becomes necessary to determine which of these agencies has "administrative cognizance" (administrative responsibility for procurement). This, says Field, can take from a week to a month. (Companies can usually identify the agencies with whom they have contracts, but they do not often k now about administrative cognizance.)

Next, the agency assigns the complaint to the appropriate unit, which in turn assigns someone to investigate in the local plant. The investigation is reported to the Committee after it has been reviewed by the agency, and the Committee is then free to conduct further investigations if it is dissatisfied with the agency report. Over half the complaints investigated by the agencies have been re-investigated by the Committee (usually because the agency investigation seems to be a white-wash).

Field agrees that the present method of processing complaints is inadequate. On the average, he said, a man would probably not get action on a complaint for about 3 months. (After making this estimate, Field backed down a bit - said there were exceptions, etc. I'm certain he wouldn't want to be quoted on it.) The process, however, will soon be improved, he feels, by:

1. The completion of a master list of prime contractors doing over $50,000 business with the government. This list, which

will include about 6,000 companies, should be completed within a month.

2. The assignment of administrative cognizance to all administrative agencies doing business with these prime contractors. (Does he mean there will be a list of those having administrative cognizance or that cognizance will be assigned? My notes are not clear on this.)

3. Compilation of a list of first-tier subcontractors. This list, which will include 40,000 to 50,000 companies, should be completed in three months.

4. The addition of specialists to agency staffs. This has already begun. Six specialists have been added to Defense, GSA has a couple, Employment Service will have four soon, as will the Bureau of Apprenticeships and Training.

We did not discuss the complaint procedure for federal employees. The NLRB Manual Letter (Append. 2, paragraph 4362) describes what is probably the standard procedure in most agencies.

Complaint data

You asked for more recent complaint data of the sort given in the Sept.-Oct. Newsletter 3. I did not get this from Field, but a Mr. Williams in the Committee office agreed to send you the information this week. Field did mention that the Committee has received in 9 months (April 6 -Jan. 5) about half as many complaints (605) as the Nixon Committee received in eight years (1,042).

Progress with companies

You asked for an expansion of the "Making Headway" paragraph in Newsletter 3, but Field seemed reluctant to discuss the details of these "quiet" changes. He said the Committee had been largely responsible for the changes. He mentioned the textile industry as being the most difficult to persuade. In fact, half the industry, he says, has stopped doing business with the government. By exempting plants with less than 50 employees from compliance obligations, the Committee has been able to buy a little "political time," he said, in which to persuade the textile industry to change its policies. (According to Field, many southern textile plants have under 50 employees.) *

Slaiman (p. 26) says that the textile company in South Carolina referred to in the newsletter was the Manhattan Shirt Company, and the "vulnerability" which made them come around consisted of a 2 million dollar market in Harlem.

Progress with unions

Industrial unions, Field says, have given no real problems as yet, but the craft unions have. Asked what the Committee can do about unions that refuse to comply, Field said not much. They could try to get an injunction, but no decision has been made on this as yet. He mentioned a special program in apprenticeships at the local, joint-

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*Off the record. I have not found any statement in the Rules or Regulations that mentions exemption on the basis of number of employees. Perhaps this is a recent - or unwritten - accommodation.

apprenticeship level.

Plans for Progress

I found Field's description of the beginning of Plans for Progress somewhat bland. He said that the earlier Government Contract Committee had "not been as demanding" as the new Committee and that Lockheed had taken on the contract last spring under the impression that it was already meeting the anti-discrimination provisions of the federal contract. When it was pointed out to them that they were not, they instituted changes in their policy. This, of course, led to the idea of approaching other large contractors. By the end of this month the fifty largest defense contractors will have signed Plans for Progress.

The compliance report form which you requested has been approved by the Bureau of the Budget but is not yet available. I attach (Append. 3) a copy of the self-analysis questionnaire given to contractors - a device, I gather, for getting the company's measurements for a custom job on its employment policy.

On the question of policy making under supervision by a committee, Field says there is no problem. So far the Committee has not been concerned with "broader issues" but rather with questions of this order: who should fill out compliance reports, should there be separate reporting for construction industries, etc. The Committee agrees that it must concentrate on affecting policy rather than processing ~~pk~~ complaints. So far it has stressed compliance reporting; later it hopes to do more in education.

So far, no contracts have been withdrawn. Several companies have been told to change their practices and they have complied (no names given). (Note: Slaiman contradicts this in his remark about Southern Bell Telephone.) No company has received a Certificate of Merit and I got the impression from Field that few will. He feels, however, that the idea is sound - i.e., a company that fulfills the provisions deserves to get out of the onerous form-filling. Complaints would of course be investigated.

The Atlanta office, says Field, is purely a service office, a "convenience for a member of a sub-committee." And, he added somewhat hesitantly, it may not be there much longer.

His general comment on the effectiveness of the Committee: It is off to a very good beginning. Programs not solely dependent upon complaints are already under way and will ultimately embrace some 20 million private workers and 2,100,000 government workers. A federal employee survey has been completed and a progress survey is now under way. Agency support has been most encouraging. "We are doing things that have never been done before, things that will show an impact in the coming year."

He favors statutory authority but says the Committee is not in agreement. He would not say that he was "apprehensive"about the lack of this authority but only that the Committee would be on firmer ground.

You may be interested in pursuing the information mentioned in the two clippings below:

Dan Pollitt, NLRB
January 10, 1962

Pollitt checked with the personnel man at NLRB about their employment policy. Not much information - no data on racial distribution of employees.

The NLRB can do little, he says, to influence union policy. In cases where employers use anti-racial propaganda to discourage employees from joining unions, the NLRB has so far taken the position that it can do nothing that will interfere with freedom of speech (he referred particularly to the publication "Militant Truth").

Pollitt criticized the administration for its failure, as yet, to develop any "institutional policy" on civil rights. He recognizes the effectiveness of behind-the-scenes diplomacy - the quick trips, the crisis phone calls, the conciliatory talks - but he feels that the nation itself has been left in the dark about the way the administration intends to deal institutionally with the problem of racial injustice.

Bill Taylor, Civil Rights Commission (Admin. Asst. to Exec. Director)
January 10, 1962

Taylor commented generally on the Administration's achievements so far. He praised the work of the Civil Rights Subcabinet Group (of which, of course, he is a member). The Committee begins, he says, with a better order and a mandate for an affirmative program (Plans for Progress). It needs, however, statutory authority and will doubtless not get it.

He expects the census study to reveal substantial improvement in the number of Negro employees in Grades 12 and above.

He considers the most outstanding achievement so far to be the imaginative use of the law (he mentioned Louisiana, the litigation growing out of the Freedom Riders, the suits in Montgomery, etc.) But he believes the Attorney General should move one step further and initiate action where there is no statutory backing. On the whole matter of desegregation, he praised the administration for its skill in averting crises like Little Rock but criticized it for not stepping in before an order or crisis and for making too few attempts to accelerate the whole process of desegregation.

Harris Wofford

January 10, 1962

Presidential statement on race relations

Wofford agreed, privately, that "we" (he avoided saying the President) have not made full use of "our" moral influence. There should have been some sort of "ringing public statement" in Wofford's judgment, but the President has not deemed the time ripe. "The occasion didn't arise," said Wofford. The problem with ringing statements, he added, is that you can only make them a few times. The President has chosen to encourage a "process of acceptance" and withhold the weapon of direct appeal to the people until it is more urgently needed.

He also suggested offhandedly that perhaps the President does not want to enter the arena while the Attorney General is so vigorously engaged there, lest the whole civil rights problem appear to be something the Kennedy brothers are pushing on their own.

Persuasion in the South

Wofford agrees with you that almost all the persuading has been done by the Department of Justice, although he mentioned in passing the work of the HHFA in trying to support integrated housing projects and of the Labor Department in trying to improve employment policies (I don't know if he referred here to the work of the President's Committee or to something the Labor Department is doing independently of the Committee.)

As to the propriety of the justice-persuader combination, he has no qualms. Practically, it makes a good combination. Considering

the circumstances, it is probably best that persuasion go hand-in-hand with powerful sanction. Even without these special circumstances, however, the lawyer is not solely a litigation man. He should not be involved in persecution only but also in persuasion and conciliation.

Housing Order Ban

Industry opposition is mild, he said. The major reason is probably the "precarious" congress. Wofford feels, off the record, that the order should have been signed, but he adds, "I trust the President's political timing more than my own. I've been wrong before."

Subcabinet group on civil rights

Wofford spoke highly of this group. Every member is genuinely concerned, he feels, and the meetings have been fruitful. He mentioned Conway (HHFA) and Bookbinder (Commerce) as being particularly "lively" members.

President's Committee and statutory authority

Wofford doesn't consider it worth the struggle. He further questions whether the annual appropriation from Congress would provide as much as the Committee now gets through the agencies.

Adam Yarmolinsky, Department of Defense

January 10, 1962

Defense Department and President's Committee

I asked what changes have taken place since the formation of the Committee. As for employment within the Department, there is the recent directive assuring equal employment opportunities within the Department:

NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, JANUARY 6, 1962.

PENTAGON WIDENS ITS JOB BIAS BAN

2 Million Workers Affected by Directive on Equality

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 5 — The Defense Department issued a directive today to assure employment opportunities within the department and among defense contractors without discrimination as to race, creed, color or national origin.

The Pentagon said that the directive "strengthened" existing policies covering 1,000,000 civilian employes of the department and 1,000,000 employes of military contractors.

The new directive specifies that qualified persons seeking employment or already employed by the Defense Department or its contractors would have equal opportunities for jobs, promotion and training programs.

In addition, the directive stresses "positive steps" that should be undertaken by the service secretaries and other defense officials to assure that employes and applicants for employment are aware of their rights. It aims also "to eliminate any barriers to achieving full equality of opportunity."

A Defense Department spokesman said that the new directive was drafted with the assistance of the Department of Labor and other interested Government agencies.

He said its provisions were intended to emphasize "positive steps" to implement within the Defense Department the rules and regulations of the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity. The committee is headed by Vice President Johnson.

Adam Yarmolinsky, special assistant to Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, was designated as the official liaison with the President's committee. His office will be responsible for coordinating the activities of all Department of Defense employment policy and contract compliance officers.

Today's directive contains extensive details on how persons who consider themselves aggrieved may complain and appeal any instances of discrimination.

The directive also stresses that full publicity should be given to the antidiscrimination policies to apprise defense employes and employes of contractors of their rights.

There have been no staff additions to investigate complaints within the department. Specialists are being added to the staffs of line officers (civilian and military) responsible for government contracts. The Air Force is putting 9 inter-group-relations specialists on its procurement staff "to make equal employment a matter of routine." The other services are about three months behind - a part of the plan.

Academy cadets

"Extraordinary efforts" are being made, says Yarmolinsky, to get Negro boys into the academies. James Evans of the Defense Department is responsible for this program, which I gather consists largely of touring colleges to find likely applicants. Yarmolinsky had no report on the number of Negroes enrolled in the service academies, but Evans may be able to give you some help on this.

ROTC

"We could insist on desegregated units," said Yarmolinsky, "but the schools would simply withdraw the units." And this leads to the problem of priority - whether it is more important for the Defense Department to build and maintain a national defense system or to assume responsibility for the social condition of the nation. On this issue, the Defense Department has no real uncertainty.

National Guard

National Guard units remain segregated and Yarmolinsky does not see how desegregation can be achieved without losing the units. When the two divisions (Texas and Wisconsin) were called up during the Berlin crisis, however, less-than-strength units were brought up to

strength with fillers off the IBM machine.

"They are working on the organized reserve," said Yarmolinsky, "but not very hard."

Schooling for children of military personnel

The Department is now making a study of the allocation of quarters on military bases in response to complaints that Negro families have been moved off-base just before their children reach school age. So far, he says, the investigation shows the complaints to be groundless. The allocation of quarters is based on seniority.

As for off-base problems, "Defense and HEW have not taken the position that impacted-area support is denied if a school is segregated." The Defense Department is, however, on the verge (next week or two) of appointing an outside commission of private persons to review the progress of integration, particularly in off-base situations. (I'm sorry I didn't get the names of some of these people - he did mention that they had served on the "original commission." I failed to ask which original commission, but perhaps you know.)

I asked who would normally investigate a complaint about military-base discrimination and Yarmolinsky said it would fall on some officer's shoulders at the base. There is no staff person assigned specifically to such investigations. And, he added, there are not many complaints.

I brought up each case of alleged discrimination listed in the SRC Memo of January 8, 1962 (enclosed) and Yarmolinsky said he knew nothing about them but that it someone would submit them as complaints, they would be investigated.

Samuel N. Wolk, Director, College Relations and Recruitment, U.S. Civil Service
January 11, 1962

Ross Clinchy, the man whom Wofford suggested I see in this office, was out of town. As you probably know, he has been recently assigned to this post and has special responsibility for expanding the recruitment program so as to include more Negro applicants and reviewing the testing methods so as to make certain that potentially qualified applicants are not being overlooked.

Wolk began by saying that the federal government has, for a long time, been involved in the attempt to expand employment opportunities for women, the physically handicapped, and minority groups. Under this administration there is more money, more staff, and more backing from the President than in recent years and he expects more to be accomplished in minority-group employment.

One of the biggest problems is alerting the Negro community to opportunities in federal service. It is only within the last two years or so that any attempt has been made, for example, to recruit applicants from the predominantly Negro colleges. (hereafter referred to as "Negro colleges" - too much trouble the other way). The number of students taking and passing the exam has increased, but the record is still bad. About 4% of the applicants from the Negro colleges of the eighth region (Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana) passed the exam in 1960. In 1961, 9 to 12% passed, meaning evidently that more capable students were applying. (Regional average - 27 to 28%; National average - 35 to 40%)

I asked him to describe the working of the merit system. First, he said, the college senior fills out a card indicating where he wants to take the test (120 questions, machine-scored). He is assigned a time and takes the test (Append. 4 is a sample). Within the last year, buildings where tests are given have been desegregated. If he passes the test, he next fills out an application giving information on his experience, education, etc. The application is rated and, with the test, transmuted into a numerical score. Any applicant whose score falls within 70 to 100 is added to a Register according to his score. When an agency comes to the Service with a requisition, three names are chosen for the vacancy and submitted to the selecting officer (this "rule of three" comes out of the Veterans Preference Act of 1944 which provides that a non-veteran with a lower or equal score cannot be chosen for an opening in preference to a veteran). This means, of course, that a regional officer can often exercise prejudice in his hiring of a civil servant.

The Washington office can control the staffing of regional offices - it could, for example, send a Negro officer to Atlanta. "But this creates many problems," said Mr. Wolk. Within the last year, government-owned buildings have been required to offer single facilities; where government offices are in non-government buildings, double facilities are still in use - in some places. (No places given.)

Traditionally, Negroes have been employed in crafts and custodians, or the postal branches of the government. Within the last three or four years, they have begun moving into higher-grade positions. The increase, however, has not been substantial. "There have been no significant changes in the South." HHFA has taken the lead in this area, Wolk

says, by adding a few Negroes to its Atlanta office. He mentioned in closing the problem of promotion from within and the number of individuals who are trapped within the promotion system.

Burke Marshall, Department of Justice

January 12, 1962

Results in the field of persua sion

"I think I might say that our efforts did some good, that we have made some headway." H spoke of the impact their efforts have had on local authorities, who now seem "a little more ready to meet their responsibilities."

He is not bothered by the "mediation - law enforcement" combination. In some cases, he added, where there are no federal policemen, it is mediation. Then he wondered in passing if that were the right word.

Employment within Department

The statistics from the March census (for the entire government) are, he understands, "just terrible." The Justice Department had no reputation for hiring Negroes - there were 10 Negro lawyers in the Department when R. Kennedy came in. He has hired 40 (see Append. 5, Attorney General's Report; also Append. 6 for names of outstanding Negroes appointed to policy-making jobs in all agencies). The Attorney General has also been trying to recruit Negro secretaries.

FBI

No information. It operates as a separate unit pretty much, he said. (Append. 6 lists one man, William E. Fowler, in the Organized Crime and Racketeering Section of the Justice Department. That's all I could find.)

Attorneys, etc.

Two U.S. Attorneys
U.S. Asst. Attorneys - one in Nashville, one in Huston, will be one in Memphis and probably one in N. Carolina.

In some states - South Carolina to Louisiana - it just doesn't seem

possible yet. "We will be able to break through some time. The Attorney General has made a great effort."

Marshalls - there will be Negro deputy marshalls in even more difficult places.

Bob Wallace, Employment Policy Officer, Treasury Department

January 12, 1962

Coast Guard

Wallace told the story about the inauguration parade and the President's query about Negroes in the academy. The Coast Guard Academy, it was discovered, had never had a Negro student, although it "had no policy of discrimination." Appointments are strictly and highly competitive - about 42,000 took exams last year. From the top 800, automatic appointments were given to 120. An additional 150 were appointed on the basis of interviews, etc.

Exams are given in mid-February, so it was too late to do any recruitment of Negro applicants for 1961. During the past year, however, the Coast Guard and Treasury officials have had conferences with college leaders, members of Urban League, and other groups in order to broaden the recruitment program and make certain that Negroes of ability apply. There may not be a greater number of applicants this year, says Wallace, but hopefully they will be of a higher calibre.

During the year a Negro chemistry teacher (Howard) was added to the Academy's staff, breaking the color-line there.

Within the Treasury Department Wallace estimates an increase of about 20% in the past year of Negro employees from GS 5 and above. The Office of the Secretary had no Negroes except janitors. They have added eight - four on a professional and four on a secretarial level. The big problem is finding qualified people. For example, a person can be hired in Internal Revenue with 24 hours of college accounting - no exam - but it is difficult to find a Negro applicant with this much

accounting (most Negro colleges, for example, do not offer this much accounting).

New Orleans now has Negro internal revenue agents for the first time. Six automatic data processing computors (people, not machines!) have been added to the Atlanta service center. A Negro collector of customs has been appointed to the Virgin Islands and Illinois has a director of saving bonds whose area is not confined to Negro communities. Two Negroes are now on the White House police - none before.

I asked how he is able to keep in touch with the regional offices and he said that the regional meetings of the President's Committee are "a waste of time" but they do give him a chance to keep on the heels of his regional directors. He finds that the Executive Order has given him great leverage in getting his people to cooperate.

Wallace seems to know and care about what is happening in his Department. A full-time Deputy Employment Policy officer has also been added to Internal Revenue.

Dick Fox, Special Asst. to Deputy Asst. Secretary, State Department

January 12, 1962

By now you should have received material from the State Department. They were waiting for clearance on a few items.

Fox, a Negro, has the operational responsibility for the Department's employment program.

The State Department has dual career services - foreign and civil - and the low Negro representation is primarily in the Foreign Service (see Append. 7, pp. 37-38 for statistics from February census). The solution seems to lie in finding top Negro students, informing them of the opportunities in the State Department, and, in the process, changing their image of the Department as a place where Negroes don't go far.

The career-service exam is difficult - 5½ hours on English expression, general ability, general background. (Designed by Educational Testing Service and on a level with the Graduate Record Exam.) The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues (Otto Kleinberg) is now in the process of meeting with people in the State Department to determine whether a bias factor is present in the examination and whether the examination can be improved (see also Kenneth Clark's remarks on testing in Append. 7, pp. 25-26).

In order to find good Negro applicants, the Department is now carrying its college program to the Negro colleges. In the past, about 30 to 40 foreign service officers have gone each year to about 285 colleges to recruit. In 1958, seven Negro schools were included. Seventeen in

1960. Twenty-six in 1961. This is no real solution, however, since the scores of the students in these colleges is, so far, very poor.

1959 - Of the 59 candidates from the Negro colleges, all flunked

1960 - All 44 candidates flunked

1961 - Six passed written exam; of these 3 were eliminated subsequently because the examining panel felt they were not sufficiently mature. Of the remaining 3, one will be the first Negro female foreign officer. The second is now in training. The third has not been acted upon yet. (Unfortunately, I didn't get the total number who took the 1961 exam. Perhaps Fox has included it in the material he sent you.)

The race of an applicant is not recorded so it is difficult to get any statistics on national Negro participation in the examination. A head count at the sites of the December 1961 exams gave 119 (a net increase of 10 over last year). Participation, even in areas with heavy Negro population, was light (Chicago - 7; Detroit - 3; Cincinnati - 2). The Department is adding Negroes to its examining panel.

This spring the Department plans to call in representatives from the big 10 colleges to ask for help in recruitment.

Fox is sending material on Foreign Service Officers - how many there are and where they are. He said that Spain, France, and Monrovia were the main foreign office posts for Negroes in the past.

Evaluation

Four people from the August conference on equal employment opportunity are coming in soon to evaluate the work done in the past six months. Fox says they have done three things: defined the nature and scope of the problem; developed the beginnings of a methodology;

and made institutional contacts. They have "tooled up," in other words.

I asked about intra-departmental resistance. All the presidential appointees, he says, are behind the program. Whatever "negative attitudes" existed in the past are being nullified by this shift in the administration.

Don Slaiman, AFL-CIO

January 12, 1962

Slaiman strongly recommended that you write Ray Marshall of Louisiana State for a copy of a speech he recently gave for the Industrial Relations Research Association (Sterling Hall, Madison, Wisc.). He considers it the best thing that has been written on labor unions and civil rights - best in that it cuts out the ballyhoo and gets down to an analysis of the varying ideologies and structures of the unions.

In general, Slaiman says, both industry and unions have blinded their eyes to non-union competition where it is peripheral. So far, he says, the only way to get around this has been through some complaint procedure. And yet in the twenty states with FEP, he would be surprised if there are more than twenty cases in a decade. And yet, he added, complaints are important. In both the industrial and craft unions the biggest barrier is the first person who comes in. There are a few with show pieces, but for the most part fear and resistance tend to disappear after a breakthrough.

He discussed at some length the recent accomplishment of the California State Department of Industrial Relations in getting a non-discrimination rule into its Apprenticeship code (see Append. 8).

President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity

I asked what power the Committee has over a balky union. It can 1) contact the AFL-CIO, 2) publicize the offense, 3) recommend further legislation (a real threat, says Slaiman). He mentioned

the non-discrimination clause written into the apprenticeship regulations of the IBEW, Bricklayers, and Contractors (see Committee Newsletter 3, Append. 9).

What, I asked, happens to that clause in Birmingham? Somebody, he said, can file a complaint. The industrial unions are more centralized and are thus in a better position to influence local policy. In the Harvester plant in Memphis, for example, the UAW put a trustee over the local until its union hall was desegrated. But if the international hadn't had control of the contract, nothing could have been done.

He discussed the Manhattan Shirt Company case in S. Carolina. The NAACP filed a complaint and the President's Committee met with the company. The company, says Slaiman, finally went to the state and asked if the law prohibiting desegregation would be enforced. If so, they would move the company. The state decided not to enforce the law. Slaiman says that one of the company men told Field that they weren't going to risk losing a 2 million dollar market for shirts in Harlem.

As for the Textile Workers' Union, it is desegrated, but weak and attached to a declining industry. Companies have been quite effective in using the race issue to prevent organization.

What, I asked, about the limitations of the President's Committee. First, he said, it has no legal standing and it has budget pressures. Second, it has power only over government contracts and is thus not industry-wide. Third, the power to cancel contracts is not enough. In many cases where large contracts in heavy industries are involved, he said, it would not be easy for the government to cancel - there

are not many places to turn. Or in some cases a company can simply say, "O.k., we don't want your contract," as, he says, Southern Bell Telephone recently did.

A Federal FEP law, he concluded, could do more with a little Cease and Desist Order than the Committee can with its power of contract cancellation.

Jack Conway, Housing and Home Finance

January 12, 1962

They are sending you material on 1) contract compliance and 2) agency employment.

The department was adjusted internally to the possibility of an executive order, he said, and in fact they wish it had come even before they began. (He would not venture an explanation of why the President did not sign the order.) Now they are in the awkward position ot having to administer agency programs according to commitments ~~ade~~ made in the past while at the same time trying to bring about changes more in line with the executive order or legislation that is expected for the future. On the whole, he says, they have been responding to complaints rather than changing things. They have made some improvements in relocation housing; they have "strengthened" the Voluntary Home Mortgage and Credit Program; and they have been pursuing FHA complaints.

Within the department, they have had some success in getting Negroes appointed to regional offices - particularly in Atlanta. Eight Negroes, for example, have been added to the "Fanny May" office in the last six months. (He said he would include material on this in his report to you.) Regional appointments are made locally through Civil Service, and HHFA's success in getting Negroes placed there has been of interest to the Civil Service and other agencies.

James Quigley, Asst. Secretary, Health Education, and Welfare

Lisle C. Carter, Deputy Asst. Secretary

January 12, 1962

They are also sending material.

This was an interesting interview. As you remember, it was only with Burke Marshall's help that I was able to get in to see Quigley. At the outself both Quigley and Carter were jocular and uneasy. They apologized for not answering your letter and fumbled for an explanation.

Then we got on to the questions. First, I asked about the Hill-Burton hospitals. The Department has two types of hospitals, said Quigley, the Public Health Service Hospitals (in port cities), which have long been integrated - staff and patients - even in the South, and the Hill-Burton hospitals, which are a real problem. There are about 4,000 or more of these hospitals and less than 100 have taken advantage of the "equal facilities" clause of the act. "We've had a lot of discussion about this in the last nine months," said Quigley. "We recognize the problem."

For a hospital to qualify, it must assure the state administration that it will not discriminate in the admission of patients. They get the money, build the hospital, admit patients, and discriminate inside the front door. So far, he added, the Department has not taken the position that it can interfere with the internal operations of the hospitals. I asked if there has been any discussion about testing the Hill-Burton Act. Quigley hesitated and then laughed, "Well yes, there has been a lot of talk. We don't know what we're doing in this

area right now. Let's say we're aware of the problem. That's all."

Pre-desegregation counseling in schools

Are they planning any? No definite plans. Under study. We may have a responsibility we should face here. It's in the exploration stage.

Grants-in-aid

Again, they are aware of the problem, Quigley said. They have had resistance among educators who are taking the line that you don't train people for jobs that don't exist. "But we are trying to set up a program where we can make sure that, regardless of tradition, a Negro student can study what he wants."

At this point Quigley laughed uncomfortably and said, "If you came in with the impression that we are a couple of white supremacists you would be right, judging from what we've said so far!" Mr. Carter, a very dark Negro, nodded sympathetically.

The problem, Quigley went on to explain, is that they have had to move so cautiously that what little progress they have made cannot be publicized. The one real achievement so far, he said, they are not at liberty to announce. It involves the Language Institutes for teachers provided for under the National Defense Education Act. With White House help they have been able to get an anti-discrimination clause in. A few schools have dropped out, but otherwise nothing has happened. It was all done quietly and the White House has not chosen to announce it as yet.

The only other real achievement, said Quigley, was getting Carter on the staff. "We're trying," said Quigley. "I don't think the White House thought so at first, but they do now."

I asked what the forces were within the Department that make it so difficult to move ahead. First, he answered, there is a built-in timidity about seeming to push federal control. The department is so sensitive about seeming to "pry" or "interfere" he said that they have never instituted good follow-up procedures in situations where they are perfectly justified in doing so. Secondly, the Department is full of M.D.'s and teachers, both of whom have given a strong conservative stamp to the department. I asked if there were any Negro doctors in the department. "We are told there are some," said Quigley, "but I've never seen any."

Promotion from within the department is very difficult and slow. It would have been impossible, Quigley thought, to get a man like Carter into his present position through promotion.

I came away with the impression of two well-meaning, nervous men astride Tyrannosaurus Rex.

#

January 26, 1962

Mrs. Mina P. Shaughnessy
1 Gracie Terrace
New York 28, New York

Dear Mina:

Your reports and materials were received in good order. You did an excellent job and I don't know how you wrote it all up so quickly.

Besides the valuable information which you unearthed, your notes are going to be a really great help to me in setting the tone of what we say. This business of choosing a tone, and then bringing it off as you want, is the hardest part of any writing, I think. Your notes, and I think especially those on Yarmolinsky, Conway, and Quigley are going to be of more help to me than you can imagine because they have pretty well determined the attitude we will take in reporting on these agencies.

Our check is enclosed; even with a couple of free ones, how you managed to eat in Washington for four days on $7.00 is something I wish you would teach those of our staff, except me, who travel.

With my very best wishes and thanks for a job well done,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. Check [redacted]
120.00
96.90

Corrected address as of: 4/30/64
33 East End Ave., N.Y. 28, N.Y.

November 28, 1962

Mrs. Mina P. Shaughnessy
#1 Gracie Terrace
New York 28, New York

Dear Mina:

You asked me to let you know how we made out with Baldwin, and I should have written days ago. I was in sick bay from the time you called until the 18th, and last week was dominated by the meeting and the holidays; sorry.

True to his promise to you, Baldwin's agent did call the next day and with great and I believe sincere apologies told me that Baldwin could not come. This was of course a disappointment, as you know. But, like a cat, I got to my feet and within a few hours dragooned three friends to make up what turned out to be a pretty exciting panel.

Thank you again and so much for all the telephoning you must have done. It was very good of you.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

P.S. The Rockefeller Foundation sent me a copy of Adventure in Giving. I haven't had a chance to do more than scan it, but I did notice the handsome acknowledgment to you.

December fifteen, 1953

Mrs Sue R Slaughter
522 Mowbray Arch
Norfolk 7, Virginia

Dear Mrs Slaughter:

Many thanks for your letter with its fine check for SRC dues.

I don't know anything more about the "Committee of 100" than its letterhead tells although I have had two or three letters of a similar nature from them myself. I don't see anybody listed who looks doubtful, and like you I see a great many people whose views and concern I respect. Neither do I know anything about the Dukes case itself. The form of appeal is not to my taste but the object of the appeal is to get money for the NAACP to continue its legal efforts on behalf of aggrieved individuals and on behalf of the whole Negro people. With that object and with the methods of the NAACP itself I have complete sympathy.

As for the leaflet on the Dukes case, there are some omissions that a social historian would have put in had he been writing it. Ellis Arnall did reform the prison camp system of Georgia. Stripes are no longer worn except by prisoners who have been involved in escapes and the prison camps are reduced in number and conduct in a way far more humane than was the case ten years ago. The truth is that Ellis Arnall alarted the conscience of the State about its prison camps and that there is a goodish roar of resentment whenever an incident reaches the knowledge of the public of brutality in the camps - as does continue to happen.

We continue to have the most encouraging success with getting QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS out. The Southern Presbyterians have sent a copy of each minister in the denomination and their Board of Women's Work has sent out additional hundreds to Presbyterian women leaders. The list of orders from remarkably useful organizations would run to pages and the pamphlet has already sold more copies than any SRC has heretofore turned out. I cannot say the South is preternaturally calm on the subject, but I think for what calmness there is we can claim a little credit.

By the way, Mrs Vivian Carter Mason ~~as~~ new President of the National Council of Negro Women has been at pains to work the pamphlet into the grooves of that organization in a most helpful way.

My warm regards to my friends in Norfolk.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

$13.00 / 18

522 MOWBRAY ARCH
NORFOLK 7, VIRGINIA

Dec. 7, 1953

RECEIVED
DEC 10
Southern Regional Council

Dr Geo S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr Mitchell:

I have had some previous appeals from the Committee of 100 which I have questioned. Today comes one in behalf of Jesse Dukes on which I would like your opinion.

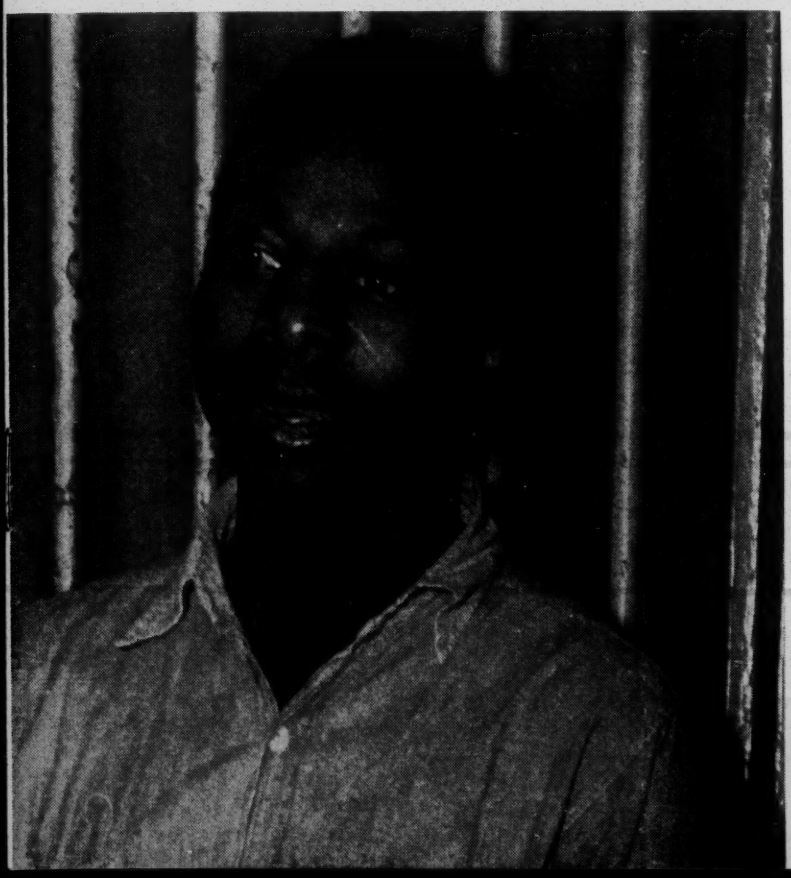
Do you have any first-hand information about either the "Committee" or Dukes? Do you believe this is a cause that should be supported? I am hazy about the material that the Committee has previously addressed to me but my impression was that the statements contained were of a radical rabble-rousing nature which did not real good to the Negro.
I have, too, been amazed at how little some people know about the organizations which use their names so that, while this particular Committee lists many names I know and of people I think are "sound", still I no longer believe that the mere printing of a name on a letter-head is a guarantee that the organization is one I wish to support.
So, your opinion and advice will be welcomed.

We enjoyed having Mr Flemming here last month and learned a great deal from him.

Sincerely yours, Gene R Slaughter

AN AMERICAN TRAGEDY

THE STORY OF JESSE DUKES



Jesse Dukes was sentenced to 15 to 25 years on the chain gang when he was twelve years old, at a trial that lasted a few minutes, without a lawyer, without defense. He escaped and is now in a New Jersey prison awaiting extradition to the State of Georgia.

THE "COMMITTEE OF 100"
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

JESSE DUKES' OWN STORY

JESSE DUKES, now 25, tells of his arrest in the early morning hours of May 14, 1940 on a plantation 13 miles from Waynesboro, Burke County, Georgia.

> **"They broke in the door and come in the house and snatched me out of bed. I fell on the floor and they hit me on the back of the head so it bled. There was four of them, the sheriff and his deputy, the jailer—he's dead now—a town policeman and the man from the plantation. They started beating me right then, saying, '*you stole those cars, you know you did,*' and they kicked me down the steps."**

Five automobiles had been stolen in the town of Waynesboro (population 4500) three days before on Saturday, May 11. Provided with five undated indictments, the law enforcement officers travelled up a country road to Frank K—'s plantation, to the sharecropper shack where Jim and Rosa Dukes lived with eight of their twelve children. Jesse, twelve, was the tenth child and small for his age. He had never been to school and he says he cannot drive a car to this day.

> **"They put me in the car and rode me for nearly two hours, beating me all the time. It took nearly two hours to ride only 13 miles. It was 3:30 in the morning when we got to the jail. They handcuffed me and strung me up to the door, my hands above my head and they beat me with a rubber hose. '*You know***

A Georgia Chain Gang

Excerpts from the Brief of Petitioner in the Matter of JESSE DUKES filed in the

Superior Court of New Jersey, Appellate Division

STATEMENT OF FACTS

The Governor of the State of Georgia has demanded the return of the petitioner to Georgia as an escaped convict . . .

The demanding papers show five indictments of the petitioner in May 1940 (date not stated) for larceny of five automobiles on 11 May 1940 . . . and sentences on 14 May 1940 to hard labor for three to five years on each indictment, the sentences to run consecutively.

At the time of arrest and sentence, petitioner, a Negro with no schooling, was twelve years old . . .

THE EVIDENCE

1. Petitioner was arrested about one o'clock in the morning, and about 8:30 or 9 o'clock of that same morning was sentenced. No friends or relatives were present in court, nor was he represented by counsel or advised of his right to counsel. On the advice of either a jailer or warden, and with out consultation of either counsel or friend, he pleaded guilty when his name was called.

2. Petitioner was sentenced to Burke County jail where he was hit with a rubber hose, beaten with axe handles and made to wear iron clamps on his legs. He was put in a sweat box, which consists of a very narrow box about six or eight feet high, enclosed with a door and containing no article of furniture whatever. Petitioner was obliged to sleep on the floor, stand on the floor, sit on the floor and take care of himself at the call of nature right on the floor. He was fed one meal every five days, and received two cups of water daily, one in the morning and one in the afternoon.

3. While confined at Reidsville State Penitentiary, to which he was transferred from Burke County in about 1942, petitioner was beaten with a bull whip. Once, when he left the line to speak to the warden he was beaten severely with a hose without an opportunity to tell the warden what he wanted to see him about.

4. From Reidsville, petitioner was moved to a prison in Cobb County, from where he escaped in 1948. Upon his return to Cobb County prison camp in 1951, he was immediately taken into a room, held by four persons and mercilessly beaten by a fifth. He was then put in one of the sweat boxes, previously described, for twelve days. Because of his escape, a half inch of water was put on the floor, so that the feces which he had to deposit there would not settle in one corner but would float around . . .

5. Petitioner has marks on his body as a result of the shots and of the beatings he took. There are pellets from a shotgun in petitioner's leg, other bruises and scars on his head and back, and a metal plate in his leg.

6. If returned to Georgia, petitioner would live under constant fear because of the experience he had in leaving the line and being beaten by the warden. He would be afraid to leave the line to make inquiry about an attorney because he would be beaten severely . . .

you took those cars.' I told them, I didn't. *'We'll kill you if you don't say you took them.'* They kept on beating me and beating me. Finally they felt sorry for me and gave me some water and some bread. I think it was about 5 o'clock. But they left me hanging on the door till after 7.

"At 8 o'clock they brought me into the court room. Judge Franklin was the judge. There wasn't anybody there but the judge and the prosecutor and the jailer. There was six prisoners. I was the second one called: *'Jesse Dukes, stand up and hold up your right hand.'* I stood up. *'Do you plead guilty or not guilty?'* I started to say I didn't do anything, but before I could say it the jailer said: *'Guilty. He pleads guilty.'* The judge sentenced me to three to five years at hard labor on each count. That was 15 to 25 years."

Less than eight hours after he had been picked up, Jesse had been 'tried' and sentenced to a quarter of a century in prison. He had seen no friend or relative, no one had told him he had a right to counsel. The hearing could not have lasted more than ten minutes. The prosecutor preferred charges and, except for the sheriff, no witnesses appeared against him.

"They was taking me down the steps from the court as my mother and the others come up. They come to see what they was going to do with me. They didn't let me speak to my mother. I saw her the next Sunday at the chain gang camp."

Could an unlettered back country boy of 12 have taken five cars in one afternoon? According to Jesse's account, he was 10 miles away at the time the alleged crimes were committed.

"I'd asked my mother if I could go spend the night with my Uncle Sam that Saturday. He was overseer at a plantation near Gough, Georgia, where there was two commissary stores. Saturday night they went in to town to buy food. [Gough is about 10 miles from Waynesboro where the thefts occurred.] My mother said I could go. I knocked off work at 12. We was chopping cotton. It was 15 miles to my uncle's. My little brother rode me 7 miles on the mule and I had 8 miles to go. I hitchhiked 5 miles on a wagon and walked the rest of the way. I got there about 4:30. My uncle took me to Gough and we got back about 7. I helped my uncle feed the stock. He had about a hundred mules to take care of that belonged to the plantation. Next day I went to church, over near my mother's place. Church let out at 3 and I walked home. I got near the house and my mother come out to meet me. *'Little Boy'*, (That's what they called me.) *'I want to talk to you. What you been doing? The police been here looking for you.'*"

It was early Tuesday morning, a day and a half later, that the police came back and took Jesse.

On May 18, 1940, four days after his arrest and conviction, Jesse Dukes was officially enrolled on the Burke County chain gang. He was given a striped suit. The camp blacksmith welded iron "picks" on his legs—long iron spikes, extending one foot in front and one foot behind, attached by an iron anklet on each leg (see picture below). They can not be taken off.

Jesse worked with pick-axe and shovel with the adult convicts on the road gang, from sunup to sundown. Those who fell behind were beaten with axe handles and rubber hoses. At night they were locked in the crowded wooden bunkhouses, boys and veteran criminals. That was where they spent Sundays and Christmas. Rosa Dukes came often to see her son. Sometimes they would not let her see him, *"because she'd see they had been beating me."*

Before he was 14, Jesse was put in the "sweat box". There had been a killing in the prison camp. A guard shot a prisoner who refused to obey and Jesse was a witness. He refused to answer the warden's questions satisfactorily. The sweat box was made of concrete, six or eight feet high, with a steel door and no windows. *"You couldn't see your hand in front of your face."* There were openings for air and space to pass a cup through when the outer door was opened, barely room to lie on the concrete floor. Twice a day he received a cup of water, no meal for five days. [The year before, in 1941, there had been a public scandal when a Negro prisoner at Lookout Mountain in Northwest Georgia was found suffocated to death after twenty-one men had been locked for 11 hours in a sweat box seven and a half feet square.]

Governor Ellis Arnall, who for two years headed Georgia's shortlived reform administration, described prison conditions in the State:

"We have denied prisoners the treatment any man must have. We have caged them like wild animals. We have let them thirst and hunger. We have chained them. We have forged iron bands upon their legs. We have denied them the solace of religion, and when I think of boys huddled with professional criminals, obtaining no education and no religious instruction, I am disgusted."

—*New York Times, September 28, 1943*

"Picks" of the type used on Jessie Dukes in 1942

In January 1942, eighteen months after his arrest, Jesse was on the back of a truck, carrying prisoners to work, when it overturned. His right thigh was crushed. So that the doctor at the Waynesboro hospital could operate, the iron picks were removed from his legs, for the first time since his arrest. Six weeks later, Jesse was back at the chain gang camp with 32 stitches in his leg and a metal plate. By April, the plaster cast off, Jesse was on the road gang again, but without picks. He wasn't strong enough to work with several pounds of iron on his legs.

> **"They was hauling great big logs then, a man on one end and another man on the other end. I was disable to pick up that log. I just couldn't pick it up. The guard started to beat me. That was when I left. They shot after me, but they missed."**

That was Jesse's first escape. He was picked up a few miles away the next day and brought back for a beating. Several weeks later he escaped again, but was caught before night.

Jesse was transferred to Georgia's new high security prison, the State Penitentiary at Reidsville, in the summer of 1942. Escape wasn't possible from the modern steel and concrete fortress. Prison gangs working in the fields were surrounded by guards, their shotguns ready. Jesse tells that a number of young prisoners decided to run, but he watched the nearest guard take aim at a bird flying high in the sky. He brought it down. Jesse decided against escape. *"They don't shoot to stop you, they shoot to kill."*

Five prisoners, including Jesse, resolved to let the warden know how the guard had refused them water in the fields in the broiling Georgia sun and had beaten them with a bull whip. In the prison they stepped out of line together to speak to the warden. They had no chance to say what they wanted. The whips came down on their shoulders.

After five years at the Reidsville State Penitentiary, in 1947, Jesse with other prisoners was moved to the Cobb County prison camp at Marietta, where the prisoners worked in the quarries, breaking rocks with 40 pound sledge hammers. He tells of his arrival.

> **"After we got there, one of the guards said. *'We're going to send the little nigger up there.'* That was me. He meant, up to work in the quarry. The boss man said: *'Let me see the little nigger. Come here, Little Nigger. You ain't big enough to bust rocks'*. I thought they wasn't going to send me, but they put me to work on Saturday morning . . . One day I started to give out. I told the**

guard my leg had been broken and I wasn't strong enough to raise that big sledge hammer. He said: *'We'll break it again. If you don't go back to work, I'll beat you.'*"

Picks had been abolished at the Cobb County camp. Jesse looked for a chance to escape. Twice in the fall of 1947 he got away. Both times he was found and returned within twenty-four hours. In January 1948, the prisoners were loading gravel on railroad cars on a siding. A guard sat on the side of the car just loaded, a gun across his lap. An empty car was moved in on the next track. Jesse timed his dash when the locomotive would block the guard's vision, climbed up under the loaded car and ran. A shot hit him in his left thigh. It was not serious; he kept on running. The bloodhounds found his trail to the river, but he had doubled back on his own path and guards and dogs searched in vain for his scent on the other side of the river.

"I dug me a hole under the bridge. I stayed holed up there from 11 o'clock till night. I could hear the dogs and the guards going over the bridge. They were saying, *'he must have drownded.'*"

The sister of a prison friend gave him clothes, food and a little money. Her father, a truck driver, took him across the state line the same night. In a strange city he found friends who kept him till he could get railroad fare from relatives in the North.

The State of Georgia located Jesse Dukes in New Jersey and asked his extradition. Two prison officials were sent North to bring him back, but not before Jesse Dukes had been taught to read and write while being held in a New Jersey prison.

He got back to the Cobb County camp in October 1951. Jesse tells of his return.

"On the way back they called me names and threatened me. When we got there, they gave me my stripes [prison suit] and I had my breakfast. I thought I was going to work with the others. But the man said I wasn't going to work that day. They carried me into a room and four men held me and another man beat me, till I was nearly dead. Then they put me in the sweat box. There was half an inch of water on the floor of the sweat box. That's all I had to drink. It was cold in there and dark. They kept me there twelve days."

Eighty-seven days after he was returned to the Cobb County prison camp, Jesse Dukes escaped again and made his way North. Now he is in the Passaic County Jail in Paterson, New Jersey, waiting to be sent back again. He is 25 years old, nearly 12 years of his life have been spent in prisons for a crime of which he is innocent.

JESSE DUKES is not in a Georgia prison today, only because the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Paterson, New Jersey, went into court to halt his extradition. At the suggestion of the N.A.C.C.P., Mr. Mendon Morrill, a prominent Paterson attorney, has argued Jesse Dukes' case before the courts of New Jersey, up to the Supreme Court of the State, and has placed the facts before New Jersey's Governor, Alfred E. Driscoll. The courts have refused to move against extradition. Governor Driscoll has not yet acted.

THE N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND will now appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States. Its attorneys will exhaust every legal resource to save this young man. Jesse Dukes was extradited from New Jersey to Georgia once before. In 1951, vengeful jailers beat and tortured the returned fugitive mercilessly. Another time they may kill him.

Governor Herman Talmadge and the prison officials of the State have no right to demand Jesse Dukes' return to serve out his sentence, because Georgia officials had no right to convict and hold him thirteen years ago. Their action at that time was a flagrant denial of every elementary safeguard provided in our Constitution. Accused of a preposterous crime, he was tried and convicted without counsel or knowledge he had a right to counsel.

Jesse Dukes is not the only helpless Negro boy in our country to be victimized by vicious police and court officials steeped in racial prejudice and hatred. Unless Americans act, there will be other Jesse Dukes. In defending this young man, we help prevent other violations of the edict in our Bill of Rights, forbidding "cruel and unusual punishment". We serve notice that decent people, North and South, will not tolerate an archaic and brutal system of racial injustice.

THE N.A.A.C.P. LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND needs our help to provide defense for Jesse Dukes and other helpless victims of racial injustice.
Please send your contribution today.

DR. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS, *Chairman*
"COMMITTEE OF 100"
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

I enclose my contribution of $ ..... to assist the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

Please make checks payable to Allan Knight Chalmers, Chairman.
Contributions are tax exempt

98

WILL YOU HELP?

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Justice James H. Wolfe
Bradford Young

The "Committee of 100"

Founded by WILLIAM ALLAN NEILSON

Dedicated to the Creation of an America of Justice and Equality for Our Negro Fellow Citizens

20 WEST 40th STREET • NEW YORK 18, N.Y.
LACKAWANNA 4-2521

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Southern Regional Council

ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
Chairman

FRANCIS J. McCONNELL
Honorary Chairman

EDWARD L. PARSONS
Pacific Coast Chairman

December 2, 1953

Dear Miss Slaughter:

Jesse Dukes was convicted in 1940, at the age of 12, allegedly for stealing five automobiles. He was sentenced to fifteen to twenty-five years at hard labor. He has been tortured and hunted for thirteen of his 25 years of life. Today this young man is a fugitive, facing extradition from New Jersey to serve out his lengthy term in a Georgia prison.

Two weeks ago, in the Passaic County Jail in Paterson, New Jersey, he told me the tragic story retold in the enclosed folder.

Because the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has come to his defense, there is yet hope to save him. Attorneys of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund appealed last week to the Supreme Court of the United States to stay his extradition. We will take every necessary legal step to free young Dukes.

This young man has suffered and faces continued suffering, simply because he is a Negro. I know of no example in Georgia justice of a 12-year-old white boy being condemned to a life in chains. Our society cannot tolerate one standard of justice for those whose skins are white and another standard for those who are colored.

Please send your contribution today to enable us to save Jesse Dukes from further suffering. He was convicted without benefit of counsel at the age of 12 for a crime of which he is innocent. In this travesty of justice, the guilty party is not only the State which convicted him, but every man and woman who stands by while this innocent young man suffers.

Sincerely yours,

Allan Knight Chalmers

Allan Knight Chalmers
Chairman

The "Committee of 100" sponsors an annual appeal for $150,000 toward the budget of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. All contributions are deductible for U. S. Income Tax Purposes.

RUTH SLOAN ASSOCIATES, Inc.
GENERAL CONSULTANTS
AFRICA AND NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
4201 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 16, D. C. • EMERSON 2-4503

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Southern Regional Council

February 13, 1954

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your warm letter of February 5, and thank you for suggesting the additional people who might be interested in the newsletter.

Sincerely,

Ruth Sloan

Ruth Sloan
Executive Director

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

February 5, 1954

Miss Ruth Sloan
4201 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington 16, D. C.

Dear Miss Sloan:

Very many thanks indeed for your first welcome issue of AFRICAN NEWS. I look forward gratefully to receiving it regularly. It is grand that you are doing it.

I list below some other people who might be interested:

Mr. L. D. Reddick, Librarian, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Benjamin Mays, President, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Nathaniel O. Olaku, 611 West 113th Street, New York 25, N. Y.
Mr. Victor Kotun, Muhlenburg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania
Mr. Frank Loescher, 1 East 54th Street, New York 22, N. Y.
Mr. Kendall Weisiger, Palmer Bldg., Marietta St., Atlanta 3, Georgia

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive-Director

GSM:hh
Encl. Check

July 26, 1954

Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk, Virginia

Feb.?

Dear Mrs. Silverman:

The Southern Regional Council would be delighted to join with the Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation in sponsoring the workshop proposed for early next June.

Let me know from time to time of what you may need from us.

Here's a helpful new pamphlet, the use of which I hope will spread.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Answers for Action sent under separate cover
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

Copy to: Harold C. Fleming

THE WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR INTERRACIAL COOPERATION

•

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA

July 21, 1954

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Our Council would like to undertake a more ambitious type of program next year — something in the way of a workshop on Techniques in Handling Bigotry. We have tentatively selected February as a possible time for this workshop, but the date is still open.

We need a co-sponsor and hope that the Southern Regional Council would assume that role. We would, or course, contact all local groups for representation at our workshop, which we think of in terms of two or three sessions. (Evening - Morning - Possibly Afternoon).

I would greatly appreciate your prompt reply and any suggestions that you can offer.

Sincerely,

Susan B. Silverman

Program Chairman

Mrs. H. M. Silverman
1016 Larchmont Crescent
Norfolk, Virginia

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JUL 23 1954
Southern Regional Council

January 2, 1957

Mr. Frank T. Simpson
Executive Secretary
State of Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights
500 Capitol Avenue
Hartford 15, Connecticut

Dear Frank:

It was a real pleasure to get your letter of December 28, and we would be honored and pleased by a visit from you at our offices. They are located in the Wesley Memorial Church Building, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., and the phone number is JAckson 2-7963.

I would suggest that you make your visit on the 15th, for that is George Mitchell's last day in the office.

Best regards in the New Year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

RUTH SLOAN ASSOCIATES, Inc.
GENERAL CONSULTANTS
AFRICAN AND NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS
4200 CATHEDRAL AVENUE, N. W., WASHINGTON 16, D. C. • EMERSON 2-4503

January 27, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue NE, Room 432
Atlanta, 3 Georgia

Dear Mr.Fleming:

Enclosed please find 40¢ in refund for the amount due you on your unexpired portion of the subscription to Afrian News . Thank you for your past cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth Sloan

Ruth C. Sloan
Executive Director

0.40 CR
RHA
1/30/57

Atlanta Professional Chapter
Sigma Delta Chi

DON CARTER, *President*
Atlanta Journal
DOZIER CADE, *Vice-President*
Georgia State College
ED THOMAS, *Secretary*
Southern Bell Telephone Co.
GEORGE HATCHER, *Treasurer*
Atlanta Journal-Constitution
EUGENE PHILLIPS, *Program Chairman*
Delta Air Lines

Card returned 8/15/57 indicating Mr. Flemmer will not be able to attend on account of vacation

August 1, 1957

FUN! FROLIC! FRIVOLITY! 'FRESHMENTS! FREE! (almost)

The August meeting--Tuesday, August 13--will be a non-speaker, non-business, non-ordinary, non-sensical affair.

You've heard about it. You've read about it. But just as a reminder--

The Atlanta Paper Co. will turn over its lodge facilities on Allatoona Lake to us that afternoon and night. Get up there any time you want to, but the "official" starting time is 5 p.m. with "dinner" served at 7, and no "official" going-home time.

Ted Atwood, advertising and public relations director of APACO, said that the lodge is "ours" for that afternoon and night. We can swim, boat, fish, or recreate in any way we want to. There will be no Variety Club liquarium up there, but you can bring your own liquid entertainment.

As for the food--it'll be good.

We'll have an old-fashioned, sumptuous, barbecue dinner featuring barbecue beef and pork and brunswick stew with such accessories as cole slaw, potato chips, pickles, bread and ice tea. The dinner will be served by the staff of J. V. Melear, who runs Melear's Barbecue in Union City. The price will be $1.50 per plate, with "seconds" for the gluttons (a polite word for gourmets).

If you don't like the food, blame Dozier Cade, who is arranging for it. He said he ate a barbecue dinner prepared by Mr. Melear recently, and that it was the "best" barbecue he had ever eaten.

Bring as many adult guests as you like--including your wife and/or girl friend. At $1.50 a plate, it's almost a "two-for-the-price-of-one" dinner compared with the Variety Club $2.50 per.

Mr. Melear has been "guaranteed" at least 50 persons, but we ought to have at least 100 up there. So that we can let Mr. Melear know how much of the 'cue and stew to whomp up--he has to buy the ingredients in advance, and the preparation is more complicated than an ordinary meal--PLEASE LET THE SECRETARY KNOW (BY SENDING IN YOUR RESERVATION CARD) AS SOON AS POSSIBLE IF YOU ARE (OR ARE NOT) COMING AND HOW MANY GUESTS YOU'LL BRING. Don't just "show up" without a reservation, because the food might give out and all will suffer as a result. And please don't wait until the last day or two to SEND IN THE ATTACHED RESERVATION CARD, because that would be too late for food-preparing purposes.

The attached sketch-map should get you up there without any trouble. If you drink too much ice tea, it might be a mite more difficult to retrace your route back.

Get off from work early August 13, pick up your gal(s) and pal(s), and come on up. Chow time is 7 p. m., play time is before and after.

SIGMA DELTA CHI NEWS NOTES

A Report from the Atlanta Professional Chapter

IT WAS "U. P." NITE
AT THE JULY MEETING

A large turnout of members greeted William C. (Bill) Payette when he spoke to the chapter July 9. Among the 48 present were 10 UP staffers--including the speaker--and 4 former UP men.

After a Bill-Emerson-type of introduction by Rhea Eskew, revealing some of the speaker's lurid past, Mr. Payette spoke about the highlights and personalities in the history of the United Press since its founding 50 years ago.

Among the "firsts" credited to UP were: first bylines for press association staffers; first "human interest" stories in press association reports (starting with Marlen Pew's reporting of a labor strike in 1912 in terms of the strikers as "people"); interview from overseas via radio (with Trotsky in 1919, followed by interview with Lenin); first financial wire, first sports wire, first teletypewriter wire, first radio wire, first script wire for TV film, first facsimile newspicture wire.

The officers were conspicuous by their absences. President Don Carter was winging his way to Germany; Secretary Ed Thomas was on vacation; Treasurer George Hatcher -- wonder where George was, or is? Vice-President Dozier Cade presided, Dick Hodges subbed for Hatcher, and Gene Phillips (as usual) provided a fine program.

IF YOU'VE BEEN WONDERING
ABOUT THE QUILL, AND WHY

We haven't been getting our Atlanta Chapter activities publicized in the "Sigma Delta Chi News" section of the magazine--don't blame Dick Hodges, our publicity and scrapbook chairman. Dick has been sending in material to Quill regularly. After seeing his stuff left out for two issues, he wrote Vic Bluedorn, executive director, to find out why.

Incidentally, Dick also has been sending stories to Editor & Publisher about our activities, and some of them have been published.

ONE VOLUNTEER--
ARE THERE MORE?

Frank Chappell, in charge of the Atlanta public relations office for the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Inc., has volunteered to serve as consultant for the Druid Hills High School newspaper in connection with our plans to help high school journalists in the Greater Atlanta area. His son will be working on the paper, so Frank has a personal as well as professional interest in the publication.

Frank is a new member of the Atlanta Chapter, having recently transferred from the Dallas (Tex.) Chapter. That chapter is wide-awake and quite active. Maybe Frank can add some of that Texas enthusiasm to our already active Atlanta Chapter.

If you are interested in being consultant to one of the local high school newspapers, write or phone Dozier Cade at Georgia State College.

SPEAKING OF HIGH SCHOOL
JOURNALISTS --

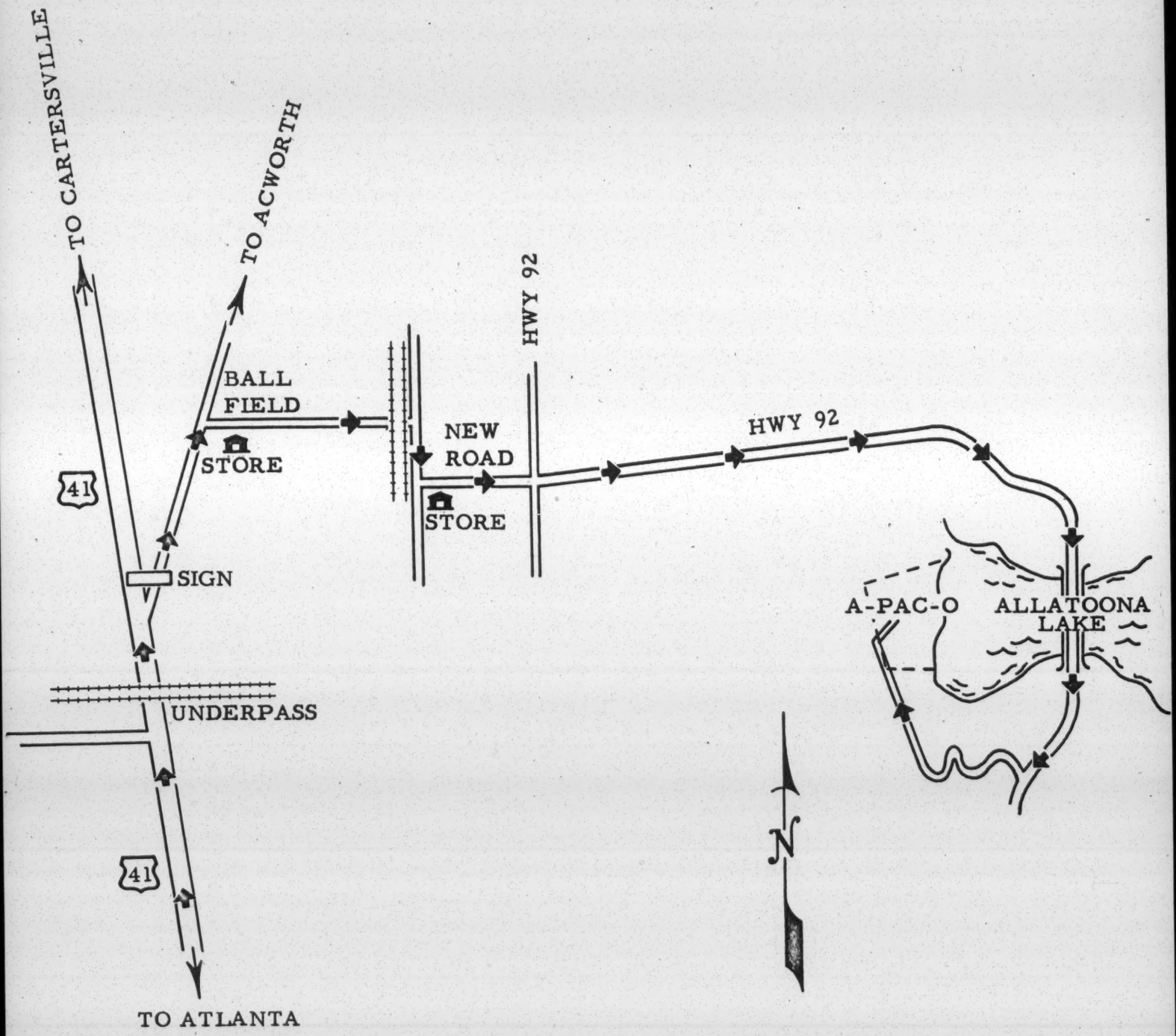
The date and place for the annual fall workshop of the Atlanta Scholastic Press Association will be either October 7 or 8 at Georgia State College. Our Chapter will provide speakers and specialists for the one-day session.. You may be called on to help out. Again, volunteers are in order.

The Association is an organization of the editors of high school newspapers and yearbooks from 24 schools in the Greater Atlanta area. We hope through our work with the high school journalists to encourage talented young people to enter the profession of Journalism. Maybe in the process we can also spot bright young prospects and keep an eye on them with the object of hiring them after college. This activity is in line with the national SDX theme and effort this year: "SEEK TALENT--NURTURE IT."

AND IN CONCLUSION--
LEST WE FORGET--

(1) Initiation of new members will take place at an early fall meeting. If you have candidates in mind, keep them in mind, and let us know about them when we ask for names and qualifications of candidates. If you don't have any in mind, start some heavy thinking and looking around and put some names down that come to your mind.

(2) Send in your reservations for the Allatoona Outing by filling in and mailing the attached postcard--NOW.


TO CARTERSVILLE
TO ACWORTH
BALL FIELD
STORE
41
SIGN
UNDERPASS
41
TO ATLANTA
HWY 92
NEW ROAD
STORE
HWY 92
A-PAC-O
ALLATOONA LAKE
N

Cr. ref

VIA AIR MAIL June 11, 1959

Miss Sue R. Slaughter
522 Mowbray Arch
Norfolk 7, Virginia

Dear Miss Slaughter:

My apologies for this delay in answering your recent letter, but I thought it best to check with the Alabama Council on Human Relations as to the best local contact in Mobile. I have finally heard from the Rev. Robert Hughes, executive of the Alabama Council. There are a number of members of that organization in Mobile, but he suggests the following as a couple whom your niece might find particularly congenial:

Mr. & Mrs. John McConnell
205 Ridgewood Place
Mobile, Alabama

Let me add that I am sorry for the confusion over your New South subscription. We discovered that we had never received a full list of the Virginia life members, and so this status was not reflected on our subscription records. In

any event, the correction has been made in your case, and I trust you will not be troubled with any further routine renewal notices.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED MAY 25 1959

522 MOWBRAY ARCH
NORFOLK 7, VIRGINIA

May 22, 1959

Dear Mr Fleming:

Is there any interracial group in Mobile?

I have a niece rather recently moved there from Birmingham and concerned about the race problem and especially about the fact that it cannot be mentioned. She has four young children so could not be an active member but I would like to put her in touch with people who speak her language.

I shall appreciate your sending me the name and address of someone with whom she might helpfully communicate.

Sincerely yours,

Sue R Slaughter

522 MOWBRAY ARCH
NORFOLK 7, VIRGINIA

June 29, 1959

Dear Mr Flemming:

Thank you very much for sending me the names of Mr. and Mrs. John McConnell as contacts for my niece in Mobile. I have forwarded the names to her along with that of Fr. Albert Foley.

We are all so distressed that Paul Rilling is leaving the Richmond office although we rejoice in his promotion. He is a fine and most helpful person.

I'm glad my name has been entered on the "life subscribers" roll for The New South. I'm sure I'll receive no further renewal notices.

Yours most sincerely,

Sue R Slaughter

RECEIVED JUL 1 1959

December 24, 1959

Mr. Charles H. Slayman, Jr.
Chief Counsel and Staff Director
Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional
Rights
U. S. Senate
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Slayman:

Nothing very satisfactory has been done by way of collecting foreign press comment or other evidence of overseas attitudes toward discrimination in this country. Although we can't find a copy in our files, I recall that several years ago the American Jewish Committee reproduced some editorials -- from French newspapers, I believe -- on racial incidents in the United States. We have a mimeographed report called "American Civil Liberties in the Foreign Press" prepared under the direction of Professor Douglas Waples of the University of Chicago. But this is a scholarly rather than a popular treatment.

A publication of the sort you suggest would be useful. The problem is to survey enough foreign newspapers over a sufficient period to get an effective and representative collection. For a private agency, this would be an expensive and time-consuming project. The USIA, however, presumably monitors the press of other countries and might have already in its files the kind of material needed. (The New York Times of October 14, 1957 reported that the USIA was carrying on a "global study" of the damage to the United States resulting from the Little Rock difficulties; the announcement referred to "sensationalized news stories.")

Perhaps the USIA could be persuaded to do the job itself or, more likely, to make the appropriate material available to an interested private agency. We would be very much interested in seeing such a publication prepared -- and perhaps in assisting with publication -- but we don't feel that the Southern Regional Council is equipped to do the job.

If you get any encouraging reactions from Herman Edelsberg or others, I will appreciate your keeping us informed.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

12/16/59

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Has this been done? If not, is it worth doing?

Who should do it?

Charles H. Slayman, Jr.
Chief Counsel and
Staff Director
Senate Subcommittee on
Constitutional Rights

COPY

December 16, 1959

Mr. Herman Edelsberg
Director, Washington Office
Anti-Defamation League
B'nai B'rith
1640 Rhode Island Ave., N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Herman:

A thought occurs to me for a research project concerning American civil rights.

Perhaps it has been done.

Or maybe it is in process somewhere at the moment.

I just don't know and thought you might or would have some thoughts about how to accomplish this if it really should be undertaken.

I think it would be highly desirable to have in a handy form a substantial collection of editorial and other comments by people in other countries about American race relations and religious or racial discrimination practices.

What do you think?

Sincerely,

Charles H. Slayman, Jr.
Chief Counsel and Staff Director

CHS:z

April 20, 1960

Rabbi William B. Silverman
The Temple
Congregation Ohabai Sholom
5015 Harding Road
Nashville 5, Tennessee

My dear Rabbi Silverman:

The quotation in which you are interested -- used originally, I believe, in the Wall Street Journal -- causes us a slight embarrassment. We don't know who on our staff was the unnamed spokesman, or whether the quotation is exactly as given. However, the statement gives the impression that the Southern Regional Council has played a major role as a relocation agency. This is not the case; we have counselled a few of the "DPs" and referred a few to appropriate religious organizations.

If the change wouldn't be too inconvenient, we should much prefer to revise one phrase, as follows: "....Since 1954, we have been in touch with at least a dozen ministers who lost...," etc. With that slight change, you may, if you wish, attribute the quotation to me. If it is too late for the revision to be made, the quotation should be attributed, as it was in the Wall Street Journal (and later New York Times) to an unnamed spokesman.

With kindest regards and good wishes for the forthcoming book, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The Temple
CONGREGATION OHABAI SHOLOM
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE
DR. WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN, RABBI
5015 HARDING ROAD

PA

April 12th, 1960

The Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

This is to request permission to use the following quotation from a statement made by an official of your organization: "In the South we have a new class of D.P.'s - displaced parsons. Since 1954, we've helped relocate about fifteen ministers who lost their churches for supporting the Supreme Court decision, or for protesting against violence."

This permission is requested for use of this material in my manuscript with the tentative title "God Help Me", to be published by The Macmillan Company.

Naturally full credit will be given to the author if you will advise me who made this statement.

Thanking you for the consideration you may give this matter, and with every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Wm B. Silverman

Rabbi William B. Silverman

WBS/wh

July 1, 1960

Mr. Tobias Simon
706 Ainsley Building
14 N. E. First Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Tobey:

This is to prolong our correspondence chain by a brief word of thanks for your last letter. Needless to say, I am content to let Hawes' inept smears lie.

Your comparison of yourself to Nixon awaiting the nomination is flattering -- if not to you, then to SRC and Nixon. Of course, these august positions are not granted overnight. SRC has a selection machinery almost as slow and complex as that of the Republican Party -- though more efficient in outcome, I hope. The difference is that we are hardly besieged by people seeking the honor. You're unique.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LAW OFFICES

TOBIAS SIMON

706 AINSLEY BUILDING, 14 N. E. FIRST AVENUE
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA
TELEPHONES FR 3-6383 · FR 9-5687

PLEASE REPLY NUMBER: 1544-C

June 7, 1960

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This chain reaction of correspondence should probably have stopped long ere this. The Tallahassee crew is really incapable of any mass smear. Their efforts to impute subversion or Communism to various organizations in the state have all failed to even make a prima facie case by reason of the fact that the persons involved have not even taken the trouble to investigate the sources of their information. I do not believe that that crew could prove that the Communist party was subversive. Therefore, I don't feel that there is anything to concern yourself with. I feel that any remarks made by the Court (as against the ACLU) and by Hawes (as against the Southern Regional Council), should not be dignified by comment.

I feel at the present moment like Richard Nixon, waiting in the wings for news of my nomination. When I received your letter I had expected it to contain the news of my immediate appointment to the Southern Regional Council. I was not disappointed, hardly at all. I just know that I will hear from you. I believe it. Really.

Sincerely yours,

SIMON & ROSEN

By: _____
For the Firm

TS:mf

December 6, 1960

Sigma Delta Chi Awards in
Journalism
35 East Wacker Drive
Suite 856
Chicago 1, Illinois

Gentlemen:

Pleasessend to Mr. Harold C. Fleming, at the above address, several forms for nomination for the Sigma Delta Chi Awards in Journalism.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Mr. Fleming

MF

The Daily Times

Press-Radio Center, Telephone LEnox 2-6211
Gainesville, Georgia

Dec. 5

Dear Les,

This is the competition I mentioned. What do you think?

Sylvan

Thanks for coming to our meeting

5

Sigma Delta Chi Awards

For distinguished service in Journalism

General Information

The Sigma Delta Chi Awards for Distinguished Service in Journalism have been awarded annually since 1932 for outstanding achievements in journalism during a calendar year and winners are usually announced in April.

The awards proper consist of bronze medallions and accompanying plaques.

NOMINATIONS

Nominations for any one of the Sigma Delta Chi Awards may be made by the author or any other party. Forms are available on request. These awards are open to both members and non-members of Sigma Delta Chi and may be either men or women. They must, however, be Americans.

February 1, 1961 is the deadline for nominations. Nominations postmarked on that date will be accepted. Mail or express entries to:

Sigma Delta Chi Awards in Journalism
35 East Wacker Drive—Suite 856
Chicago 1, Illinois

EXHIBITS

All awards are offered for specific work done during the calendar year 1960.

Each nomination must be accompanied by an exhibit and *nomination form*, filled out by typewriter or print.

A brief biography and photograph of nominee must accompany each nomination for categories 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, and 15. The awards are made to individuals. Also for 11 and 13 if nomination is for an individual.

A nomination intended for more than one category requires a separate exhibit for each.

Each nomination and nomination form must be clearly marked to show category in which it is entered. Several nominations may be sent in one package, but each should be identified and accompanied by separate nomination form.

Exhibits cannot be returned. All become the property of Sigma Delta Chi.

RULES

Exhibits in press divisions should be in scrapbook form, measuring not larger than 15 inches by 20 inches, and should include clippings or photostats. Those who want to enter full pages, to show display, should fold them in half. Radio and television reporting exhibits should consist of recordings, tapes, or film, clearly labeled, and a typewritten summary.

Radio or television newswriting exhibits are limited to typescripts. Radio public service exhibits should consist of recordings or tapes with a typewritten summary. Television public service exhibits should include film (if available) and a typewritten summary.

Research exhibit should consist of manuscript, galley proofs, or printed book.

NOMINATIONS NOT MEETING THE ABOVE SPECIFICATIONS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR JUDGING.

JUDGING

The material submitted for consideration for the awards will be judged by a jury of veteran and distinguished journalists. All decisions will be final. Any award may be withheld in case the judges decide that none of the material submitted is worthy of special recognition.

Awards Categories

PRESS (Newspapers)

1. General Reporting: For a distinguished example of a reporter's work, either a single article or a series on a related subject, published during the year, the test being readability, accuracy and completeness, interest, enterprise and resourcefulness of the reporter in overcoming obstacles.

2. Editorial Writing: For a distinguished example of an editor's work, either a single editorial or a series relating to the same subject, published during the year; editorials by any one writer being limited to three, a series on a single topic counting as one entry.

3. Washington Correspondence: For a distinguished example of reporting national affairs by a Washington, D. C., correspondent, either a single article or a series on the same or related subject, published during the year.

4. Foreign Correspondence: For a distinguished example of reporting international affairs by a foreign correspondent, either a single article or a series on the same or related subject, published during the year.

5. News Picture: For an outstanding example of a news photographer's work, either a single picture, or sequence or series of pictures, published during the year; photographs by any one person being limited to six, a series on a single topic counting as one entry.

6. Editorial Cartoon: For a distinguished example of a cartoonist's work, a single cartoon published during the year, the determining qualities being craftsmanship, interest, forcefulness and general worth; cartoons by any one person being limited to six.

7. Public Service in Newspaper Journalism: For an outstanding public service rendered by a newspaper in which exceptional courage or initiative is displayed in face of opposition from antisocial forces, political, or other discouraging or hampering forces. Nominations are to be accompanied by a complete file of clippings or photostats, together with a statement of facts concerning the circumstances which prompted the newspaper in its undertaking and the results obtained. Those who want to enter full pages, to show display, should fold them in half since exhibit should not be larger than 15 inches by 20 inches.

PRESS (Magazines)

8. Magazine Reporting: For a distinguished example of current events reporting by a magazine writer, either a single article or series related to the same subject, published in a magazine of general circulation during the year.

9. Public Service in Magazine Journalism: For an exceptionally noteworthy example of public service rendered editorially or pictorially by a magazine of general circulation, special consideraiton being given to leadership or service achieved in the face of antisocial, political or other hampering forces, other tests being extent of good accomplished, enterprise, initiative, and effectiveness of presentation through pictures, articles, editorials and other graphic means; nominations being accompanied by a complete file of clippings together with a statement of facts concerning the circumstances which prompted the magazine in its undertaking and the results obtained.

RADIO OR TELEVISION

10. Radio or Television Newswriting: For a distinguished example of newswriting or commentary for radio or television; nominations consisting of either a partial or complete script, broadcast or telecast during the year.

RADIO

11. Radio Reporting: For the most distinguished example of spot news reporting of a single news event, scheduled or unscheduled, broadcast by radio as it happened or soon after it happened; exhibits consisting of a typewritten summary and recordings or tapes, running time not longer than thirty minutes. This award may go to an individual, station, or network.

12. Public Service in Radio Journalism: For an outstanding example of public service by an individual radio station or network through radio journalism, the test being the worth of the public service, the effectiveness of the presentation by the station or network, and the unselfish or public-spirited motives, bearing in mind that the broadcasts must be journalistic in nature, not entertainment; commercially sponsored radio programs not being eligible unless produced and controlled by the broadcasting station; exhibits consisting of a typewritten summary, disc recordings, or tapes, not to exceed thirty minutes.

TELEVISION

13. Television Reporting: For the most distinguished example of spot news reporting of a single news event, scheduled or unscheduled; broadcast by television as it happened or soon after it happened; exhibits consisting of typewritten summary and if available, a segment or summary of 16 mm film or kinescope, not longer than thirty minutes. This award may go to an individual, station, or network.

14. Public Service in Television Journalism: For an outstanding example of public service by an individual television station or network through television journalism, the test being the worth of the public service, the effectiveness of the presentation by the station or network, and the unselfish or public-spirited motives, bearing in mind that the broadcasts must be journalistic in nature and not entertainment; commercially sponsored programs not being eligible unless produced and controlled by the broadcasting station; entries consisting of a typewritten summary and if available, a segment or summary of 16 mm film or kinescope, not longer than thirty minutes.

RESEARCH

15. Research About Journalism: For an outstanding investigative study about some phase of journalism based upon original research, either published or unpublished, and completed during the year.

1961 Awards Announcement

What do you know about newspapers

WHO started his newspaper career by sending a basketball story to his hometown weekly?
SEE PAGE 44—E&P—NOVEMBER 5, 1960

WHAT percentage of the nation's press backed each candidate in the presidential elections?
SEE PAGE 9—E&P—NOVEMBER 5, 1960

WHERE are three dozen newsmen being flown by the U. S. Navy this fall?
SEE PAGE 79—E&P—NOVEMBER 12, 1960

WHEN did Dr. George Gallup start his famous public opinion poll?
SEE PAGE 62—E&P—NOVEMBER 5, 1960

WHY did AP general manager Frank Starzel say printing the rumor on Khrushchev was justifiable?
SEE PAGE 78—E&P—NOVEMBER 12, 1960

Who, what, where, when or why . . . if you want to know what's going on in the newspaper business, there's no place for finding out like EDITOR & PUBLISHER. Order your own personal subscription now — use the coupon below.

Editor & Publisher

The SPOT NEWS paper of the newspaper and advertising fields

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Times Tower, 1475 Broadway
New York 36, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to EDITOR & PUBLISHER for 1 year, effective with the earliest possible issue.
( ) Check for $6.50 enclosed. ( ) Please bill me later.

Name.....

Position.....

Newspaper or Company.....

Address.....

.....

Sylvan Meyer
Daily Times
Gainesville, Ga.

file

File Silverman

Leslie Dunbar

Southern Regional Council

Saul Silverman
1404 Sharon Rd.,Tallahassee

Working on doctoral program at FSU,

till June 1962.

hall
7-25-61

October 4, 1961

Mr. Allen Early, Jr.
801 Barfield Building
Amarillo, Texas

Dear Mr. Early:

We would like to thank you for your letter notifying us of the recent action taken by the national convention of Sigma Chi in dropping the designation "white" from its membership requirements.

We have been aware of this long-standing tradition of Sigma Chi and other college fraternities and I am sure Sigma Chi's leadership will accelerate the growing movement towards the fuller integration of minorities into the social as well as the academic life in our colleges across the country.

Again, thank you for bringing this information to our attention.

Very truly yours,

James A. Moss
Director of Research

JAM:A

ALLEN EARLY, Jr.
801 BARFIELD BUILDING
Amarillo, Texas

September 30, 1961

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

Recently I received the September issue of THE MAGAZINE OF SIGMA CHI, the college social fraternity of which I am a member. It reported that the Grand Chapter (national convention) in Miami Beach in June voted to remove the word "white" from the constitutional provisions for membership.

Perhaps this has come to your attention, but it does seem noteworthy, as this is one of the outstanding college fraternities in the national picture. (it also has chapters in Canada) Perhaps others have taken this step, but I am not personally aware of it.

If you desire further information, I suggest you contact William P. Huffman, Grand Consul, at the fraternity's headquarters, 2603 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois.

Cordially yours,

Allen Early, Jr.

Allen Early, Jr.

January 16, 1962

Mr. John Silard
Rauth and Silard
1625 K Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear John:

I am sorry I did not get to see you again while in Washington. I did call Friday but you were at lunch. My stay got very crowded, as always seems to happen.

I'll be more than glad to see you. Please let me know when you can make it. In the meantime, I am enclosing a few of our publications that have dealt with the protest movement.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. Waiting Room Practices in 21 Southern Cities 7/17/59
Toward A Solution of the Sit-In Controversy by Margaret Price 5/31/60
The Student Protest Movement [redacted] 2/25/60
Lunch-Counter Desegregation in Corpus Christi, Galveston, and San Antonio, Texas, Kenneth Morland 5/10/60
The Freedom Ride, May, 1960
The Student Protest Movement: A Recapitulation Sept.,1961
L Reports 20-22-28
New South, July/August, September,1961
Racial Violence
Civil Disobedience - Dunbar

LAW OFFICES
RAUH AND SILARD
1625 K STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
JOHN SILARD
DANIEL H. POLLITT
HARRIETT R. TAYLOR

737-7795

January 10, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

The United States Civil Rights Commission has contracted for a special project which I am preparing in the next few weeks and with which I hope that you might be of some assistance. The project involves the preparation of a private "pilot study" for the Commission of the problem of discrimination in places of public service, which has evoked the recent "sit-in" movement. This preliminary study will survey potential lines of governmental action to foster abandonment of discrimination in public places, action both by the courts, the legislative and the executive departments.

As one who is a close observer of these matters and has doubtless some valuable suggestions to make in this area, I hope that you will be free to meet with me briefly sometime before the middle of February for an informal private conversation on this subject. I will assume this to be the case unless I hear from you to the contrary and my secretary will then make arrangements for a convenient time for our talk.

Sincerely yours,

John Silard

John Silard

file
Silard

LAW OFFICES
RAUH AND SILARD
1625 K STREET, NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.
JOHN SILARD
DANIEL H. POLLITT
HARRIETT R. TAYLOR

737-7795

February 5, 1962

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you for sending me valuable materials concerning the sit-ins. My original plans to come to Atlanta this month have somewhat changed. I am now planning to submit my report in interim form to the Civil Rights Commission at the end of this month and possibly to come to Atlanta toward the middle or end of March. I would hope that you will still be available then to meet with me and if, in the meantime, you should be coming to Washington that we could have a brief meeting here.

Sincerely,

John Silard

John Silard

BCC: Wiley Branton
plus copy of Silver's letter

November 27, 1962

Professor James W. Silver
College of Liberal Arts
The University of Mississippi
University, Mississippi

Dear Jim:

The check for your expenses is enclosed.

You did a tremendous job and were altogether the star of the meeting.

Thank you for your letter. I was glad to get the reassuring note about Meredith.

The next issue of New South will have something in about voter registration difficulties in Mississippi, and we shall send it to you. Enclosed is an older New South which also had a piece. Had you been at the meeting Monday afternoon you would have heard Wiley Branton giving a lurid description of some events out there which will be covered in less detail in the forthcoming New South. I am passing your letter on to Wiley with the request that he write to you further if he has anything to send off.

I am putting you on our mailing list as of now and entering also a one year gift subscription for New South.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
Enclosures:
New South, Oct. 1961
Hayden, Revolution in Mississippi
L-38
Check

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
UNIVERSITY, MISSISSIPPI

Department of History

November 21, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Atreet, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

My main report to you is that this morning I had a long talk with Jim Meredith and I am now convinced, even more than I was at the meeting, that he has the brains and the will to complete his school work here without serious trouble. He has been in a little trouble but most of the reports of his scholastic failure have been the result of poor reporting and harassing tactics.

I enjoyed my visit with you very much. Tuesday morning I went out to Emory to talk to a class or two and to renew acquaintanceship there.

If you have any sort of report on difficulties in voter registration in Mississippi, I would like to have it very much. For my next year's address at the Southern Historical Association meeting, I am going to review the efforts at thought control in Mississippi and I need information regarding various pressure tactics, etc. As a matter of fact, I would appreciate being put on your mailing list.

Enclosed is my statement of expenses for the trip to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

James W. Silver

James W. Silver

December 13, 1962

Mr. Tobias Simon
Simon & Rosen
706 Ainsley Building
14 N. E. First Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Mr. Simon: #1281-ss

I read your letter of December 10 with great interest and shared it with a couple of others here. I hope you will keep us informed on the developments in Tallahassee and Orlando. Do I infer correctly that you are representing the plaintiffs?

I agree with you completely about the desirability of more civil suits. We have been baffled over the failure of Mr. C. B. King in Albany to bring such a suit after his caning by the Sheriff, though I am given to understand he may yet do so. I was told, as a matter of fact, the other day that several civil suits in the southwest Georgia area are being discussed; whether anything will come of them I simply could not guess.

There are, of course, some practical considerations which operate here. One is the shortage of Negro lawyers and, for that matter, the even more restricted number of Negro lawyers who will undertake a civil rights case. And secondly, there is the deplorable shortage of white lawyers in the South who will represent either plaintiffs or defendents in unpopular causes.

On top of these practical considerations, there is another factor keeping down the number of plaintiffs who might come forward. Though by no means a universal

sentiment, there is a strong philosophical conviction among some of the Negroes committed to non-violence, especially among the student cadres, against suing. They have, as a matter of fact, in their conferences and bull sessions had long talks about this, and there is a school of thought which sees a suit as a form of retaliation inconsistent with the philosophy of non-violence. As one of the students once put it to me, "you don't sue your brother." In a couple of instances which I know of personally, pickets who had been physically attacked have even declined, despite urging, to swear out warrents. So this adds to the problem.

With very best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

Simon

PA – he sounds like a good man. I wonder if our Fla friends ~~have to~~ know him

LAW OFFICES

SIMON & ROSEN

706 AINSLEY BUILDING, 14 N. E. FIRST AVENUE
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA
TELEPHONES FR 3-6383 · FR 9-5687

TOBIAS SIMON
MAURICE ROSEN

December 10, 1962 PLEASE REPLY NUMBER: 1281-ss

Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I have your kind letter of November 29, 1962, together with the enclosures. I have read all of them thoroughly and with great interest. I am obliged to state that your criticism that the United States Government did not act officially (or unofficially) is more than justified; it is an understatement of the truth.

Nevertheless, I continue to be plagued with one question: Why have not suits been brought against the city officials seeking damages under the civil provisions of the Civil Rights Act? Much has been said about the failure of the Government to bring criminal action under the criminal provisions of the same act, although admittedly the same are merely misdemeanors, and at best, convictions would be exceptionally difficult.

On the other hand, the burden of proof in a civil action is considerably less, and if there has been a civil rights violation, the Negro victim is entitled to a trial in the United States District Court. Anyone who has been sued will relate that the defense of an action for damages gives one much room for thought and it is exceedingly possible that the provoking action might not be repeated.

Such was the situation in Tallahassee on recent date. Negro students engaged in a sit-in demonstration, were arrested at the request of the proprietor

of a bus station restaurant. This was subsequently followed by a trial, conviction and fine. It was also followed by a suit against the lessee of the restaurant as well as against the city officials for violating the rights of the Negro sit-in demonstrators as are protected by the Civil Rights Act. As of this writing, the proprietor of the restaurant has agreed to cease and desist from all discriminatory practices if he can be released from the lawsuit; for the first time in recent memory, sit-in demonstrators in McCrory's and Woolworth's in Tallahassee were not arrested (although it is true that the lunch counters were closed down). A similar suit is being undertaken, as of this writing, against the proprietor of a municipally-owned restaurant at the Orlando airport. I personally, am satisfied that a civil suit is far more efficacious in bringing sense to the unenlightened than a pious bleating that the Federal Government institute an inoffensive misdemeanor action against the perpetrator.

I will be pleased to keep you advised on subsequent developments if you are interested. In a sense, this is the type of direct action that I had in mind when I wrote to you at first, and suggested that it might not be fair simply to criticize the Government; such criticism, coupled with a few offensive weapons of one's own, will, I think, more likely lead to best results.

With kindest personal regards.

Very truly yours,

Tobias Simon

TOBIAS SIMON

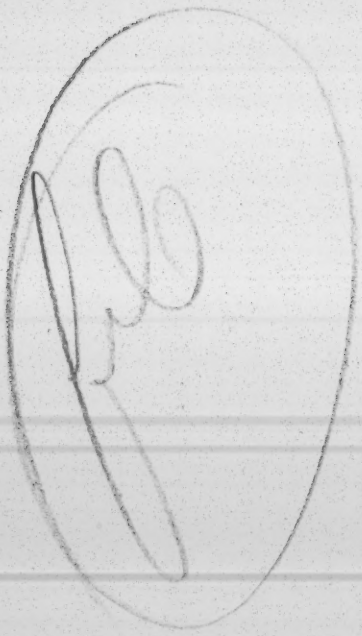
TS:ev

Memo from **JAMES A. MOSS**

Les —

File Sigma Delta Chi

Has Bob Baker or Claude Sitton written any series of articles that could qualify.



Sigma Delta Chi Awards

For distinguished service in Journalism...

35 EAST WACKER DRIVE : CHICAGO 1, ILLINOIS : TELEPHONE CENTRAL 6-6577

SPECIAL BULLETIN

1962 SIGMA DELTA CHI AWARDS NOMINATION FORMS ENCLOSED

Here are official forms for use in making nominations for the Sigma Delta Chi Awards for Distinguished Service in Journalism.

Rules covering prizes, nominations, exhibits and other information are given with the forms.

If you know of some work done during 1961 by a man or woman you believe qualifies for nomination for this distinguished journalism honor, use the enclosed forms.

You have until February 1, 1962 to send it in. However, we would suggest that you consider now -- rather than wait until too late.

Additional forms may be obtained from National Headquarters, 35 East Wacker Drive, Chicago 1, Illinois.

NOTE: (From the Manual of Procedure and Information)

With respect to the National Sigma Delta Chi Awards for Distinguished Service in Journalism, chapters should make eligible community participants conscious of the various divisions and urge entries as soon as The QUILL carries the first announcement of the competition. (December 1961)

Chapters can help National publicize this contest in all its phases by taking upon themselves the responsibility for publicizing the event locally. National assists by supplying a quantity of rules and nomination forms to each Professional and Undergraduate Chapter. These should be widely distributed.

While award publicity and advertising in the past has been very good in The QUILL and in the trade press generally, it needs to be even more widespread. This does not mean that The QUILL is an ineffective medium, nor that the trade press is ineffectual. It simply points up the fact that both QUILL and other trade publications reach a limited readership, one that does not bother to tear out notices and post them. Even if this was done, one notice - or several in a newspaper office or radio-TV station, would be insufficient. In addition to the posted notices, those eligible must be personally approached and asked to compete.

Sigma Delta Chi Awards

For distinguished service in Journalism...

1962 AWARDS ANNOUNCEMENT

General Information

AWARDS

The Sigma Delta Chi Awards for Distinguished Service in Journalism have been awarded annually since 1932 for outstanding achievements in journalism during a calendar year and winners are usually announced in April.

The awards proper consist of bronze medallions and accompanying plaques.

NOMINATIONS

Nominations may be made by the author or any other party. Awards are open to both members and non-members of Sigma Delta Chi and may be either men or women.

DEADLINE

February 1, 1962, is the deadline for nominations. Entries postmarked on that date will be accepted. Do not send entries after that date. Mail entries to:

Sigma Delta Chi Awards in Journalism
35 East Wacker Drive — Suite 856
Chicago 1, Illinois

GENERAL RULES

All awards are offered for specific work done during the calendar year 1961.

Exhibits cannot be returned and become the property of Sigma Delta Chi.

Each nomination must be accompanied by an exhibit and nomination form filled out by typewriter or printed. Additional forms are available or may be duplicated by any method.

A brief biography and photograph of nominee must accompany each nomination for categories 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 13, and 15. The awards are made to individuals. Also for 11 and 13 if nomination is for an individual.

A nomination intended for more than one category requires a separate exhibit and nomination form for each.

Each nomination form must be clearly marked to show category name and number in space provided. Tapes and films must be clearly labeled with title, category name and number.

Nomination forms must be attached firmly to outside of exhibit scrapbook or notebook. For category 5, attach form firmly to back upper left hand corner of mounting.

CATEGORY RULES

Categories 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9 — in scrapbook or notebook form, measuring not larger than 15 inches by 20 inches. Bulk and weight kept to minimum. Full page displays folded in half.

Category 5 — mounted no larger than 16 inches by 20 inches. Nomination form attached firmly to back upper left hand corner of mounting. Series counting as one entry tied together.

Category 10 — limited to typescripts.

Categories 11 and 13 — consist of recordings, tapes or film, and a typewritten summary.

Category 12—consists of recordings or tapes with typewritten summary.

Category 14—consists of film (if available) and/or typewritten summary.

Category 15—consists of manuscript, printed book or galley proofs. Five copies (if available).

NOMINATIONS NOT MEETING THE ABOVE SPECIFICATIONS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED FOR JUDGING.

JUDGING

The material submitted for consideration for the awards will be judged by a jury of veteran and distinguished journalists. All decisions will be final. Any award may be withheld in case the judges decide that none of the material submitted is worthy of special recognition.

Awards Categories

PRESS (Newspapers)

1. General Reporting: For a distinguished example of a reporter's work, either a single story, or a series on a related subject, published during the year, the test being readability, accuracy and completeness, interest, enterprise and resourcefulness of the reporter in overcoming obstacles.

2. Editorial Writing: For a distinguished example of an editor's work, either a single editorial or a series relating to the same subject, published during the year; editorials by any one writer being limited to three, a series on a single topic counting as one entry.

3. Washington Correspondence: For a distinguished example of a Washington, D. C., correspondent's work, either a single article or dispatch, or a series of articles on the same or related subject matter, published during the year.

4. Foreign Correspondence: For a distinguished example of a foreign correspondent's work, either a single dispatch or a series related to the same subject matter, published during the year.

5. News Photography: For an outstanding example of a news photographer's work, either a single picture, or sequence or series of pictures, published during the year; photographs by any one person being limited to six, a series on a single topic counting as one entry. Either staff photographers or free lance.

6. Editorial Cartoon: For a distinguished example of a cartoonist's work, a single cartoon published during the year, the determining qualities being craftsmanship, interest, forcefulness and general worth; cartoons by any one person being limited to six (do not send more).

7. Public Service in Newspaper Journalism: For an outstanding public service rendered by a newspaper in which exceptional courage or initiative is displayed in face of opposition from anti-social forces, political, or other discouraging or hampering forces. Nominations are to be accompanied by a complete file of clippings together with a statement of facts concerning the circumstances which prompted the newspaper in its undertaking and the results obtained. Those who want to enter full pages, to show display, should fold them in half.

PRESS (Magazines)

8. Magazine Reporting: For a distinguished example of current events reporting by a magazine writer, either a single article or series related to the same subject, published in a magazine of general circulation during the year.

9. Public Service in Magazine Journalism: For an exceptionally noteworthy example of public service rendered editorially or pictorially by a magazine of general circulation, special consideration being given to leadership or service achieved in the face of anti social, political or other hampering forces, other tests being extent of good accomplished, enterprise, initiative, and effectiveness of presentation through pictures, articles, editorials and other graphic means; nominations being accompanied by a complete file of clippings together with a statement of facts concerning the circumstances which prompted the magazine in its undertaking and the results obtained.

RADIO OR TELEVISION

10. Radio or Television Commentary: For a distinguished example of effective editorial analyses and other such expressions of opinion by a station or individual; nominations consisting of a complete script.

RADIO

11. Radio Reporting: For the most distinguished example of spot news reporting of a single news event, scheduled or unscheduled, broadcast by radio as it happened or soon after it happened; exhibits consisting of a typewritten summary and recordings or tapes, running time not longer than thirty minutes. This award may go to an individual, a station, or a network.

12. Public Service in Radio Journalism: For an outstanding example of public service by an individual radio station or network through radio journalism, the test being the worth of the public service, the effectiveness of the presentation by the station or network, and the unselfish or public-spirited motives, bearing in mind that the broadcasts must be journalistic in nature, not entertainment; commercially sponsored radio programs not being eligible unless produced and controlled by the broadcasting station; exhibits consisting of a typewritten summary, disc recordings or tapes not to exceed thirty minutes.

TELEVISION

13. Television Reporting: For the most distinguished example of spot news reporting of a single news event, scheduled or unscheduled; broadcast by television as it happened or soon after it happened; exhibits consisting of typewritten summary and if available, a segment or summary of 16 mm film or kinescope, not longer than thirty minutes. This award may go to an individual, station, or a network.

14. Public Service in Television Journalism: For an outstanding example of public service by an individual television station or network through television journalism, the test being the worth of the public service, the effectiveness of the presentation by the station or network, and the unselfish or public-spirited motives, bearing in mind that the broadcasts must be journalistic in nature and not entertainment; commercially sponsored programs not being eligible unless produced and controlled by the broadcasting station; entries consisting of a typewritten summary and if available, a segment or summary of 16 mm film or kinescope, not longer than thirty minutes.

RESEARCH

15. Research About Journalism: For an outstanding investigative study about some phase of journalism based upon original research, either published or unpublished, and completed during the year. A copy for each of five judges is requested, if available.

NOMINATION FORM

1962 Sigma Delta Chi Awards

Using typewriter or print, please fill out carefully and completely. Send before February 1, 1962, to:

SIGMA DELTA CHI AWARDS IN JOURNALISM
35 East Wacker Drive, Suite 856 • Chicago 1, Illinois

Name of Category: _____ Category No. _____

Nominee: _____
(in Public Service Entries give name of Newspaper, Magazine, Radio or TV Station.)

Nominee's occupation-title: _____
(In Public Service Entries give name of publisher, president, etc.)

Nominee's address: _____

Submitted by: _____

Address: _____

City and State: _____

Exhibit material consists of the following:

PRESS	☐ Clippings	☐ Photos	☐ Photostats	RADIO	☐ Recordings	☐ Tape (clearly labeled)	☐ Script
	_____ (Quantity)	_____ (Quantity)	_____ (Quantity)		_____ (Quantity)	_____ (Quantity)	_____ (Quantity)
RESEARCH	☐ Book	☐ Manuscript	☐ Proofs	TELEVISION	☐ Film (16mm)	☐ Kinescope (clearly labeled)	☐ Script
	_____ (Quantity)	_____ (Quantity)	_____ (Quantity)		_____ (Quantity)	_____ (Quantity)	_____ (Quantity)

THIS NOMINATION FORM MUST ACCOMPANY EXHIBIT MATERIAL CHECKED ABOVE.

Do Not Send Separately!
Use space below for a brief biography of Nominee and attach photo (except Public Service categories) unless included in exhibit material.

If additional forms are needed for additional nominations, this form may be duplicated by any method.

PREVIOUS WINNERS

Sigma Delta Chi Distinguished Service Awards

Dates given here indicate year during which the work was done

RESEARCH ABOUT JOURNALISM:

1935 Oscar W. Riegel
1936 Ralph O. Nafziger
1937 Alfred McClung Lee
1938 Frank Luther Mott
1939 Norval Neil Luxon
1940 Paul F. Lazarsfeld
1944 Earl English
1945 Frank Thayer
1946 Ralph D. Case, Bruce Lannes Smith and Harold D. Lasswell
1947 James E. Pollard
1948 J. Edward Gerald
1949 Edwin Emery
1950 Robert S. Harper
1952 Curtis D. MacDougall
1953 Harold L. Cross
1954 Edwin Emery and Henry Ladd Smith
1956 Theodore B. Peterson
1957 Frank Luther Mott
1958 L. John Martin
1959 Warren C. Price
1960 Leonard W. Levy

GENERAL REPORTING:

1939 Meigs O. Frost
1940 Basil Brewer
1942 Jack Vincent
1943 Julius M. Klein and Ralph S. O'Leary
1944 Edward J. Doherty
1945 James P. McGuire and John J. McPhaul
1946 John M. McCullough
1947 George Goodwin
1948 Richard C. Looman
1949 Bob Considine
1950 Edward B. Simmons
1951 Victor Cohn
1952 Chalmer M. Roberts
1953 Carl T. Rowan
1954 Richard Hyer and William P. Walsh
1955 Victor Cohn
1956 Alfred Kuettner
1957 Pierre J. Huss
1958 Victor Cohn
1959 Saul Pett
1960 Robert Colby Nelson

EDITORIAL WRITING:

1939 W. W. Waymack
1940 Allen Drury
1942 Alexander Kendrick
1943 Milton Lehman
1944 Felix R. McKnight
1945 Francis P. Locke
1946 John W. Hillman
1947 Alan Barth
1948 Virginius Dabney
1949 John Crider
1950 Bradley L. Morison
1951 Robert M. White II
1952 Virginius Dabney
1953 John N. Reddin
1954 Robert Estabrook
1955 James Jackson Kilpatrick
1956 Sylvan Meyer
1957 Vermont Royster
1958 J. D. Maurice
1959 Cecil Prince
1960 Hodding Carter III

EDITORIAL CARTOONING:

1942 Jacob Burck
1943 Charles Werner
1944 Henry Barrow
1945 Reuben L. Goldberg
1946 Dorman H. Smith
1947 Bruce Russell
1948 Herbert Block
1949 Herbert Block
1950 Bruce Russell
1951 Herbert Block and Bruce Russell
1952 Cecil Jensen
1953 John Fischetti
1954 Calvin Alley
1955 John Fischetti
1956 Herbert Block
1957 Scott Long
1958 Clifford H. Baldowski
1959 Charles Gordon Brooks
1960 Dan Dowling

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENCE:

1939 Kenneth T. Downs
1940 Leland Stowe
1942 Keith Wheeler
1943 Frederick Kuh
1944 Frederick Kuh
1945 Arnaldo Cortesi
1946 Charles Gratke
1947 Daniel DeLuce
1948 Nat Barrows
1949 Kingsbury Smith
1950 Keyes Beech
Don Whitehead
1951 Ferdinand Kuhn
1952 Ernest S. Pisko
1953 Alexander Campbell
1954 Carl T. Rowan
1955 Carl T. Rowan
1956 Russell Jones
1957 Harrison E. Salisbury
1958 John Strohm
1959 William H. Stringer
1960 Smith Hempstone, Jr.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE:

1942 Drew Pearson and Robert S. Allen
1943 Sam O'Neal
1944 Marquis W. Childs
1945 Peter Edson
1946 Wallace R. Deuel
1947 Bert Andrews
1948 W. McNeil Lowry
1949 Jack Steele
1950 William K. Hutchinson
1951 John Hightower
1952 Clark R. Mollenhoff
1953 Richard L. Wilson
1954 Clark R. Mollenhoff
1955 Joseph and Stewart Alsop
1956 Bem Price
1957 Robert T. Hartmann
1958 James Reston
1959 Vance Trimble
1960 James Clayton, Julius Duscha, Murrey Marder and Bernard Nossiter

RADIO OR TV NEWSWRITING:

1939 Albert Warner
1940 Cecil Brown
1942 Fulton Lewis, Jr.
1946 Harry M. Cochran
1947 Alex Dreier
1948 Merrill Mueller
1949 Elmer Davis
1950 Leo O'Brien and Howard Maschmeier
1951 William E. Griffith, Jr.
1952 Clifton Utley
1953 Charles J. Chatfield
1954 Reuben Frank
1955 Charles Shaw
1956 Howard K. Smith
1957 Jerry Rosholt
1958 Harold R. Meier
1959 Gene Marine
1960 David Brinkley

RADIO REPORTING:

1946 Allen Stout
1947 James C. McNamara
1948 George J. O'Connor
1949 Sid Pletzsch
1950 Jack E. Krueger
1951 Jim Monroe
1953 Gordon Gammack
1954 Richard Chapman
1955 John Chancellor
1956 Edward J. Green
1957 Dave Muhlstein
1958 Winston Burdett
1959 Donald H. Weston
1960 Frederick A. Goerner

TELEVISION REPORTING:

1952 Charles and Eugene Jones
1954 Spencer Allen
1955 Paul Alexander and Gael Boden
1956 Ernest Leiser — Jerry Schwartzkoff and Julian B. Hoshal — Dick Hance
1957 Jim Bennett
1958 *WBBM-TV* News Department
1959 *WGN-TV* News Department
1960 *WTVJ-TV* News Department

NEWS PHOTOGRAPHY:

1946 Frank Q. Brown
1947 Paul Calvert
1948 Frank Jurkoski
1949 Chicago *Daily News*
1950 David Douglas Duncan
1951 Edward DeLuga and Roger Wrenn
1952 Robert I. Wendlinger
1953 Bill Wilson
1954 Leslie Dodds
1955 Richard B. Yager
1956 Dan Tompkins
1957 Eldred C. Reaney
1958 Andrew St. George
1959 Andrew Lopez
1960 J. Parke Randall

MAGAZINE REPORTING:

1949 Lester Velie
1950 Gordon Schendel
1951 Bill Davidson
1952 Bill Davidson
1953 James P. O'Donnell
1954 Marshall MacDuffie
1955 Fletcher Knebel
1956 John Bartlow Martin
1957 Harold H. Martin
1958 John L. Cobbs
1959 John Robert Coughlan
1960 Hobart Rowen

PUBLIC SERVICE IN NEWSPAPER JOURNALISM:

1949 *Star-Gazette*, Moose Lake, Minnesota
1950 Atlanta (Ga.) *Journal*
1951 Chicago *Sun-Times*
1952 *Wall Street Journal*
1953 Chicago *Daily News*
Houston *Post*
1954 Cleveland *Plain Dealer*
1955 *The Register-Pajaronian*
Watsonville, California
1956 *The Oregonian*, Portland, Oregon
1957 *Des Moines (Ia.) Register and Tribune*
Minneapolis (Minn.) Star and Tribune
1958 Tampa (Fla.) *Tribune*
1959 Atlanta (Ga.) *Constitution*
1960 Leesburg (Fla.) *Daily Commercial*

PUBLIC SERVICE IN RADIO JOURNALISM:

1949 Station *WTTS*, Bloomington, Indiana
1950 Station *WAVZ*, New Haven, Connecticut
1951 Station *WMAQ*, Chicago, Illinois
1952 Station *WMT*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
1953 *CBS* Radio Network
1954 *CBS* Radio Network
1955 Station *WMAQ*, Chicago, Illinois
1956 *CBS* Radio Network
1957 Station *KNX*, Los Angeles, Calif.
1958 *CBS* Radio Network
1959 *WIP* Radio, Philadelphia, Pa.
1960 *WBT* Radio, Charlotte, N.C.

PUBLIC SERVICE IN TELEVISION JOURNALISM:

1952 *WBNS-TV*, Columbus, Ohio
1953 *WHAS-TV*, Louisville, Kentucky
1954 *Dumont Television Network*
American Broadcasting Company
1955 Station *KAKE-TV*, Wichita, Kansas
1956 Station *KPIX*, San Francisco, Calif.
1957 Station *WBZ-TV*, Boston, Mass.
1958 Station *KNXT*, Hollywood, Calif.
1959 Station *WBZ-TV*, Boston, Mass.
1960 *NBC* Television Network, N.Y.

PUBLIC SERVICE IN MAGAZINE JOURNALISM:

1949 *Collier's*
1950 *Collier's*
1951 *McCall's*
1952 *LOOK*
1953 *LOOK*
1954 *Saturday Evening Post*
1955 *LOOK*
1956 *Life*
1957 *The Reporter*
1958 *Life*
1959 *Saturday Evening Post*
1960 *The Saturday Review*

(Following award categories discontinued):

COURAGE IN JOURNALISM:

1939 New Orleans (La.) *States*
1942 Guthrie County *Vedette*, Panora, Iowa
1943 Lowell (Mass.) *Sunday Telegram*
1944 Milwaukee *Journal*
1945 New Orleans (La.) *States*
1946 Kansas City (Mo.) *Star*
1947 Memphis *Press-Scimitar*
1948 Philadelphia *Inquirer*

(This category became "Public Service in Newspaper Journalism" in 1949)

NEWSPAPER CARTOONING:

1948 Ed Dodd
1950 Milton Caniff

SPECIAL AWARDS:

1943 Raymond Clapper (Posthumous) "William Allen White Memorial Award"

WAR CORRESPONDENCE:

1943 Ernie Pyle (Raymond Clapper Memorial Award)
1944 Ernie Pyle (Human Interest)
Henry T. Gorrell (Spot News)
1945 John Graham Dowling

GOLD KEY
AWARDS OF 1932
Paul Scott Mowrer
Philip Hale
Franklin P. Adams
Alexander Dana Noyes
Jay N. (Ding) Darling
Casper S. Yost

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 18TH ST., N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

12/4/61

PA - pls check with Ball, Jim, Maggie for suggestions

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Rm. 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

No ideas

How about Maggie for shirts + Frets?

April 4, 1963

Mr. John Silard
Rauh and Silard
1625 "K" Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear John:

I have finished reading State Executive Authority Promotes Civil Rights, and you did a good job. You are writing about things which nobody down here has yet thought about. But we will.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc, H. C. Fleming

June 5, 1963

Mr. Tobias Simon
Simon & Rosen Law Offices
706 Ainsley Building
14 N. E. First Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Mr. Simon:

Just a word of appreciation for the magnificent job you did in the Tallahassee picketing.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

June 6, 1963

Mr. Tobias Simon
Simon & Rosen Law Offices
706 Ainsley Building
14 N. E. First Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Mr. Simon:

Just a word of appreciation for the magnificent job you did in the Tallahassee picketing case.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

WB ✓ you may be interested in seeing the complaint

VJ

SB - file

~~LD~~

LAW OFFICES

TOBIAS SIMON

INGRAHAM BUILDING ANNEX
223 SOUTHEAST FIRST STREET
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

TELEPHONE FRANKLIN 7-4627

PLEASE REPLY NUMBER:

June 11, 1963

MJ - file letter

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Five Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Thank you for your kind words--but the people to be thanked are the college students who had the courage to demonstrate. I really don't know where they get it from.

enclosed!

Under separate cover, I enclose a copy of the complaint which we are filing on their behalf against the theatres. Your comments will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

TOBIAS SIMON

TS:ev

14
16

Hobart Ballou
Sent Reg

July 31, 1963

Mr. Tobias Simon
Ingraham Building Annex
223 Southeast First Street
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Tobias:

You were good enough, in your letter of June 11, to ask for my comments on the complaint you filed in behalf of Patricia Due and others in Tallahassee. Being a non-lawyer, all that I can say is that I read it with great admiration. Wiley Branton, who is a lawyer, read it with professional appreciation.

Best of luck, and I hope that sometime you will get up to Atlanta and we can have a chat.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File "Si" Gen. Corresp.

July 8, 1964

Miss Jeanne Simmons
239 East 79th Street
New York, New York

Dear Miss Simmons:

Thank you so much for your letter of June 26.

I hope that you will come to see us when you are in the South, and I wish you all success in your work for the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee.

We are sending Dr. Graham another copy of the magazine.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

RHA
LD

√ 00 CR
6/30/64
RHA

Miss Jeanne Simmons
239 East 79th Street
New York, N.Y. 10021

26 June

Dear Mr Dunbar,

I am enclosing my check for a subscription to New South, to which our mutual friend, Frank Graham has introduced me.

6-30-64 ✓

Incidentally, Frank gave me his copy of Vol. 19, No. 5, dated May 1964 on condition that I ~~give~~ get him another. Would you please start my

Send F. P. Graham

subscription with the May issue and send it to Mr. Graham?

I shall visit the South in a few weeks in the interest of the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee, to record and write their summer saga. Hopefully, my journey will bring me to Atlanta where, of course, I would want to visit the Council, and particularly, to meet and talk with you.

Most sincerely,

Jeanne Simmons

Original ltr to Janet Smith for change of address

Re-file "Si" gen.

Note as of Sept. 1: Ex. Dir. Community Relc. Bd. Dade County Courthouse Miami, Fla.

July 18, 1966

Mr. H. B. Sissel
110 Maryland Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Ben:

This will acknowledge receipt of your request for a change of address, and at least express our hopes of doing do. These things do get complicated at times.

This appointment comes as quite a surprise to me, but congratulations! It's very good to have you in the South, even the Miami South, and I hope we can work very closely together.

Every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

January 29, 1969

Mr. Samuel J. Simmons
7244 - 15th Place, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20012

Dear Sam:

This is to extend, from all of us here, our enthusiastic congratulations on your appointment.

Needless to say, I hope you will give us an opportunity to be of assistance whenever we can.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

November 14, 1969

Mr. & Mrs. Courtney Siceloff
Penn Community Services
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

Dear Courtney and Lib:

If I could not make it to South Carolina, I can hardly make it to Afghanistan.

All of us here share this thought, but selfishly, I want you to know particularly that our deep affection and great admiration go with you both.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NOTES ON
THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE
"TO FULFILL THESE RIGHTS"
June 1 and 2, 1966
Washington, D.C.

Frogmore, SC 29920
October 28, 1969

Dear Paul-

To avoid vacuuming I'm excavating a bit on my desk. Among other treasures I turned up this lovely pad of note-paper (can you believe there ever was a 1966 as a White House conf on civil rights?) and the copy of that talk you made at Tuskegee, which I really can believe that I read and liked.

Now, old sport, you have put off writing that book at the beach house too long, and we have gone & rented the house for 18 months. As I see it the only alternative is for us to find an Afghan for you to sit upon and meditate.

Address as of 12/15/69: Courtney Sixteff
Peace Corps
c/o American Embassy
KABUL
Afghanistan

Will meet you at the Khyber Pass. Bring peanut butter and booze; I hear both are scarce.

LOVE

Lib + Courtney

Dr. James V. Silver
4534 W. Hanna
Ave
Tampa, Florida

Put on
Mailing list

November 14, 1969

Dr. James V. Silver
4534 West Hanna Avenue
Tampa, Florida

Dear Jim:

Having interrupted myself first for our annual meeting and than a mild illness (an inevitable part of the annual meeting) I now get to the note I made on your telephone call relative to Meredith and your research. I find, however, that I am very vague as to just what you had hoped to get from us since, of course, our clipping file for that period relative to Meredith and the University are very thick. My sincere apologies both for this delay and confusion.

Iffyou would be good enough to outline briefly in writing what you wish us to do to help you we will get about it/

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Atlanta Constitution
Sibley Article

June 21, 1944

Rev. G. E. Clary, Superintendent
The Methodist Church
111 Lamar Street
Macon, Georgia

Dear Mr. Clary:

Thank you for your letter of June 20 and for the copy of your letter to the Atlanta Constitution. I hope that the Constitution gets many such letters and that it will publish some of them.

I am looking forward to a long talk with you about the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation. Will you be coming to Atlanta some time during the next few weeks? I shall be away from June 28 through July 2 and from July 13 through July 15.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

THE METHODIST CHURCH

RESIDENCE:
111 LAMAR STREET

G. E. CLARY, SUPERINTENDENT
MACON DISTRICT
MACON, GEORGIA

OFFICE:
MULBERRY ST. CHURCH

June 20, 1944.

Dr. Guy B. Johnson,
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Doctor Johnson:

I appreciate very much your kindness in sending me the article by Cellestine Sibly appearing in the Atlanta Constitution. I am enclosing for your information a copy of my letter to the editor. I certainly agree with you that we should commend the press for a fair stand on the question of race. It is so easy at times like this for the press to keep quiet if not to actually inflame public sentiment.

I hope to have a chance to talk with you about the Georgia Committee on Interracail Cooperation. I am convinced that what ever we do must be a vital part of the work which is being done by the Southern Regional Council.

With sincere good wishes, I am

Yours very cordially,

G. E. Clary

G. E. Clary

June 20, 1944.

The Editor,
Atlanta Constituion,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

Allow me to take this occasion to thank you for Cellestine Sibley's article, "Negroes Train For Citizenship" in the June 19th issue of your paper. This is a splendid article and will, I am sure, do much to further racial understanding and appreciation. I trust that this type of news story may become more general in our public press. I commend you most sincerely for this service.

With continued good wishes for the success of your undertaking, I am

Yours very cordially,

G. E. Clary

Paine College

ESTABLISHED 1882

AUSPICES METHODIST CHURCH AND
COLORED METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH

E.C. PETERS, PRESIDENT

Augusta, Georgia

June 24, 1944.

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.,
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Thank you so much for your letter of June 19 enclosing clipping from the June 19 Atlanta Constitution on NEGROES TRAIN FOR CITIZENSHIP, an article written by Miss Celestine Sibley.

No, I had not seen this article and would not have seen it if you had not very kindly sent me this clipping. I do not see the Constitution often, although I do enjoy reading it very much and from time to time purchase copies since I am not a regular subscriber. I am very glad to comply with your suggestion to write Mr. Ralph McGill a letter of appreciation for having this article printed in the Constitution. Also, I am writing Miss Sibley.

There is a great deal of work in Negro Citizenship goong on here in Augusta, although not in as organized was as in Atlanta. I think it will be possible by September or October to get an article on this work written and published in the papers here in Augusta. I think both the Chronicle and the Herald are interested in work of this nature and would cooperate in a very helpful way.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

E C Peters

ECP:G

Columbia Theological Seminary

Decatur, Georgia

June 22 1944

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
710 Standard Bldg.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I wish to thank you for your letter of June 21st with reference to Celestine Sibley's article in Monday's Atlanta Constitution under the heading "Negroes Train for Citizenship."

I read the article with very great pleasure and was glad to see the number of commendatory letters in the correspondence column of today's Constitution. I think that this kind of publicity is an exceedingly fine contribution to racial understanding in the South, and I wish to congratulate you upon interesting the newspaper in publishing such a story. I feel that the Constitution is also to be congratulated and thanked for publishing it.

Cordially yours,

J. McDowell Richards

J. McDowell Richards

R:H

This letter also sent to:
Mr. E. C. Peters, Augusta, Ga.
Msgr. T. James McNamara, Savannah, Ga.
Rev. G. E. Clary, Macon, Ga.

June 19, 1944

Mrs. Audley Morton
279 Henderson Avenue
Athens, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Morton:

In today's ATLANTA CONSTITUTION there is a special article by Miss Celestine Sibley entitled "Negroes Train for Citizenship." Perhpps you have seen it, but in order to make sure that you have a chance to read it, I am enclosing a copy. I believe that Miss Sibley's article is a good example of the sort of constructive publicity which a newspaper can do when it gives a good reporter a chance to dig beneath the surface.

Ordinarily, when the CONSTITUTION prints anything of a liberal nature on the Negro, it receives more letters of condemnation than of commendation. Apparently, men of good will are not as quick to express their approval as the prejudiced are to express their disapproval. We hope that if you are so inclined you will write a note of appreciation to the editors. They are very much in need of moral support, particularly at this time when there is so much tension arising from the political situation in Georgia.

I wonder whether there is any citizenship training program going on in Athens similar to that which is described in Miss Sibley's article. I hope that there is, and that a local newspaper might become interested in reporting on it in a constructive way.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Agnes Scott College
Decatur, Georgia

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

June 24, 1944.

Dr. Guy Johnson,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have written to The Constitution congratulating them on the publication of Miss Sibley's excellent article. The paper was more or less pioneering in two ways - giving space to Negro activities, and not "segregating" the article. The Journal gives space every Sunday to news which is almost always of general interest, but it is "segregated" and headed "News of Atlanta's Negro Community". Maybe something could be done to give The Journal a new viewpoint.

It is good news that you have found a house and that the family will be coming soon.

Sincerely,

Mildred R. Mell

Mildred R. Mell

file "Sl" Gen
~~Sec gen. Corref~~
1965
Cr. ref. Sec gen.

MJ - file

111 Mitchel Avenue
Long Beach, New York
October 22, 1965

Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

First, please don't let me impose on your traditional Southern hospitality with this letter and the enclosed questions. I know what it is to be busy and not have enough time. Therefore, any small part of your day and thoughts will not be taken for granted.

The classic "Do you have any information?" letter, as this one, was written to the State Department by a curious, incisive 10-year-old. "Dear Sir," she penned. "Please tell me all about our foreign policy in 50 words or less."

Well, at Columbia University, where class members have been given the names of specific interest groups and asked to report on them, we are still as curious as the 10-year-old, but we aren't required to be as brief.

Whether brief or long, this term paper, I hope, will accurately and fairly report on the Southern Regional Council. I shall be grateful for any information and direction that you can give.

Best regards.

Sincerely,
Thomas Slinkard
Thomas Slinkard

enc.

#1. What is the Southern Regional Council as it operates today? Specifically, what job does it do?

#2. When was it organized? By whom? Where?

#3. Why was it organized?

#4. Has there been any change between questions one and three over the years -- that is, was the Council formed for one purpose but now finds itself in a different role? If true, how so?

#5. Does the Southern Regional Council have offices outside Atlanta? If so, what other cities?

#6. What is the Council's estimated membership? Do these members affect, mold, or shape the Council's policy? If so, how? Are there specific examples of such instances? Are the Council's members limited to the South? What states do they represent?

#7. Who finances the Southern Regional Council and how?

#8. Who are the officers -- both elected and administrative? How many day-to-day administrative officers, or technicians, are there and what are some typical salaries?

#9. How does a regular work day unfold for the Council? At day's end, what policy would have been decided, what actions taken; in short, what would have been accomplished?

#10. How does the Council work to achieve its aims -- that is, does it influence public opinion, and either in public or private lobby, preach, orate, testify, cajole, threaten, lead, bargain, compromise? Are there examples you know of and can relate of how the Council worked to change policy?

#11. What role has the Council played in the civil rights struggle in the Nation? In the South alone?

#12. As you see it and can define it, what is the future of the Southern Regional Council?

#13. Are there any other remarks, directions, examples, insights that you can give that would help readers better understand the purpose and accomplishments of the Southern Regional Council?

Rec'd 1/24/66

MJ

111 Mitchel Avenue
Long Beach, New York

January 21, 1966

Mr. Paul M. Anthony
Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Southern Regional Council report on which you kindly gave me so much help is now in the hands of the professor.

It's a better report because of your gracious help, and may I take this occasion to say thank you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Thomas Slinkard

Thomas Slinkard

December 16, 1953

Mrs Lucy Hart Smith, Principal
Booker T Washington High School
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Mrs Smith:

When Mr William Vastine talked with you six weeks or so ago, you thought it might be possible to get the Federated Women's Clubs to buy a good stack of the QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS pamphlet and get them out. Since then we are aware that Mrs Robinson in Louisville ordered a goodly number for the Kentucky teachers and the Kentucky Press Association has sent out a number of them. But we would like to program distribution of them through the Federated Women's Clubs. Do you think that could still be managed?

The Southern Presbyterians sent them out to each minister in that denomination from Virginia to Texas, and the Mississippi State Board of Education got a thousand of the QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS and a thousand of the CHECK LIST, and so on and so on. Object is not to sell pamphlets but to get local discussion groups going. Mrs Vivian Carter Mason, new president of the National Council of Negro Women, has had copies sent out with a letter urging discussion groups to all of their leading groups. So you can see what we are after. Do see what you can do.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t

August 28, 1954

Jeannette Smith
Chairman
Committee on Peace and Social Concern
23 Appian Way
West Barrington, Rhode Island

Dear Jeanette Smith:

Edward Manice, for the New England Yearly Meeting, wrote and asked us to send "a good assortment" of our materials to you, as being helpful for your consideration this year of race relations.

I send a list of our published things, and a couple of copies of our latest item, called Answers for Action: Schools in the South. It compresses the main findings of the big Ashmore Report on the Negro and the Schools, gives the whole of the Court's decision, tells things to do, and has a useful, if in this edition not too well-printed map, giving population ratios county by county in the South. It's our best foot forward, and likely to be the best item for your people to use. We intend it for local discussion groups, interracial wherever possible, as a textlet. Available at $15.00 a hundred, twenty cents each, plus postage. Do get some.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Material sent under separate cover this date.

August 29, 1955

Mr. William M. Cooper
Box 203
Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

Dear Mr. Cooper:

I am pleased and delighted to be asked to speak on Friday evening, November 11th, at the Zion Baptist Church in Portsmouth for the Negro Organization Society on "New Opportunities in Human Relations." Of course I accept!

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Box 203 Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia
August 24, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

AUG 26 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell,

The program committee of the Negro Organization Society has asked me to invite you to speak at its annual meeting Friday evening November 11 at the Zion Baptist Church in Portsmouth. The society will pay travel costs plus an honorarium. Please accept if you can since our theme is "New Opportunities in Human Relations" and since we will be near Norfolk and the beginning of the "Black Belt".

Will write you soon as to outlook in Virginia.

Very Sincerely
William M. Cooper

Sure! SR

September 23, 1955

Mr. E. E. Smith, Jr.
Field Secretary
Negro Organization Society, Inc.
214 East Clay Street
Room 404
Richmond 19, Virginia

Dear Mr. Smith:

Many thanks for your letter of September 21st. I will be on hand November 11th at 7:30 p.m., at the church at Portsmouth to talk about "New Opportunities in Human Relations."

My arrangement with Mr. Cooper was that you would carry my travel expenses and an honorarium.

I would be in hopes that the Society could find $100 for the Southern Regional Council. But I am perfectly willing to come for a lesser sum, if only a lesser sum is in the coffers.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
(Dictated by Dr. Mitchell/signed in his absence)

TELEPHONE 3-6082

NEGRO ORGANIZATION SOCIETY, INC.

214 EAST CLAY STREET
ROOM 404
RICHMOND 19, VIRGINIA

OFFICE OF FIELD SECRETARY

BETTER BUSINESS
BETTER CIVICS
BETTER FARMS
BETTER JOBS
BETTER HEALTH
BETTER HOMES
BETTER SCHOOLS

September 21, 1955

SEP 23 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Alburne Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are indeed very appreciative and grateful to you for accepting our invitation to speak at our forty-third annual meeting.

Our theme this year is: "New Opportunities in Human Relations." Our meetings will be held at the Zion Baptist Church, Portsmouth, Virginia, November 9, 10 and 11, 1955. You are scheduled to appear on Friday, November 11 at 7:30 P.M. Please let me know the expected honorarium or fee.

Accept our best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

E. E. Smith, Jr.

E. E. Smith, Jr.
Field Secretary

EES Jr:ehj

July 5, 1956

Mr. Asa Spalding
North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Spalding:

Dr. Mitchell and others here read with interest the copy of your recent speech on Negro business, but while in circulation the copy was mislaid.

We receive a goodly number of requests for information on this subject, and would greatly appreciate it if you could send us two or three additional copies of this speech.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

Materials sent to Mr. Mark A. Smith

New South (1955, '56, '57, '58)
Three Views
What the Supreme Court Said
Next Steps
Public Ethics and the Integration Question
Publication Listings (25)
Special Reports:
- Pro-Segregation Groups in the South
- The Move to Disenfranchise the Negro Voter
- Report on Charlotte, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, N. C.
- Report on Nashville, Tenn.
- Religious Bodies and the Supreme Court Decision

NORMAN O. NILSEN
COMMISSIONER OF LABOR

Rec'd 4/28/58

1216 S. W. HALL ST.
PORTLAND 1, OREGON

STATE OF OREGON
BUREAU OF LABOR

CIVIL RIGHTS DIVISION
MARK A. SMITH, ADMINISTRATOR

April 22, 1958

Mr. Harold Flemming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

The Eighth Annual Oregon Forum on Intergroup Relations, sponsored by the Civil Rights Division and Civil Rights Advisory Committee, Oregon Bureau of Labor, is scheduled for Saturday, June 7, 1958.

As one feature of the Forum, we seek to display copies of as many different pamphlets in the area of racial and cultural relations as possible.

I would appreciate it very much if you could send me copies of any material of this nature you have recently published and are currently distributing to the public.

Your cooperation will be very much appreciated.

Yours very truly,

Mark A. Smith

Mark A. Smith, Administrator
Civil Rights Division
Bureau of Labor

MAS:dvr

July 21, 1959

Mr. Howard E. Smith
1812 G Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

Dear Howard:

This is a belated word of thanks for your letter of several weeks ago. It is good to know of your latest move and current interests.

Very, very little has been done on the dollar significance of the integration issue. If you should take that on -- or any other article involving The Subject, I hope you will call on us for any information we can furnish.

All the best to you.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

1812 G St., N. W.
Wash. 6, D. C.
May 31, 1959

Dear Harold:

Congratulations on the Little Rock vote!

Maybe the Council's influence, direct or indirect, tipped the balance. Sounds fine to have the businessmen organizing for progress.

Here in Washington, I feel the pinch thru African friends who have trouble getting convenient housing.

I'm working on some articles on India and setting up housekeeping here in Washington at present. Want to do serious article comparing race relations and minority relations in U. S. and India sooner or later. At that time, might tackle the story, "The Dollar Costs of Delayed Integration in Business" if it hasn't been done.

Sincerely,

Howard E. Smith

Howard E. Smith

P.S. Florida was almost as nice as Georgia.

HES

Encls: Jules Cohen's summary on "Tax Exemption and Private Intergroup Relations Agencies"

Theodore Leskes (AJCttee.) memo on ...Proposed Regulations of the Internal Revenue Service... dtd. March 12, 1959

Wall Street Journal article "Tax Crackdown" dtd: December 9, 1958

National Social Welfare Assembly - Committee on Tax Policy - "New Regulations on Section 501 of Internal Revenue Code" - March 2, 1959.

SRC Publications List (mimeographed)

February 17, 1961

Mr. James A. Smith
Augustine, Smith & Warren
Attorneys at Law
1470 N. Claiborne Avenue
New Orleans 16, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Smith:

Enclosed is the Jules Cohen memorandum on tax-exemption and several other pieces of information on this subject which may be of some value to you. Also enclosed is a recent listing of SRC publications.

Thank you for your kind words about the Council's work.

If we can be of additional help, please call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - 4.

✓ HCF
PA - Please handle
HCF

AUGUSTINE, SMITH & WARREN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1470 N. CLAIBORNE AVE.
NEW ORLEANS 16, LOUISIANA

ISRAEL M. AUGUSTINE, JR.
JAMES A. SMITH
FREDDIE B. WARREN, JR.
NATHAN K. OWENS, JR. (1921-60)

WH 9-3381

February 13, 1961

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

First, allow us to introduce ourselves; we are general counsel for Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

Several years ago you were kind enough to give us, through Atty. Robert F. Collins who was then a member of our firm, some very valuable information regarding tax-exempt and would be tax-exempt organizations. This information was in the form of a summary prepared by Jules Cohen. This material inadvertantly slipped away from us.

We are now faced with the problem of trying to secure for SCLC a status whereby contributions made to the organization would be tax deductible by the donor. This must be accomplished, if the work of the Conference is to be expanded and made effective, either through the present organization or a comparison organization similar to the NAACP Education and Legal Defense Fund. The work of the organization would be principally in the area of education and would compliment the work of the organization of the NAACP and other similar organizations.

We were wondering if you would have a copy of this summary or any more recent tax material of a similar nature. If you should have such material, we would appreciate any that you could make availabe to us.

We have all closely followed the work of your organization here in the South and compliment you on the tremendous job you have done in the past and continue to do.

AUGUSTINE, SMITH & WARREN
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1470 N. CLAIBORNE AVE.
NEW ORLEANS 16, LOUISIANA

ISRAEL M. AUGUSTINE, JR.
JAMES A. SMITH
FREDDIE B. WARREN, JR.
NATHAN K. OWENS, JR. (1921-60)

WH 9-3381

February 13, 1961

Another thing we would appreciate, if it is available, is a catalogue of your many fine publications.

We appreciate your help in the past and again implore your generosity.

Sincerely yours,

James A. Smith

of
AUGUSTINE, SMITH & WARREN
General Counsel
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

JAS:db

January 30, 1962

Mr. Moreland G. Smith, Jr.
P. O. Box 1662
Brown University
Providence 12, Rhode Island

Dear Moreland:

Ronald Green delivered your letter yesterday and he and I had a short talk. He, with the other Brown students, had a longer visit with James Moss, our Research Director. I enjoyed seeing Green, brief as was the opportunity.

Thank you for your letter and for the enclosed contribution to SRC. An official receipt is enclosed. We have entered two New South subscriptions - one for you and the other for Mr. Baldwin. You are generous to a fault and we do feel grateful to you and very warmly appreciative.

Of course, I was interested in your experience in Baltimore. I think you are justified in being concerned for what this could mean to your parents but I rather suspect they are proud of what you are doing. I hope I may see them this Saturday when I shall be at Tuskegee speaking at the meeting of the Alabama Council.

Linda's address is Willetts Hall, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

Let us hear from you again, and stop by when you are in Atlanta.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc. Receipt

$20.00 CR
1/29/62
RHA

MORELAND G. SMITH, JR.
P. O. BOX 1662, BROWN UNIVERSITY
PROVIDENCE 12, RHODE ISLAND

Jan 23, 196

Dear Dr. Dunbar,

I have been ~~intending~~ for the past month to write you and also send you a check. However, exams have kept me under, but this afternoon I finished the semester.

I have sent this letter with a student from Brown who is a newspaper reporter and a news director of the Brown Daily Herald. The reason he is in Atlanta is that Canon John Crocker Episcopal College Chaplain has decided it would be good to have some Brown students visit a Southern Negro college and see what it is like down there. Ronald Green, the newsreporter was sent by the school newspaper to cover the event and write about it. I thought that if you or somebody else could be ~~asked~~ interviewed by him, that the Herald could make good use of such a report. One problem up here is that the people know nothing about the South or what is going on. They want to know, but they don't have the opportunity.

MORELAND G. SMITH, JR.
P. O. BOX 1662, BROWN UNIVERSITY
PROVIDENCE 12, RHODE ISLAND

to learn. I thought that such an interview would give the students here a new way to look at the South. Also, such an interview should help Ron understand more about the South so that he can give a good coverage of the trip.

~~So~~ The rest of the letter can be read later as it is just personal. You'll never guess what I did. Yep, I mustered up the courage and went on a "Freedom Ride" -- Sit In. The New Haven Branch of CORE called me and asked me if I could supply some students for a ride to Baltimore. It was too late to get any one so I went by myself from here and joined others along the way. I'll be frank with you and tell you I was damned scared until I finally got hit and then maybe it was shock instead of calm, but I relaxed more. I caught two punches in the stomach and one on the jaw.

I can't decide whether I will do it again or not. It's not that I am upset for having done it. The problem is that I was

3. taking ~~such~~ such a gamble, not only for my sake (my prospective law career), but mainly for my parent's sake. If I had been arrested, the papers would have loved playing up the fact that a white Montgomerian, president of the school's N.A.A.C.P. chapter and a member of the Providence N.A.A.C.P. branch executive committee, that such a person exists and is arrested on a freedom ride. I can see the Montgomery Advertiser writing that up now.

Please give my love to the family. Also, could you send me Linda's address. I told her last summer I would write her at school but I don't have her address.

Sincerely yours,
Moreland

PS. The check is $20.00, $16.00 is for donation, $4.00 is for 2 subscription one for myself and one for the Rev. Charles A. Baldwin, Chaplain of the University, Brown University, Providence 12, Rhode Island.

August 22, 1962

Mrs. Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue
Montgomery 6, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Smith:

Long before this I should have thanked you for your letter of June 25. Your information was the first we had received regarding the Heart of Atlanta Motel. I think your husband wrote a fine letter and I have shown it around. At least two persons, who got the same letter from the Motel, have been inspired by his reply to write similar ones.

We have enjoyed seeing Moreland once or twice this summer and I am glad to learn that he is getting along well.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:bp

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

Mrs. Moreland G. Smith
3236 Bankhead Avenue—Montgomery 6, Alabama

June 25, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Knowing how hard you are working with Atlanta establishments to persuade them to admit negroes, I am sure you were distressed when the Heart of Atlanta Motel sent out this notice.

Moreland and I felt that an indignant letter would not do any good, but that maybe the soft approach would. Since those people do not know how committed we are to this cause, a word from us from Montgomery may make them take notice, if they read it.

Anyway, here is a copy of what we wrote.

With best wishes,

Maybelle Smith

RECEIVED
JUN 26 1962

June 25, 1962

Mr. Moreton Rolleston, Jr.
President
Heart of Atlanta Motel
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rolleston:

Having always enjoyed my visits at your motel, I was interested to receive a statement of your policy. I can certainly appreciate your fear of losing revenue should you open your doors to negroes. I have no doubt that a majority of your guests will state that they prefer it this way.

However, I imagine that as cosmopolitan a clientele as you serve is largely composed of people who frequently travel outside the South. I myself am used to seeing negroes in the Mayflower Hotel in Washington where I stay at least once a month, as well as in other cities in the United States and Europe. Though I am a native Southerner, I see no valid reason why I or anyone else should expect immunity from this contact in Atlanta.

It is largely because Atlanta has been willing to change with the times that it has forged ahead of unyielding cities such as Birmingham. The prosperity of your motel is a by-product of the prosperity of Atlanta.

It is my sincere opinion that, should you change your mind and admit negroes, you will not lose your white guests nor experience an influx of negroes. Only a few of the better class will be attracted to your establishment.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Moreland Griffith Smith

May 14, 1963

File
"Sin" - gen. concep

Miss Pattie Sherwood Smith
Broadway Central Hotel
673 Broadway
New York 12, New York

Dear Miss Smith:

Since Mr. Dunbar is out of the office, your letter of May 9th has been referred to me for reply.

I am enclosing some materials on the Southern Regional Council which may give you the background information you desire. Regarding the reprint from the Congressional Record, the state councils are now autonomous, electing their own officers and managing their own affairs and programs. This is because a local group is more able to judge what it can do and how it can best accomplish its objectives.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Enclosures:
SRC: its origin and aims
reprint, Congressionsl Record, Origins and Aims
The South of the Future

M.A

please write a
courteous + attentive
but not overly
warm reply — tell
her I'm away or
something

From: Pattie Sherwood Smith

Sorry the letter is so garbled in appearance but I lined time for even a page two!
P.S.S.

Broadway Central Hotel
673 Broadway
New York 12, N.Y.
-- ORegon 4-6300,
Extension 648

May 9,1963

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1963

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Councils
Five Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Ga.

My dear Mr. Dunbar:;

Yesterday I had the pleasure of an extensive interview with Miss Katherine Stoney, secretary to Miss Dorothy Height of the YWCA National Board, and Miss Stoney -- who I believe worked with you in the past -- very kindly advised me to get in touch with you posthaste for background information on the history and current work of the Southern Regional Councils.

Enclosed is a copy of my resume. As this shows, I was on the YWCA national staff twice, both times before 1950 and therefore before the Supreme Court decision of 1954. In this work I learned much about the then program of the Southern Regional Councils and not only admired it but wrote extensively in favor of it.

It is my considered belief that in the face of the Mississippi and Birmingham riots, among other stormy scenes which I believe are instigated, in part at least, by the much more trained and advanced Communist infiltrators, there is a serious and even desperate need now for the expansion of the work of the SRC's since it brings together intelligent, well-informed and usually professionally trained White and Negro leaders.

In support of this belief I plan to write, as soon after I hear from you as possible, to Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, to ask if I can do a Sunday magazine article on this subject. The focus of the article would be for the need for the Old Guard in the South -- the university-educated and those who still gaze fondly, in passing, at the coats of arms on their walls, to take action to know the individual Negroes who are in their same professional and income grouping. You may have read this morning, as I did, of the valuable Project Friendship in Knoxville.

Both of my grandfathers were in the Confederate States Army-- in Company G., Third North Carolina Cavalry, 41st Regiment, Baryinger's Brigade. The Smiths in our family emigrated from Virginia to North Carolina -- Scotland Neck, in Halifax County-- in 1712, so I belong to the Old Guard. But I want the South to regain the leadership it once had and I am sure you will help me in this goal. Rushing to work- With many thanks for any prompt and voluminous help you can give me-Sincerely,

Pattie Sherwood Smith

(Miss) PATTIE SHERWOOD SMITH

Home address: Broadway Central Hotel, 673 Broadway, New York 12, N.Y. -- ORegon 4-6300, Extension 648

Education: A.B., Barnard College -- major, history
M.A., Columbia University -- sociology

Experience: Reporting and by-line feature writing, Trenton, N.J., Evening Times, 3 years

Publicity director, Westchester Children's Association, 4 years -- editor of TheChildren's News -- founder of The Junior Group

Assistant radio director, United China Relief Campaign; writer of all campaign documentaries

Staff radio writer, United Hospital Fund Campaign -- also coordinator of Women's Division publicity

Staff writer, USO National public relations department, 4 years -- the last two as national magazines director

Press and magazines director, national Round-the-World YWCA Reconstruction Fund Campaign

National magazines director, Community Service Society 100th Anniversary Campaign

Staff writer, YWCA National Board, 3 years

Staff writer, United Defense Fund Campaign -- editor of UDF News Service (clip sheet) and UDF Newsletter (house organ)

Publicity director, American National Theatre and Academy Fund Campaign

Free-lance work: Press, magazine, radio, television copy, appeal letters, foundation presentations, pamphlets, brochures, annual reports, research, etc., for various clients - -currently writing also for the Women's News Service and the North American Newspaper Alliance

Original research studies: "Stagecoach and Tavern Days in North Carolina" -- for the Caswell-Nash Chapter, D.A.R.
"Recreation and the Police Athletic League" -- for the New York City Mayor's Committee on Unity
"Medicine on a Mission" -- history of the American Bureau for Medical Aid to China
"History of a Facet of Interior Design" -- for Robert Francis Kane Associates
"The Life of Dinah Van Bergh" -- ancestress of William H. S. Demarest
"The Roosevelt-Spellman Dispute Over Federal Aid to Education, Viewed in Terms of General Semantics"

Pattie Sherwood Smith

From: Pattie Sherwood Smith
Broadway Central Hotel
673 Broadway
New York 12, N.Y.
-- ORegon 4-6300, Extension 648

May 30, 1963

To: Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

"THE TIME HAS COME, THE WALRUS SAID..."

This is an urgent appeal to the Old Guard of the South to rise to a position of leadership in the current battle over integration of the Negro into the mainstream of American life. By the Old Guard I mean the descendants of the early colonial settlers of this country -- the English, Scottish, Welsh and French Huguenots who fled from persecution in Europe and had the courage to help create a new life and eventually a nation out of the wilderness.

At present, it seems to me, those who bear the great names of the early colonial days are behaving like ostriches in the face of social change. It is time for them to stop gazing fondly at their coats of arms and reminiscing over the stories they have heard of the graces of ante-bellum days and to get out on the firing-line of social progress.

~~xx~~ Their current conduct seems to ~~be~~ me to leave the leadership to the immature, either-or thinking and violent hatreds of the segregationists, the Ku Klux Klan and its outgrowth, the White Citizens Councils. The extremism of these people who are, by and large, not descendants of the early colonial leaders evokes the extremism of the Negro and has resulted in the rise of the potentially dangerous Black Muslim movement with its tie-ins with George Lincoln Rockwell and the small but growing neo-Nazi trend in the United States.

The descendants of the colonial ~~leaders~~ settlers could exert a needed leadership in the South by taking the following positive steps individually and in groups:

1. Face the fact that the Negro is a human being. Shakespeare's Shylock said, "Hath not a Jew eyes?" and the same empathy can be applied to the Negro. In the 100 years since his liberation from slavery he has grown in the way of education, ability to earn a living and support a family and otherwise fulfill the functions of citizenship and he deserves the rights of freedom of movement which are lumped together under the current civil rights program.

2. Think of the Negro as an individual and not as a member of an ethnic group with a different skin pigmentation temporarily -- scientists have found hormones that may be able to change the skin color of the foetus or embryo so that there may be no Negroes left in future generations -- and recognize him on the basis of his intellect, education, individual character and integrity rather than patronizing him as a second-rate citizen.

(More)

3. Give personal and financial support to the Southern Regional Council, which has autonomous branches in 13 states and is composed of white and Negro leaders of intellectual and professional status in their various communities. The Council needs more publicity and more public support if it is to expand its needed work. Criticized by extremists for its policy of gradualism, it can nevertheless match in maturity of procedure the non-violent credo of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

4. Make efforts personally to foster integration on the horizontal level. That is, to see that there is local recognition of Negro lawyers, doctors, clergymen, bankers, businessmen, artists and writers, college professors and researchers and others who, often under segregated and humiliating conditions, are nevertheless making a contribution to society. Sometimes this outweighs the deeds of the white bluebloods who may be driven by the pressures of industrialization and the values of Madison Avenue into nervous breakdowns. White leaders would take a big step forward if they would recognize Negroes who have attained their own cultural level.

The need for this horizontal integration does not rest with the South alone. It should be made standard operating procedure -- as it is not -- in all parts of the country. The recognition of Negroes of achievement can be aided by inviting them to meetings of college clubs, professional associations, to lectures and other gatherings, and certainly by allowing them to attend the churches of their choice and even, if merited, serve on the governing boards and vestries. The role of the Christian church in integration is a mockery today. When Jesus Christ said, "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest..." did he say"all white people?" But many Christian churches, so-called, act as if he had.

5. By setting the pattern of moderation in integration at the upper levels of society Southern leaders could evoke moderation in the conduct and reactions of the lower economic and social levels of both white and Negro people --the less well-educated and the men and women who have to work side by side on the assembly-lines and in the clerical, waitress, bus boy and other routine and even menial jobs of society. Since both whites and Negroes in these lower echelons need more education and often relief or other help from the state it is wrong for the segregationists to whip them into mutual hatred. The poll tax injures both groups. And both whites and Negroes in this category want and deserve a better break in life. They will not get it by fighting each other.

The need for the right Southern leadership is more urgent than ever now for several reasons:

1. The United States stands in the constant shadow of the threat of nuclear war. Both Moscow and Peiping are working night and day to provide what they call military and naval defenses but what may be the tools of aggression in the end. At present they are even more aggressive in their efforts to win the cold war by subversion and infiltration and propaganda. The loss of Cuba has confronted this nation with the threat that Castro may successfully win much of Latin America to the Communist line in time. Africa, uniting for independence from colonialism, is watching the civil rights struggle in America with ironic interest. Part of President John Fitzgerald Kennedy's persistence at present may be due to the effort to win Africa to the thinking of the Free World, a strategic gesture of vital importance. But every time there is a bitter feud in Mississippi, Alabama or elsewhere between the Negro and white extremists I believe that there is laughter and rejoicing in Moscow and a saying, "Well done," in Peiping.

(More)

2. Carlyle wrote: "Gunpowder makes all men alike tall." I believe that there would be no question of segregation in this country in the face of a nuclear war and that men, women and children, black, white, yellow or red, would share the fall-out shelters in their bitter battle for survival. Why not achieve the integration now, during the cold war, to prevent the anarchic forces which may lead to an international holocaust if the leaders in the South and elsewhere fail to lead and those who have to be led fall into the waiting trap of the Hammer and Sickle or Swastika?

3. At present, despite the skepticism of Attorney-General Robert F. Kennedy there is a growing rebellion of Negroes in the North over what they consider undue segregation there. And with good truth. Except for freedom of transporation and the use of public parks and places of amusement there is often hidden segregation which white Yankees fail to recognize -- they can be ostriches, too - or to which they fail to admit. There is many a community in the North where, despite the fact that there are no local zoning laws, no Negro family would dare to move out of its ghetto-like section, and real estate brokers have ways of evading the sale of property to Negroes. The churches are almost as lax -- with the exception of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine, the Riverside Baptist Church and a few other pioneers in the metropolitan area of New York City -- as those in the South. And the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is waging war these days to increase integration in many of the public schools of the North. Since the people of the South have known Negroes for a longer time than those in the North, who are only now becoming aware of the population explosion, the Southern leaders can help the North understand the Negro better and face this growing national crisis. If the Southern leaders will lead.

4. The South needs to free itself and rise above the trial by the Northern press which I think has contributed so much to making international issues out of the feuds over civil rights. Every time there is a clash between segregationist whites and Negroes, the metropolitan New York newspapers and many in the hinterland give six to eight-column headlines to the news. But it is ironic that there have been no headlines over the progressive work of the University of North Carolina, the University of Florida and other universities in which Negroes have been enrolled on the basis of their scholastic merits and are doing creditable work with a minimum of segregation. There is a need for the press of the South to launch a campaign emphasizing the positive aspects of the region's capacity to achieve integration by peaceful means.

In contrast, when the N.A.A.C.P. makes charges of discrimination in the public schools and other facets of community life in Chicago, New Rochelle, Englewood, Levittown and other places, the news story is usually printed with a tiny or at most a two-column headline and often buried on the inside pages. Recently the trustees of the University of Alabama voted to admit Negroes in the autumn of 1963 -- a forward step indeed -- but asked that the President hold off from forcing them to admit Negroes into the summer school because of current tensions. The Northern press played this down.

5. This pillorying of the South by Northern do-gooders and publishers who fail to recognize their own shortcomings is, to me, a continuation of the holier-than-thou attitudes of the abolitionists of 1860. And, in a way, the thinking of the leaders in both North and South today -- A.D. 1963-- reflects the viewpoints of the great-grandparents of the present generation. The Northerners, descendants of the slave traders who grew rich by capturing or buying Negroes in Africa are assuaging their ancestral guilt, as did their forebears,

(More)

by blaming the South for its treatment of the Negro without regard to the actual facts. Only the crises make the headlines and reach the reading public so that many Americans have a vastly distorted view of the Southern ~~xxxxxx~~ image.

On the other hand, too many Southern bluebloods bask in the dream of the moonlight-and-magnolia opulence of the antebellum South without realizing that many planters were disturbed about the institution of slavery and wished to abolish it, but did not know where to turn in the face of their own economic needs. Robert E. Lee, it is well known, had set a precedent and freed his slaves. Abraham Lincoln considered sending Negroes to Liberia or following the English act of freeing the slaves -- theirs were mostly in Australia -- and repaying the owners through Government funds. If it had not been for Harper's Ferry and Fort Sumter-- showing the fallacy of violence -- there might have been no War Between the States. Surely it is time for both Northern and Southern men and women to abandon their archaic feelings ~~x~~ and to face the fact of social growth and the need for intelligent and mature leadership now.

I am writing as a Northern resident and straight Row-B voter, but also as the granddaughter of two Confederate soldiers so that I can see both sides of the integration question. My grandfathers were Captain Benjamin Gordon Smith and Private James Allan Higgs of The Scotland Neck Mounted Riflemen, Company G., Third North Carolina Cavalry, 41st Regiment Barringer's Brigade, Army of Northern Virginia, Confederate States Army. As a girl I sat on the porches of Raleigh and Scotland Neck and heard my grandparents tell of plantation days and how -- in contrast to the large plantations of the Deep South with their absentee ownership and Simon Legree oversers, which led Harriet Beecher Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin" to enflame the North -- Negroes were treated gently and kindly. Both white and black children were taught by the parents or maiden aunts through the seventh grade. After that, the Negro children were trained for their duties in the household or on the land and the white children went on to advanced schooling. I also heard of the dangers and bitterness of the Reconstruction days. But the generation which remembered the war days, the Reconstruction and carpetbagger era and the grueling poverty of the South has died now. The South is becoming industrialized and is on its way to deserved comforts that will not materialize if there is to be continuing strife.

The days since the War Between the States have seen the advent of Freud and a whole new science of psychology. The leaders of the South could well test themselves and others as to whether their reactions to the efforts at integration represent emotional maturity. Certainly violence in any form, whether of the white police using hoses and dogs or the Negroes wielding sticks and stones, is not evidence of maturity in individuals or groups.

Perhaps ~~Possibly~~ the bluebloods of the South could find it possible to follow the example of Elizabeth II of England who has gone to Africa on repeated occasions with her husband, Prince Philip, and received on a level of social equality the President or other ruler of a newly liberated state. This, tome, is the action of a socially mature person. If a reigning Queen can take this step then the leaders of the South could well emulate it. This social recognition by a sovereign despite the color of the skin has helped retain the allegiance of newly independent states to the Crown and retained potential allies in the battle for world freedom.

(More)

This is a challenge, then, to the descendants of the Founding Fathers of this country to rise to the heights of wisdom and maturity in the face of social change and assume as individuals and as a section of this nation the leadership so direly needed in a tense world and more worthy of their colonial heritage than the current burying of their heads fearfully in the sand.

Dottie Sherman Smith

May 31, 1963

YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, MA

Washington

How to Make Things Worse Than They Really Are

By JAMES RESTON

WASHINGTON, May 30 — New legislation to coerce the South into desegregating the Negro race is being discussed here as if all the instruments of persuasion had been tried and failed, but this is demonstrably not true.

President Kennedy has scarcely ventured into the Deep South since he entered the White House and then usually to visit some military installation. He has not exhausted his opportunities to appeal to the moderates of the South; in fact, he has scarcely opened up a dialogue with them.

Attorney General Kennedy has been convinced for some time that the nation was in for a period of serious racial disorder and maybe even bloodshed. He has been working hard to stave it off. But President Kennedy is just beginning to summon influential Southern business leaders to the White House, and has not made a single "fireside chat" on the subject.

Meanwhile, everybody now seems to be threatening everybody else. The Governor of Alabama threatens to go to jail rather than let a Negro enter his state university. Negro leaders threaten to carry the battle into the streets if they don't get what they want, and the Administration, afraid of bloodshed and political sanctions, is threatening the South with coercive legislation.

The Limits of Power

The grievances of the Negro are plain and justified. One hundred years after the Emancipation Proclamation, he still can't eat a sandwich at a white man's lunch counter in most of the South. Nine years after the Supreme Court's public school desegregation decision, only 225,000 Negro pupils are in desegregated classrooms, most of them in the border states, and less than one-half of 1 per cent of Negro pupils in the Deep South have been admitted.

It is easy, under these circumstances, to understand the Negro's anger and it is no doubt urgent to give him some tangible new evidence of relief from humiliation and discrimination, but new strictures from the Supreme Court and new laws leading to more years of litigation are not likely to provide the necessary relief.

For example, in a unanimous decision this week, the Supreme Court complained about the slowness of public school desegregation. "No more delay can be tolerated," remarked The Washington Post. But what does this mean? When you stop "tolerating" delay, what do you

South with coercive legislation.

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For example, in a unanimous decision this week, the Supreme Court complained about the slowness of public school desegregation. "No more delay can be tolerated," remarked The Washington Post. But what does this mean? When you stop "tolerating" delay, what do you do—integrate the races by force?

The Supreme Court raised the same painful dilemma. "Constitutional rights may not be denied," it said, "simply because of hostility to their assertion or exercise." The sentiment is admirable, but how do you enforce it in a nation that has long believed that it is neither wise nor practical to force the will of the majority on a large and hostile minority?

"The genius of the American (political) system," Walter Lippmann wrote 14 years ago, "is that it limits all power — including the power of the majority. Absolute power, whether in a king, a President, a legislative majority, a popular majority is alien to the American idea. . . .

"For a decision which has to be enforced against the determined opposition of large communities and regions of the country will, as Americans have long realized, almost never produce the results it is supposed to produce. . . . It is necessary to postpone the decision, to respect the opposition, and then to accept the burden of trying to persuade it. . . ."

Mobilizing the Moderates

This doctrine infuriates the Negro and the liberals in the North, many of whom have forgotten that liberals invented the idea of limiting all power, but the Negro cannot claim both the protection of the law and the right to defy the law or give up on the slow processes of the law.

The burden of persuasion, therefore, has to be carried on, no matter how tedious, painful or irritating, for without it new laws outlawing discrimination in stores, hotels and restaurants selling goods that cross state lines are not likely to be any more successful than the desegregation orders of the Federal courts.

The President is making a start next week in calling influential Southern businessmen to the White House. Much more can be done in similar meetings with Southern editors, lawyers, professors and ministers. Nobody who knows anything about the South is prepared to believe that there is not a deep strain of moderate, patriotic opinion in the Old Confederacy. But this opinion needs to be encouraged and organized in every community of the nation, North as well as South, and the President has not used anything like his full influence in this field.

Even Birmingham, Ala., illustrates the point. There, the newspapers, after years of defiance, began writing about the necessity of obeying the law. A handful of citizens, some on principle, some out of commercial self-interest, joined in, and worked to defeat the extreme segregationist city government. It is still a scary place, but a beginning has been made.

One Presidential swing through the South and the great cities of the North would help the moderates a lot. After all, this must be as important as the President's forthcoming tour of Europe.

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

Tell her we've gone underground?

VMA

UJ IGNORE

PA

LD

what do I do with this lady?

See "Sm" you can.

Broadway Central Hotel
673 Broadway
New York 12, N.Y.
-- ORegon 4-6300,
Extension 648

June 2, 1963

RECEIVED
JUN 3 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

This is, first of all, to acknowledge with thanks the material about the Southern Regional Council which Mrs. Montez C. Albright, your Administrative Assistant, sent me recently during your absence in response to my request for information. It was very helpful.

As I wrote originally, I planned to prepare an article for possible publication in the Sunday Atlanta Journal-Constitution appealing to the bluebloods of the South to rise to positions of leadership in the integration question now. Enclosed is a copy of a tentative draft which I sent two days ago to Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher of the Atlanta Journal-Constitution and a man, I noted, who has been active in SRC work. I do not know if Mr. McGill or his editors will accept this copy, but at least it will show you the tenor of my thinking.

While I am in favor of integration based on moderate and exemplary leadership rather than the violence of today, I am angered, as a woman of Southern descent, at the way the Northern liberals and press -- with some support, it would seem, from the Government today -- pillory the South and distort its public image without recognizing that there is actual but ignored segregation in the North, too. Just a visit to Harlem would prove that even to the most skeptical.

I was glad to find support for this belief in an article -- or rather, column -- published in The New York Times of last Friday in which James Reston appealed to the President to use persuasion rather than legal juggling to change the attitudes in the die-hard parts of the South, but pointed out that the Government is trying to "coerce" the South into social change. I am enclosing a copy for your information. It will be interesting to see how fast there is action in the North in the light of charges by Malcolm X, the N.A.A.C.P., and other Negro leaders of segregation there.

As you doubtless gather, I am very much interested in the work of the Southern Regional Council but I wish that it

were more widely known, particularly in the North. I noticed that you seem to have good foundation support as well as the aid of leading church organizations of various denominations and faiths. Do you think it would be possible to begin a nation-wide campaign of fund-raising and publicity now? If you could establish a branch New York office now you might do much to aid the cause of the South as well as the Negro.

It might interest you to know that some years ago a man named Ralph Bishop established a public relations firm in Atlanta and if you do expand you might be interested in getting in touch with him. He was formerly a member of the staff of the John Price Jones Corporation, which, as you may know, was one of the pioneers of modern fund-raising and set patterns through its Liberty Bond drives of World War I which the philanthropies of the nation emulate now. During World War II Mr. Bishop served as Assistant Public Relations Director of the National War Fund.

My suggestion that the SRC put on a more ~~intensive~~ aggressive publicity and fund-raising drive is based on the recent announcement in the Bulletin of the American Association of Fund-Raising Counsel that Americans gave $9,000,000,000 to philanthropic causes in 1962 alone. In a day of financial well-being on the whole, it seems possible to raise funds for virtually any cause as long as it captures the imaginations of the small and large donors alike.

In the meantime, in two weeks or so I plan to query the editor of the North American Newspaper Alliance, which serves some 1,800 newspapers throughout the country, about a possible article on the Southern Regional Council. If he agrees to the idea then I will send you an s.o.s. for more material, particularly case and human interest stories revealing instances in which peaceful integration had been achieved at a community or even statewide level.

With many thanks for the cooperation of your office and best wishes for success in your valuable work --

Sincerely,

Pattie Sherwood Smith

(Mrs.) Pattie Sherwood Smith

Encs.- 2

Recd 12/16/64

file

The Episcopal Chaplain
P. O. Box 326
University, Mississippi

December 14, 1964

Dear Leslie:

Just yesterday I decided to accept a new position as Episcopal Chaplain at the University of Maryland. This impending move means that I will be unable to complete the project I promised to do for you. I am sorry to back out on a responsibility, but I believe you will understand.

Enclosed is the assignment sheet. I'm sure that you will have no trouble finding someone else to make the evaluation for you.

Sincerely,

Wofford

Wofford Smith

Hazel Braman Smith

January 4, 1956

TO: HCF
FBR
JC
PA

FROM: GSM

The newspaper editress from Lexington, Mississippi telephoned Mitchell at Mitchell's home last evening around 6:00 p.m. Was under the impression that I had already left office. Had I seen what the Citizens Councils were saying? Answer:"Yes I saw, it is poppycock." Did I wish her to send me a copy? "No, I have seen."

Then she got around to what was eating on her, which was her need for $18,000, of which $9,000 is a prompt need. I told her that so far as I knew no one but Fred Fuges had any funds for appropriating aid. She said Fuges had already sent her $3,000 -- "only $3,000," is what she said.

I formed the opinion -- perhaps completely unfounded -- that the woman's confusion and ineptness would adequately account for her financial embarrassment.

eab/

May 23, 1956

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Frank S. Loescher

From: Harold C. Fleming

I return the enclosed intra office material on Hazel B. Smith.

We have followed her case somewhat, and have admired her various campaigns against injustice. Obviously what she needs is outright assistance in paying off her present attorney's fees and court expenses, rather than a job. The idea of SRC engaging her has two great drawbacks; one, she presumably has her hands full with two newspapers to get out; two, although she has opposed certain acts of racial injustice, she is not publicly committed to the cause of desegregation, and identification with SRC could probably liquidate her completely in that county.

If we see a chance to enlist her services at a price, we will act on it but I really think the answer to her situation is either an outright subsidy from some group with a legal aid function or a cash award for outstanding journalism from some one of the newspaper societies which regularly give them. Anything other than these two forms of help would be more likely to destroy her than to save her.

HCF:mbo
Encs.

Alumni File

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
1444 WENTWORTH AVE., PASADENA, CALIFORNIA

MEMORANDUM

DATE May 2, 1956

TO: Frank Loescher

FROM: Pollock Hoffman

SUBJECT: Hazel B. Smith

You have probably seen the enclosed memo from Alan Howe of the Right of Conscience Committee of the AFSC.

Right of Conscience has decided to do anything about Hazel Smith. I think something should be done about Hazel Smith, and it occurred to me maybe the Southern Regional Council could hire her as one of their reporters and pay her enough to keep her from collapsing. At any rate, I wish we could think of something that would be helpful to her because she needs and deserves the help.

Enclosure: Alan Howe's memo of 4/2/56

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

To: Committee, consultants, and staff

From: Alan Howe

Subject: Hazel B. Smith

References: Memos on Racial Integration of 11/16/54, 12/k3/54, and 1/4/56

FACTS:
The above-named is presently the editor and publisher of two weekly newspapers in Holmes County, Mississippi. She has been an editor since graduating from the University of Alabama in 1936. She is apparently a very courageous person with a deep-seated sense of justice. She and her papers have consistently supported those persons in the community who have taken up the integration side of the race question, or who have otherwise suffered as a result of the tactics of the White Citizens Councils. Because of a particular editorial stand taken in July 1954, together with the support given pro-integrationists, she herself is now a victim of the tactics used against those whom she has defended.

In July, 1954, the Sheriff of Holmes County dispersed a peaceful gathering of Negroes. As one of the Negroes was departing, the Sheriff, without cause, shot him in the leg. The Negro was later treated at a clinic of David Minter at nearby Providence Farms. The above-named immediately reported the circumstances of the shooting in her papers. The Sheriff neither contradicted nor denied the story as printed. One week later both papers carried a signed editorial denouncing the lawless actions of the Sheriff and stating further that he was not fit to hold office and should resign.

It seems that the Sheriff was at that time also under a barrage of criticism from other quarters in the community for failing to enforce the local gambling laws. The reported incident of the shooting added fuel to the fire. In an effort to take some of the heat off, he sued both papers for libel. Normally such a suit would never have reached the trial stage, but this was July, 1954, the month during which the first White Citizens Councils were organized in Holmes and adjacent counties. The racial overtone to the controversy heightened the tensions in Holmes County whose population numbers 3 Negroes to every white person. It was in this atmosphere that the suit was tried in October, 1954. The racial tensions were no doubt crucial in the jury's verdict which awarded the Sheriff $10,000 in damages. On appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court, the jury verdict was reversed and the suit dismissed in November, 1955.

Shortly before the decision of the Mississippi Supreme Court, the much publicized mass meeting in Tchula had been promoted by the Sheriff and others in the local White Citizens Council. This meeting was held in September, 1955. It was at this meeting, you will recall, that a tape recording was played, alleging that David Minter and Gene Cox had promoted interracial activities at Providence Farms. Minter and Cox were interrogated as to these allegations, and ultimately were invited to leave Holmes County because their views on integration did not coincide with those held by the community. The above-named actively used her newspapers to assist and defend Minter and Cox, and also the Reverend Marsh Callaway, who had risen to the defense of the latter two the night of the mass meeting. The above-named was convinced that the mass meeting was part of a planned revenge by the Sheriff against Minter, the latter having treated the Negro who had been shot by the Sheriff in July, 1954.

Subsequent to the mass meeting and the state Supreme Court decision, the White Citizens Council in Holmes County had been instrumental in organizing a campaign

of economic pressure against the publishing business of the above-named by "inducing" the community to take its advertising and printing business elsewhere. That this pressure has been effective is indicated by a substantial decline in the income of the two papers, namely, $1200 in December, 1955 and %600 in each of the succeeding months. In addition, her husband, who had for five years been the administrator of the Holmes County Community Hospital, was fired from this position in January, 1956, The reason given was that "his wife had become a controversial figure". He has been without other employment since then and has been forced to work with her in running the two newspapers. This has, of course, added to the economic liabilities. In the light of her husband's loss of independent income and the decline in revenue of the papers as a result of the boycott, she is slowly being forced to the wall, and will doubtless have to give up the papers and leave the county unless the community relaxes its pressures, or some outside assistance is forthcoming.

REQUEST FOR ASSISTANCE: At present she has outstanding $4000 for past attorney's fees and court expenses incurred in the trial of the libel suit, and the subsequent appeal to the Mississippi Supreme Court. Also, she has $3,000 in current liabilities for equipment purchased for the two newspapers in the past year. She has asked whether the Rights of Conscience program might assist her in the payment of the above-mentioned attorney's fees and court expenses. She has further inquired about the possibility of creating an earmarked fund (amount unspecified) which could be drawn on by her in the event that the economic pressure becomes unbearable.

ISSUE OF CONSCIENCE: This is not the usual evaluation of conscience which the committee is asked to make. Here we have a courageous southern editor who is speaking out freely on the problems and issues raised in the current southern struggle over racial integration. If she is forced to suspend publication, the only two newspapers expounding the cause of integration will be silenced in Holmes County, Mississippi. In her letter of application for assistance, she has stated that she is determined that this shall not happen and has indicated a willingness to make every reasonable sacrifice to continue publication. The issue raised by this application does fall in an area about which the committee has previously expressed its concern and sympathy.

The problem presented by her request for past attorney's fees and expenses is that the committee to date has felt that it should not undertake to assist in the payment of expenses incurred prior to the request, the conscience issue having already been indicated. However, the request for a reserve fund to be drawn on in the future as needed, while indefinite, may be more in harmony with the past practices of the committee.

PANEL: The case has been referred to Samuel Morris and Spencer Coxe.

RECEIVED JUL 19 1956

July 16, 1956

Hazel Brannon Smith
The Lexington Advertiser
Lexington, Mississippi

Dear Hazel Smith:

This is to acknowledge your letter of July 4, 1956.

I have a suggestion I would like to make regarding action which you might take in an effort to alleviate your present economic difficulties. The Southern Regional Council, as you may know, is doing considerable educational work in the area of racial integration.

George Mitchell is the Executive Director of the Council which is located at 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia. The May 31, 1956 report of the Fund for the Republic indicates on page 22, that the Southern Regional Council received in February, 1956 a grant of $50,000 for a 9-month period to analyze developments in southern race relations. The grant provide funds for part-time researchers working in many areas, one of which is a study of the relationship and aims of southern "resistance" movements and methods of economic pressures and reprisals.

It occurred to me that possibly your knowledge of the techniques of the White Citizens Councils in Mississippi in bringing about economic pressure on persons such as yourself, might make a valuable contribution to the above-mentioned 9-months study being conducted by the Southern Regional Council. Accordingly, I am suggesting that you consider writing to George Mitchell about the possibility of doing some work, and thereby qualifying for some remuneration from the $50,000 grant mentioned previously.

I am enclosing a copy of the factual resume which was made up on your case at the time that our program was considering your application for assistance. You may use this material as a basis for acquainting George Mitchell with your background and circumstances.

The reason for my suggesting that you communicate with Mr. Mitchell, rather than my doing so, is that I feel your judgment as to what you wish to disclose to him is more reliable than mine under all the circumstances.

RECEIVED JUL 19 1958

If, however, you wish me to communicate with Mr. Mitchell separately, I shall only be too happy to do so in any way which you may suggest. In the meantime, I shall continue with my own efforts to interest other persons and groups in assisting you with your struggle to remain in Mississippi.

Sincerely,

Fred Fuges, Director of
Rights of Conscience Program

FH/ha

encl.

bcc: Mike Yarrow
George Mitchell
Earle Edwards
Olcutt Sanders

WSS

Established In 1837

THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

Printers -:- Publishers

Lexington, Mississippi

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH, Publisher

August 4, 1956

P.S.

Dr. Mitchell: The foregoing letter was written Monday and after writing it I spoke to you on the phone-feeling that it would be better for you to understand that if it became known here by anyone that I was having any dealings, even writing, to anyone in the Southern Regional Council, that it wouldn't be a question of whether I wanted to stay here or not--it would unleash all forms of pressure and outright boycott against me and make it appear that I was a traitor to the state and to the South--and of course nothing could be farther from the truth. But that is the prevailing attitude here-one of suspicion and distrust against all outsiders and all organizations.

So, again, you understand that my entire career would be wiped out if it became known that I did any work at all, research or whatever, for your organization.

I am sorry that our people here are like they are-but you cannot change that. Perhaps over a period of years they may come to have a different attitude--and that is the only reason why I have not given the whole thing up already. I feel that if we, who love the South and want to see it progress, leave now-then all will be lost.

It is quite a fight I have already made in order to stay here-and I don't want anything like more publicity, etc. to happen and cause more of an uproar. The months since the Sept. mass meeting up to and through February have been a terrific strain and I do not believe that my nerves will stand anything else.

I am sending a copy of all the material I am sending to you to Mr. Fuges so that he will be posted up to the minute on our situation. We would not be on as current a basis as we are now had it not been for the help we have received from him--and he is still trying to get more help for us if he can.

Thanks for your kindness and consideration--and will you please mark your replies or correspondence PERSONAL and if you have plain envelopes will you use them, please, just using your box number or street address for return address.

You may think this is silly-and it is-but that is the way things are here now. Gene Cox and Dr. Minter will verify it-some of their mail has from time to time apparently been tampered with.

Sincerely,

Hazel B. Smith

Copy to Mr. Fuges

Established In 1837

THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

Printers -:- Publishers

Lexington, Mississippi

July 30, 1956

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH, Publisher

Dr. George Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At the suggestion of Mr. Fred Fuges, director of the Rights of Conscience Committee of the American Friends Service Committee, I am writing you.

Mr. Fuges told me in a recent letter that the Southern Regional Council had received a $50,000 grant from the Fund for The Republic in February of this year for a 9-months period to analyze developments in southern race relations. The grant, he said, provides funds for part-time researchers working in many areas-one of which is a study of the relationship and aims of southern "resistance" movements and methods of economic pressures and reprisals.

Mr. Fuges said, and I quote: "It occurred to me that possibly your knowledge of the techniques of the White Citizens Councils in Mississippi in bringing about economic pressure on persons such as yourself, might make a valuable contribution to the above mentioned 9-months study being conducted by the Southern Regional Council. Accordingly, I am suggesting that you consider writing to George Mitchell about the possibility of doing some work, and thereby qualifying for some remuneration from the $50,000 grant mentioned previously."

Mr. Fuges then suggested that I acquaint you with my background and circumstances. He also stated that he would gladly write to you on my behalf but that he felt like it would be better for me to write you first because he felt, and I quote: "I feel your judgment as to what you wish to disclose to him is more reliable than mine under all the circumstances." He further stated that he would communicate with you upon word from me that I wished him too.

Dr. Mitchell, I will briefly outline on an enclosed page the background and circumstances which provoked my present situation... and a resume of money I need to become solvent.

Anything you can do will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Hazel Brannon Smith

Hazel Brannon Smith (Mrs.)

Lexington, Mississippi

COPY TO Mr. Fuges

BACKGROUND (a)

MRS. HAZEL BRANNON SMITH, Lexington, Mississippi (Holmes County)

Born and reared in Gadsden, Alabama, daughter of D. B. Brannon, 2812 Sansom Avenue, Alabama City, (Gadsden) Alabama-and the late Mrs. B. Born Feb. 4, 1914. Graduated from Gadsden High School, May, 1930. Worked two years on The Etowah Observer, a weekly newspaper in Gadsden, (Etowah county) before entering the University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa where she graduated in 1936. Majored in journalism.

Entered the weekly newspaper field in Mississippi on Aug. 4, 1936, buying The Durant News which she still owns and operates. In April, 1943, she purchased the other weekly newspaper in the county, The Lexington Advertiser, which she still owns and operates.

Throughout her entire 20-year career as a weekly editor Hazel Brannon (She was married on March 21, 1950 to Walter D. Smith, a purser with the American President Lines, and a native of Philadelphia, Penn.) always has stood for what she believed to be right in the community-regardless of how others might feel.

She has consistently fought for law enforcement in the community-fighting especially organized crime as represented in the bootlegging and gambling cliques in the (Holmes) county who have for years been very powerful. This has earned for her some very powerful enemies-not only the bootleggers and their relatives and friends but some of the so-called respectable citizens who feel, that because they like a sociable drink it is hypocritical to fight the bootleggers.

This editor has always fought, too, for equal justice in court for all people-and equal treatment by officers of the law for all people, regardless of race or color. This has caused two law suits against the editor-one in 1947 and another in 1954.

In 1947 she was cited for contempt of court because she questioned a Negro woman witness who was under the rule of the court (which meant that she was not supposed to talk to anyone). Mrs. Smith, (then Miss Brannon) did not know the woman was under the rule of the court since she had not been in the courtroom when the witnesses were instructed.(The woman's husband had been killed by white men and six of them had been indicted for his death). In 1948 Miss Brannon was presented the Certificate of Merit given annually by the Colored School Children and Teachers "for outstanding contributions in human relations." Although being found guilty by the presiding judge she appealed to the Mississippi Supreme Court and won unanimously a verdict of acquittal. (Attorneys fees, expenses, etc. about $700.00 at that time paid by Miss B.).

In ~~1954~~ 1954, weekend of July 4, the Sheriff of Holmes county shot a 27-year-old Negro man in the back without cause. Mrs. Smith printed the story on the front page without editorial comment. She had tried to get the Sheriff's version of the shooting but he was "out of town" and he really was out-after learning that she was investigating the shooting. By the next week when the Sheriff failed to deny the shooting Mrs. Smith ran a resume of the shooting and a page 1 editorial denouncing the sheriff's action-saying that he was unfit to be sheriff and should in fact resign. The Sheriff, already under heavy censure for not aforcing the prohibition and gambling laws was under heavy fire from the entire county. It was a case of having either to resign-or shut the editor up. He filed a $57,500 libel suit--as a means of getting her off his back.

--more--

The same month, July, 1954, white Citizens Councils were formed in Sunflower county, Miss., some 45 miles from Lexington and Holmes county was the first county to have a Citizens Council organized in it after the original Council in Sunflower.

It is very probable the libel suit filed by Holmes County Sheriff Richard F. Byrd would never have actually come to trial had it not been for the organization of the Councils and the atmosphere they created.

At any rate the case was tried in an atmosphere of increasing racial tension and 10 out of 12 jurors voted for the Sheriff against Mrs. Smith. It was a case of taking the word of the Negro, who had been shot and who showed his bullet-scarred leg to the jury, or believing the oath of the Sheriff who swore he didn't fire his gun at all during that evening. The case was not tried on its merits-but was made simply a racial thing.

As a direct result of the case the white doctor (Dr. David Minter) who had treated the wounded Negro was eventually asked, in a mass meeting, to leave the county. At the same mass meeting a white Presbyterian minister, who stood up and questioned "the legal and moral right" of the group to hold such a meeting was booed down by the crowd and threatened after the meeting some of the group saying "your Session will take care of you." And his Session did. He was fired and has left the county-just before Christmas. The mass meeting was in September-about ten days before my appeal was to come up before the Mississippi Supreme Court and the mass meeting was used in a way to try to intimidate the Miss. Supreme Court (by the lawyer for the Sheriff). Fortunately, it did not succeed. Had the verdict been unfavorable I would have already had to sell everything I have to satisfy the judgment.

As another direct result of the law suit and further aided because my husband and I did everything within our power to encourage Dr. Minter and the Rev. Mr. Callaway to stay here-and did what we could among the local citizens of the county to help them stay- the little group within the Council pulled political strings and had my husband fired from his $5400 year job as administrator of the Holmes County Community Hospital in January, 1956--despite the fact that the medical staff of the hospital unanimously went on record opposing the movement and stating that he was an outstanding person and had done an outstanding job. Incidentally, he was scheduled to have received a substantial raise of some $1200 with the fixing of the salaries for the New Year.

The same rumors that started flying in December (after I had won the case in the Supreme Court) that said my husband was to be fired in order to hurt me-said that the next step against me (for taking the side of the Negro supposedly just because I printed the truth about the shooting) was for an economic boycott to be placed against me and none of the merchants would be allowed (by the Citizens Council presumably) to advertise with me.

Since December we have felt economic pressure-and there was and still is some talk of boycott. Besides the loss of my husband's $450.00 per month income our business on the paper is off now on an average of $1400. per month. For the months of December, January and February our business was off from $1900 (Jan. and Feb.) to $2535. in December. Three months of this year we have not taken in enough to meet operating expenses. My attorneys fees amounting (including expenses, printing brief, etc.) were in excess of $4600. and I have made only one payment on them.

- more -

All of this together has not only exhausted any reserves we had but has also placed us in a hole-even on our current operating expenses. In addition, notes for equipment I bought three years ago before the law suit continue to come due every month and I am now 10 months behind (1500.00) on my notes on my press. The final note on it in the amount of $3250. comes due in December.

So altogether you can see I need a good bit of money in order to get on a current basis on my regular operating expenses, $3,000; to meet the notes on press now $1500.; on my attorneys fees $3500; two additional notes of $500. each are past due from September, 1955, and January, 1956, but the friend I owe them to has been content, knowing the situation, just to get the interest, but I am very anxious to get these two obligations off; and I have another $500. note coming up in September which must be paid some way.

This puts my current needs at $9,500. with another $3250. needed by December (for the press).

The way our business is going now we will be able to keep operating and barely making our overhead and grocery money for the remainder of this year. It does not leave us much leeway to pay off notes and attorneys.

If I can get my press payments on a current basis I believe that I can get the $3250 balance refinanced in December by the person who sold me the press.

We have tried, my husband and I, to keep up appearances as much as possible and continue to go about our business as though we don't have a care in the world...feeling that the psychological effect of that would be of some advantage--and I feel that it has. People don't really know how much of a struggle we are having--because much of the blow we've had to endure has been in our job printing department which they don't know a lot about. The advertising is the second way they have hurt us, of course, but we fill the paper up with "safety" and "Savings Bonds" and other such type of institutional advertising until the paper doesn't look like it's suffering too much--unless one is a very close observer. We've lost only about five subscribers.

If God gives us strength we will somehow in time work everything out--and if my attorneys continue to have patience. But if I could get enough to get what I call "solvent" again it would take some of the strain off me now--and sometimes the strain is so great that I don't feel as though I can go on.

But I have lived my entire life in the South and I do not believe that I could be happy living anywhere else-although I love to travel and have been privileged to travel widely in the past nine years (except the past two immediate years).

So, on the basis of this, I should like to ask your consideration for as much help as possible under the circumstances.

Any research I might do would have to be done under an assumed name-or my identity not revealed. Otherwise, it would not be possible for me to stay here. The Southern Regional Council, as you probably already know, is on the black list of the Citizens Councils - as is the Fund for the Republic and the Ford Foundation.

(copy to Mr. Fuges)

Hazel B. Smith

906 Lullwater Road, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia
August 6, 1956

PERSONAL

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
The Lexington Advertiser
Lexington, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Smith:

Two or three of us here have read with care your letter.

Perfectly true we have a grant for doing some fact-finding, and the fact-finding is being done. We, weeks ago, put two people to work on resistance efforts and the salary of these two people is neatly eating up what was available in the budget for that purpose. The people have to travel and interview others and disclose who they are; and for this your needful anonymity crimps you. We understand about needful anonymity.

We talked this morning by telephone with people in Fuges' office. In Fuges' absence, they promised to see if the Rights of Conscience Committee can't tailor-make something to your needs. Wherefore I am particularly glad that Fuges' people have a copy of your letter to me.

I do greatly hope that help will come in time.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
SRC

GSM/eab

Lexington, Miss.
August 20, 1956

Dr. George Mitchell
906 Lullwater Road N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your letter.

What Mr. Fuges had in mind, I think, when he suggested that I write you about the Ford Foundation grant for research, etc. was not my becoming a paid, full time employee of the SRC, but rather, writing my experiences in person with the resistance movement as you called it. I believe I'd call it the Storm of Resistance.

It seems to me that it would make a valuable record and be of possibly great service if some organization had or could compile a complete record of how people throughout the South have been affected by the organization of the Citizens Councils-of the influence the introduction of these Councils have had and continue to have on people in the communities, conditions and race relations.

I am in a position to know more of the activities of this organization than possibly any other Southerner. My own case has been not only the first but foremost case of intimidation and economic pressure of this organized group-and I believe that I know more about their true aims and objectives and how they propose to accomplish them than any other adult outside the leaders of the organization themselves-and I have a straight connection to them, through friends of my own.

I should like to tell you some of the ideas I have in mind-and hope to be able to talk to you some time in the not too distant future. If you come over to Mississippi I should like very much for you to contact me and we could get together for a discussion which might result in some good.

In the meantime if this letter should give you any idea of ways I might make a contribution in betterment of present conditions I will be only too happy to hear from you.

Sincerely,
Hazel Brannon Smith
Hazel Brannon Smith (Mrs.)
%THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

Lexington, Mississippi

Copy to Mr. Fuges

M E M O R A N D U M

September 13, 1956

To: Mr. H. C. Fleming

From: Paul Anthony

Subject: Hazel Brannon Smith

On Tuesday, September 4th, after an exchange of correspondence to establish that date, Hazel Brannon Smith was visited in her office at the Lexington Advertiser in Lexington, Mississippi. The conditions which led to this visit and the correspondence to SRC from and concerning Mrs. Smith is known thus there is no need to repeat this information.

The Advertiser building, located half a block from the town square, is typical of the plant of small weeklies. First impression was that business was at least as brisk as usual and that the plant was enjoying a good job printing business. This impression was later corrected with the explanation that staff had been cut to a minimum with a corresponding overload on those remaining. Mr. Smith now works at this office since his removal as administrator of the local hospital.

On entering the outer office occupied by Mr. Smith and a woman employee there was a cordial reception and it was obvious that the nature of my visit was known. Mrs. Smith was occupied in her private office with a job-printing customer which necessitated a brief wait during which it was made clear that reason existed to remain anonymous. This condition of secrecy prevailed during the entire visit. During our conversation of several hours the door of Mrs. Smith's office remained closed and on occasion, when it became necessary for her to leave, the door was closed and her exits and entrances were in such a way as to prevent an outsider from observing her visitor. These precautions seemed excessive to an outsider though they may well have been necessary. Later, on leaving the building I drove directly out of town and was followed by the local Lexington police car until I reached the Holmes County line. This seemed a matter of observation, nothing more.

Mrs. Smith is an active and vivacious woman, who appears to be in her middle 30's but is probably older. She gives the impression of being a capable newspaperwoman who is quick to pounce on any dishonesty or corruption. She is accustomed to being thoroughly outspoken in her editorials and it is obvious that she is still surprised at the reaction brought on by her editorial against the local sheriff in 1954. During her twenty years in Lexington she has carried out this policy, with occasional reaction from local officials, but never before has her opposition been of more than a temporary nature.

By way of background, Mrs. Smith explained that her two editorials in 1954 were directed at the Sheriff when he shot a Negro in the leg. The Negro was not being arrested and she used this instance as an obvious

illustration of the prejudice, cruelty and general inability of the Sheriff. The Sheriff, according to Mrs. Smith, was heavily involved with local bootleggers and gamblers and made a handsome income from this connection.

The Advertiser's second front page editorial was of such a nature that the Sheriff had no choice but to sue Mrs. Smith or resign. In Mrs. Smith's opinion she would have won the suit in local court had not the race issue been injected. This situation came at the time Holmes County was organizing Citizens' Councils under the leadership of Wilbur Hooker, wealthy local insurance man, state legislator and owner of several plantations and oil wells in the area. Thus the issue of the suit became white vs. Negro with the interpretation that during such times no white man can do wrong and no defender of the Negro can be allowed. Subsequently it was necessary for Mrs. Smith to appeal this case to the State Supreme Court where she won. Mrs. Smith accumulated a debt of $4,700. in attorney's fees.

Thereafter, she and the paper became a target of the local political organization and the Citizens' Council. At first opposition was spasmodic and of little effect. She was informed that three men from Lexington had gone to Jackson to make inquiries as to the cost and procedure of starting a weekly newspaper. Her opinion is that these men were shocked at the cost and though financially able, were unwilling to go that far. At this point Mrs. Smith was shown a newspaper clipping from the Delta Democrat-Times in which a Citizens' Council member was quoted as saying "We want to buy the paper from that woman and bring in a young man with the right attitude." The same man was quoted as being willing to put up $10,000. and felt that another $10,000. could be raised. Mrs. Smith had not seen this article; however, her reaction was, "if they think they can get rid of me for $20,000. they're crazy as hell!"

Mrs. Smith believes that the current effort to get rid of her is two-fold; to ruin her economically through restricting her advertising and job printing, and to ruin her standing locally as a citizen and newspaper-woman. "They" seem to be doing both. By way of example, the month of December, 1955, a heavy advertising month, saw a decline of more than $3,000. in advertising revenue. In August, 1956, the total money taken in for both newspaper and job printing was not sufficient to meet her monthly payroll.

Mrs. Smith owns a second paper, the Durant News. On inquiring of this she explained that the paper was small, of no value and had done nothing more than "break even" for years.

The financial condition of Hazel Brannon Smith is roughly as follows: She is somewhat over $10,000. in debt for immediate obligations which include attorney's fees of some $4,000. and approximately $3,500. on a printing press. The remainder is in paper bills and other running expenses plus a small amount on local real estate. She needs $4,000. to $5,000. in immediate assistance to remove these obligations without showing

undue pressure to the local community.

By way of assets the Advertiser probably has a value of at least $40,000. In addition she and Mr. Smith own a local home, several building lots, a 1954 Plymouth station wagon, and an equity in a local farm. The financial pressure of the past two years has eliminated their cash reserve and the normal operating reserves of the two papers. Mrs. Smith explained that she could not sell her home or otherwise conspicuously eliminate her holdings without it being obvious that the pressure was hurting, after which pressure would be stepped up to the point where it would be impossible. This is undoubtedly true.

Mrs. Smith has a very strange idea as to the role she has played and as to the complications in receiving outside financial assistance. Without question she runs a good newspaper of considerable value especially considering its location in what she describes as "the worst county of the worst state in the country." She has been the victim of a vicious attack and she and her husband have been hurt. From this she gives the impression of being completely without the ability to reason on this particular situation. It is considerably difficult to criticize a person under such pressure but very frankly she seems to have adopted the position that having done a good deed she now looks to the liberal forces of the country to see that she is not socially or financially harmed.

As to financial help, Mrs. Smith wants a grant of some $2,000. to $5,000. for immediate relief. This grant must be anonymous, or given in the utmost secrecy, since she claims it would ruin her locally if it were known that "liberal" forces had come to her rescue. In addition, Mrs. Smith would like a continuing grant, or the possibility of a grant if needed, which would allow her to operate her paper with complete freedom of fear from local losses. However, in her opinion, a single immediate grant would bring with it time and she might well be able to survive if given another six to twelve months.

A second avenue of assistance could come, in her opinion, by having an arrangement whereby she could report on the inside workings of the Mississippi scene. That is with her knowledge of the state and her contact with most of the editors of the state she feels that she could contribute much of value by anonymously reporting on the behind-the-scenes activities in Mississippi.

The most ideal condition desired is to find "a wealthy person" who would be willing to underwrite her newspaper and assume any debts which she might encounter as a result of her policies. She knows this is unlikely but feels that under these conditions she could do an exceptional job of keeping one liberal paper in the state.

Mrs. Smith was somewhat disturbed that SRC supported a policy of integration. She pointed out that she has not supported such a policy. Roughly in her words, "I haven't supported desegregation, but I haven't supported segregation either. In my present condition supporting integration is out of the question. Without the threat of being ruined it might be another matter."

Mrs. Smith agreed to prepare a "secret" report on conditions in Holmes County for SRC use. She was emphatic that such a report have limited distribution and that it not be associated with her name. It was explained that she would be paid for this report according to the decision of the director of information, "not to exceed $100." She expressed a desire to send that report to my personal postoffice box in Atlanta and requested that her check be mailed in a plain envelope marked "private." She further requested that her check be made out to "H. B. Smith" to avoid any difficulties on her part in the event SRC records reached the wrong hands. She plans to have this check cashed in Birmingham through a friend.

From the amount involved, the need for complete secrecy on her part, and her fear of any public association with SRC it was necessary to explain that SRC could offer no substantial help. It was agreed that her condition would be recalled to the attention of those agencies and individuals who first informed SRC of them.

As a personal opinion Mrs. Smith is a newspaper woman in the finest tradition of that profession. She has done a good job in the most difficult area of the county. However, her financial situation in relation to that job is a calculated risk which all newspapers face, though few so admirably. Having become a very real victim, Mrs. Smith now has an unfortunately distorted view of what other "good" people owe her. Her approach to the need for financial assistance now includes considerable money for plant equipment and personal real estate. And, there are an infinite number of deserving people in the South who have suffered considerably. Most have been hurt in a far more immediate way than has Mrs. Smith and few have her resources or her background on which to rely.

A substantial grant from some unknown source, is justified. While a loan was not discussed she would probably make an excellent credit risk and such a course would probably solve the situation for all concerned. It would be wise for any agency or individual considering a course of help to visit Lexington, Mississippi and thereafter follow their own thinking on the matter.

PA:mbo

RECEIVED NOV 26 1957

Lexington, Mississippi
Nov. 26, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing the outline I told you I thought I had-although I imagine Mr. Cox had all the information you wanted and needed.

From a letter which I received since I came back from Mr. Ashmore I take it that he is going to try to do something with the Fund-but he did not appear too hopeful. Actually there has been nothing really hopeful out of all the contacts I have made-although some people do seem to be interested to try to do something.

What I hope they will realize is that we are lost unless we do get some substantial help and next month, at that. After three years of fighting this thing, since July of 1954, and especially in the continuous fight we have waged without ceasing since November of 1955, we have exhausted every resource we have including borrowing all of the money we can possibly borrow.

With some substantial help that we discussed in your office we have every reason to believe that we can and will survive. But without it we know that we can't and there's no use to kid ourselves. The time has come when we've got to be able to pay the rest of those attorneys fees and the remainder of the bills we told you about.

And if God is very good to us and we are able to keep what gains we have made in the past six months or so, and the Ebony thing doesn't set us back another year, then we will make it.

Indications are that the Ebony thing is not going to be pressed farther. Keep your fingers crossed that I am right.

I am currently trying to get some printing contracts lined up in another part of the state to help take up the slack in case our advertising does all go out.

As you may have gathered I do not give up easily. However, I must say that it would be a lot better if I could just get on an even, current basis just once more.

Let me hear from you-and also from (?) Art Leven on the meeting in December. Be sure and mark any mail to me as PERSONAL.

Thanks loads for all your interest and effort.

Sincerely

Hazel B. Smith

Hazel Brannon Smith
(Mrs. Walter D.)

% ADVERTISER
Lexington, Mississippi

RECEIVED JAN - 8 1958

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

Harold Fleming
Paul Anthony

We will be happy to sell you some carbon paper — wholesale.

Art Levin

D R A F T

Dear.....:

An effort is being made to assist Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith of Lexington, Mississippi, whose need for financial aid is outlined in the enclosed material. The issue involved is one of freedom of the press - vital in any area and especially significant in the state of Mississippi.

Mrs. Smith, editor and publisher of The Lexington Advertiser, has been subjected to legal harrassment and econmmic boycott since July 1954. An organized effort, largely directed by the White Citizens' Council, has been underway since January 1956. The situation is critical and unless Mrs. Smith receives outside help in the very near future she will have to close the newspaper and leave Lexington.

It is of the utmost importance that the White Citizens' Council not succeed in driving Mrs. Smith and The Lexington Advertiser out of Mississippi. The only way in which she can hope to continue under present conditions is to retract her former stand and conform to the requirements of the local WCC. This, fortunately she will not do. With outside aid, however, Mrs. Smith cannot only continue to publish the Advertiser, she can continue the constructive policies which the WCC has found so objectionable.

Significantly, Mrs. Smith has not lost all local support. There are indications that local advertisers resent the pressure being brought on them and on the editor. If Mrs. Smith can survive while opposing the seemingly all-powerful White Citizens' Councils, it will be a considerable morale victory; healthy for the community and encouraging to other would-be democratic voices in the state.

In defending herself against a $57,500 libel suit, which had to be carried to the State Supreme Court, Mrs. Smith incurred a debt of $5,000 in attorneys fees. The second major financial blow came in January 1956,

when Mr. Smith was fired as administrator of the Holmes County Hospital. Since that time an advertising and job printing boycott has heavily damaged an otherwise profitable weekly newspaper. For more than two years the Smiths, with a loss of savings and considerable indebtedness, have managed to survive. But the campaign against them has recently taken on new intensity.

They now need outside help, if the paper is to continue to fight the elements which have very nearly destroyed the right of dissent in Mississippi. The Rights of Conscience Program of the American Friends Service Committee has given Mrs. Smith all the assistance it could, and the Relief and Rehabilitation Committee of CCD has exhausted its possibilities. The Rights of Conscience Committee has agreed to serve as recipient of funds for this purpose. Funds should be sent to C. H. Yarrow of the AFSC Office, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. Checks should be made payable to American Friends S ervice Committee, Inc., for Rights of Conscience Program.

To meet the most pressing obligations now existing, and to be assured of continuing publication through 1958 without retraction and conformity, the Smiths need $12,000. Their courage and persistance and their past editorial policies would indicate that such aid is more than justified.

If you can join in this effort we urge you to do so as soon as possible. The need is urgent.

Sincerely,

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON HAZEL BRANNON SMITH

As you will see from the attached background material, a serious challenge to freedom of the press has taken place in Holmes County, Mississippi. Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, editor and publisher of the Lexington Advertiser, has been subjected to legal harrassment and economic boycott since July 1954. An organized effort, largely directed by the White Citizens' Council, has been underway since January 1956. The situation is critical and unless Mrs. Smith receives outside help in the very near future she will have to close the newspaper and leave Lexington.

In defending herself against a $57,500 libel suit, which had to be carried to the State Supreme Court, Mrs. Smith incurred a debt of $5,000 in attorneys fees. The second major financial blow came in January 1956, when Mr. Smith was fired as administrator of the Holmes County Hospital. Since that time an advertising and job printing boycott has heavily damaged an otherwise profitable weekly newspaper. For more than two years the Smiths, with a loss of savings and considerable indebtedness, have managed to survive. But the campaign against them has recently taken on new intensity.

They now need outside help, if the paper is to continue to fight the elements which have very nearly destroyed the right of dissent in Mississippi.

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Hazel Brannon Smith, Editor and Publisher
The Lexington Advertiser and the Durant News
Lexington, Mississippi

BACKGROUND:

Mrs. Smith is a native of Alabama City, Alabama. On graduating from the University of Alabama in 1936, Hazel Brannon arranged a loan and bought the small weekly, The Durant News of Durant, Mississippi. In 1943, with the aid of a second loan, she bought The Lexington Advertiser, and combined the operation of the two papers in the Lexington plant.

As editor of the two Holmes County papers, Miss Brannon upheld law and order, fought organized crime in the county and exposed corruption in public office. While drawing the expected opposition she nevertheless earned for herself a large following and a stable place in the community. The papers prospered and she did exceedingly well for a small town publisher.

In 1950, Miss Brannon was married to Walter Dyer Smith of Philadelphia. Because the editor did not want to give up her newspaper properties it was agreed that Mr. Smith would take a year's leave of absence from his company and come to Lexington where both would work on the newspapers. Some three months after coming to Lexington, Mr. Smith was asked to serve as administrator of the Holmes County Hospital. Mr. Smith accepted the position and served as an able and popular administrator until January 1956.

JULY, 1954:

In July of 1954 Holmes County Sheriff Richard F. Byrd shot in the back a 27-year-old Negro man who was not under arrest or resisting arrest. The following week, Mrs. Smith wrote an editorial criticizing the Sheriff's action in the shooting and pointing to the abuse of six or seven other Negro

citizens during the same evening. The editorial ended by saying the sheriff was not qualified to hold his office and should resign. This editorial was cited by the National Federation of Press Women as the best editorial written by a woman during 1954.

Considerable community feeling was aroused by the editorial. The sheriff was told by his friends that he must prevent future editorials of this nature or resign. At this point a libel suit was agreed upon. The sheriff filed suit for $57,000 "actual and punitive damages" from the news story and editorial as published in the two county papers.

These incidents took place some two months after the Supreme Court desegregation ruling, a decision which was beginning to cause concern in the community. During July, 1954, a White Citizens' Council unit was organized in the County -- the first to be organized after the original group in Sunflower County. Mrs. Smith and her attorneys were to learn that a number of rumors were being circulated about her, the foremost of which was that she had a local Negro woman college president as a dinner guest in her home. Her major offense, however, was to defend the rights of Negroes when the whites of Holmes County had to "stand together."

The libel suit came up at the regular October term of Circuit Court. The editor produced in court the Negro who was shot, Dr. David Minter, who treated him, and a town marshall, who testified to the good name and character of the victim. The jury, after deliberation, returned a 10 - 2 verdict in favor of the sheriff for payment of $10,000 damages by Mrs. Smith. The case was immediately appealed to the Mississippi Supreme Court. In

November, 1955, the Mississippi State Supreme Court gave a unanimous decision in favor of Mrs. Smith. The case was dismissed and the Court commented, "The Sheriff, by his own admission, was guilty of an illegal assault upon the person of the Negro." Mrs. Smith had won her case, but in doing so she had incurred some $5,000 in attorneys fees and related costs.

Sheriff Byrd, supported by the White Citizens Council, had expected a favorable verdict from the appeal. When this proved not to be the case, an organized campaign of revenge was undertaken against the local "supported of Negroes' rights."

January, 1956:

By January, 1956 Hazel Brannon Smith had become a "controversial" figure in Holmes County. Walter Smith continued his work as hospital administrator. He had taken the institution through its building program, built up a well-qualified staff and had, through good administrative procedures, placed the operation on a non-deficit basis. The trustees showed their appreciation by increasing his salary periodically without being asked to do so and by accepting, without question, all recommendations from him regarding policy and administration. In January, a new hospital board, consisting of two old and three new trustees appointed by the county board of s upervisors, was to take office. The entire medical staff of the hospital, fearing that politics were about to be injected into the administration of the hospital, unanimously went on record asking that no changes be made in the office or administrator. At the January meeting of the hospital trustees, Smith was fired without any reason being given. One of the old trustees, friendly to the Smiths, stated to a Jackson Daily News reporter

that the action was taken because of Mrs. Smith's policies. The trustee was quoted to this effect in the state press.

The firing of Walter Smith marked the beginning of an organized economic boycott against the Smiths and their newspapers. There had been earlier sporadic attempts to have merchants withdraw advertising, but, though felt, these attempts had not seriously affected the paper. As of January, however, the WCC leadership openly stated that they were beginning a boycott to force Mrs. Smith out of business. The Four-County News, a nearby small newspaper, published stories of the boycott and its sponsors. The Delta-Democrat Times quoted a Lexington WCC member as saying, "We want to buy the paper (The Advertiser) from that woman and bring in a young man with the right attitude."

The three new supervisors did not renew the county contract with the Advertiser. The contract for publishing the county's legal proceedings was awarded to The Four-County News. The Four-County News had a circulation of less than 1,000, 600 in Holmes and Pickens Counties. The Advertiser and The Durant News have 4,200 circulation.

WCC members visited local merchants in an effort to have them withdraw all advertising and job printing from Mrs. Smith's firm. The boycott was not completely effective although a number of acoounts were lost. The peak effectiveness of the boycott was probably reached in August 1956 when the firm, from both advertising and job printing, failed to take in enough money to meet the monthly payroll. Since that time Mrs. Smith's efforts have been aimed at survival - to remain in business with little hope of significant profit in the foreseeable future.

The Smiths have been subjected to social as well as economic reprisal. Ironically, many of their problems have arisen from national publicity awards for Mrs. Smith's newspaper work. One such crisis occurred when

the Fund for the Republic made Mrs. Smith a recipient of the American Traditions Award, on the basis of a letter written about Mrs. Smith and her newspaper work by Hodding Carter, Editor of the Delta-Democrat Times. Mrs. Smith has also been the recipient of the Herrick Award, given by the National Editorial Association, and has twice been awarded by the National Federation of Press Women.

The latest crisis to develop in Lexington occurred on October 17, 1957 when the November issue of Ebony magazine was placed on the news stand. This issue carried an article about Southern women engaged in the current struggle for equal rights. Among the women pictures was Mrs. Smith, described as being a person who had "campaigned for justice for all, regardless of race." This magazine is now being distributed by the WCC throughout Holmes County, especially to all advertisers. The article is advanced as "proof" that the Lexington Advertiser and its editor are detrimental to the community.

- : -

CONFIDENTIAL

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ROOM 606
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

January 8, 1958

Dear Friend:

An effort is being made to assist Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith of Lexington, Mississippi, whose need for financial aid is outlined in the enclosed material. The issue involved is one of freedom of the press - vital in any area and especially significant in the state of Mississippi.

Mrs. Smith, editor and publisher of The Lexington Advertiser, has been subjected to legal harrassment and economic boycott since July 1954. An organized effort, largely directed by the White Citizens' Council, has been underway since January 1956. The situation is critical and unless Mrs. Smith receives outside help in the very near future she may have to close the newspaper and leave Lexington.

It is of the utmost importance that the White Citizens' Council not succeed in driving Mrs. Smith and The Lexington Advertiser out of Mississippi. The only way in which she can hope to continue under present conditions is to retract her former stand and conform to the requirements of the local WCC. This, fortunately, she will not do. With the necessary aid, however, Mrs. Smith can not only continue to publish the Advertiser, but also continue the constructive policies which the WCC has found so objectionable.

Significantly, Mrs. Smith has not lost all local support. There are indications that local advertisers resent the pressure being brought on them and on the editor. If Mrs. Smith can survive while opposing the seemingly all-powerful White Citizen's Councils, it will be a considerable morale victory; healthy for the community and encouraging to other would-be democratic voices in the state.

In defending herself against a $57,500 libel suit, which had to be carried to the State Supreme Court, Mrs. Smith incurred a debt of $5,000 in attorneys' fees. The second major financial blow came in January 1956, when Mr. Smith was fired as administrator of the Holmes County Hospital. Since that time an advertising and job printing boycott has heavily damaged an otherwise profitable weekly newspaper. For more than two years the Smiths, with a loss of savings and considerable indebtedness, have managed to survive. But the campaign against them has recently taken on new intensity.

The Rights of Conscience Program of the American Friends Service Committee has given Mrs. Smith all the assistance it could, and the Relief and Rehabilitation Committee of CCD has exhausted its possibilities. The Rights of Conscience Committee has agreed to serve as recipient of funds for this purpose. Funds should be sent to C. H. Yarrow of the AFSC Office, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania. Checks should

be made payable to American Friends Service Committee, Inc., for Rights of Conscience Program.

To meet the most pressing obligations now existing, and to be assured of continuing publication through 1958 without retraction and conformity, the Smiths need $12,000. Their courage and persistence and their past editorial policies would indicate that aid for this purpose would be well invested.

If you can join in this effort we hope you will do so as soon as possible. The need is urgent.

Sincerely,

Arthur J. Levin

Arthur J. Levin
(Director, Southeastern Office, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith)*

Will D. Campbell

Will D. Campbell
(Associate Executive Director, Division of Christian Life and Work, Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.)*

A. E. Cox

A. E. Cox
(Field Representative, Rural Development Program, Department of the Town and Country Church, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.)*

Harold C. Fleming

Harold C. Fleming
(Executive Director, Southern Regional Council)*

*Signed as individuals; organizational titles shown for identification only.

Circulation of Hazel Brannon Smith Appeal Material

Patrick Malin
American Civil Liberties Union

A.Richard Finchell
American Civil Liberties Union of Miami

Patrick S. Kirwan
American Civil Liberties of Kentucky

George A. Dreyfous
Civil Liberties Union of Louisiana

Earl Henderson
American Council on Human Rights

Barbara Moffett
American Friends Service Committee

F. E. Hutchens
American Friends Service Committee (Southwestern Office)

Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee (Southeastern Office)

Edwin Lukas
American Jewish Committee

Samuel Lubin
American Jewish Committee (Atlanta Area Office)

Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee (Southeast Area Office)

American Jewish Committee (Southwest Regional Office)
Gustave Falk

Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress

Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith(N. Y.)

Murray Friedman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (Richmond, Va.)

Nathan Perlmutter
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (Miami, Fla.)

Irving Schulman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (New Orleans, La.)

Theodore Freedman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (Houston, Tex.)

Circulation of Hazel Brannon Smith Appeal Material - 2.=

A. C. Miller
Southern Baptist Convention

Herman H. Long
Nashville, Tennessee

John Hope, II
Nashville, Tennessee

Lewis Deer
Disciples of Christ

Cornelius C. Tarplee
National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

Edward A. Driscoll
Georgia Council of Churches

Emanuel Muravchik
Jewish Labor Committee

Harold Haas
Board of Social Missions
Lutheran Church in America

Harold C. Letts
Board of Social Missions
Lutheran Church in America

A. Dudley Ward
Board of Social and Economic Relations
The Methodist Church (Chicago, Ill.)

Leon M. Adkins
General Board of Education
The Methodist Church (Nashville, Tenn.)

Thelma Stevens
Women's Division of Christian Service
The Methodist Church (New York)

Roy Wilkins
N. A. A. C. P.

Dumont Kenny
National Conf. of Christians and Jews (New York)

Gordon W. Lovejoy
National Conf. of Christian and Jews (Guilford College, N.C.)

Edith Lowry
National Council of Churches of Christ, U.S.A.
Division of Home Missions

Circulation of Hazel Brannon Smith Material - 3.

W. Murdoch MacLeod
National Council of Churches of Christ, U.S.A.
General Dept. of United Church Women

Esther C. Stamats
National Council of Churches of Christ, U.S.A.
General Dept. of United Church Women

Frances Cahn
National Council of Jewish Women

Vivian C. Mason
National Council of Negro Women

Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service

Lester B/ Granger
National Urban League (New York)

Harry L. Alston
National Urban League (Atlanta Regional Office)

H. B. Sissel
Board of Christian Education
Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.

Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Presbyterian Church, U.S.

Benjamin Segal
Trade Union Program on Civil Liberties and Rights

Mrs. Dudley Moore
Unitarian Service Committee

William Stern
The Workmen's Circle

Maynard Catchings
Natinnal Student Council - YMCA

Paul Rilling
Southern Area Student Council - YMCA

Mrs. Savilla M. Simons
National Board - YWCA (New York)

Florence C. Harris
National Board - YWCA (Atlanta, Ga.)

Fay Bennett
National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.

Circulation of Hazel Brannon Smith Appeal Material - 4.

Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund

Albert Vorspan
Union of American Hebrew Congregations (New York)

January 9, 1958

Mr. A. E. Cox
National Council of Churches
Division of Home Missions
257 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Cox:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the appeal for Hazel Brannon Smith. This material is now being distributed to some 50 regional and national human relations and religious organizations, taken from the SRC directory of Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South.

You will note from the covering letter that we have taken the liberty of forging your signature. We felt this to be justifiable in light of the time required to get the stencil to and from you and Will Campbell. Trust you do not object to this.

If you need additional copies of this material let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Hazel Brannon Smith Appeal Material)

Hazel B. Smith

January 9, 1958

Mr. Will D. Campbell
National Council of Churches
Race Relations Division
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the appeal for Hazel Brannon Smith. This material is now being distributed to some 50 regional and national human relations and religious organizations, taken from the SRC directory of Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South.

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If you need additional copies of this material let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Hazel Brannon Smith Appeal Material)

January 9, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
American Friends Service Committee
Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mike:

I hope you will forgive this delayed response to your welcome letter many weeks ago expressing your committee's willingness to cooperate in a further effort to help Hazel Brannon Smith. We ran into a varietal snarl of complications in working out a cooperative appeal, but at last we have circulated the enclosed. It went to approximately 50 staff persons of agencies concerned with human relations - that is, most of those that cooperate in CCD. I hope you will find the way in which the matter is put acceptable and that you will pass on any ideas that occur to you about further distribution.

Judging by informal communication with some of the agency folk, we are not very optimistic that this appeal will produce very much. But at least we will have tried.

Please keep me posted on what returns, if any, come to you as a result of the mailing.

With appreciation to you and to the Rights of Conscience Committee for your willingness, as always, to help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - Hazel Brannon Smith Appeal Material

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Honorary Secretary
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

November 26, 1957

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold, Re: Hazel Smith

I took up the question that you asked with the Rights of Conscience Committee on November 18. Our Committee is still anxious to help Hazel Smith in any manner possible and would be glad to make further grants, providing the funds were available. Checks should be made payable to American Friends Service Committee, Inc., for Rights of Conscience Program.

Here's wishing success for any efforts that may be made.

Cordially yours,

Mike

C. H. Yarrow
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Alan Reitman

REGARDING:

Hazel Brannon Smith Appeal

DATE:

January 21, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

American Civil Liberties Union

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Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick (N.Y.)
Prof. Ralph F. Fuchs (Ind.)
Prof. Willard E. Goslin (Tenn.)
Prof. Mark DeW. Howe (Mass.)
Quincy Howe (N.Y.)
Dr. Robert M. Hutchins (N.Y.)
Gerald W. Johnson (Md.)
Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson (D.C.)
Dr. Percy L. Julian (Ill.)
James Kerney, Jr. (N.J.)
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Prof. Edward C. Tolman (Calif.)
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347

RECEIVED JAN 29 1958

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Marie M. Runyon, *Membership Secretary*

January 27, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Many thanks for your note of January 21 about Hazel Brannon Smith. I'll not make use of the material publicly, but I would like to send the information along to the influential people I mentioned.

Could you send me a half dozen more copies of the memo?

Best wishes.

Cordially,

Alan

Alan Reitman
Assistant Director

January 27, 1958

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER
Lexington, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Smith:

I don't believe I have sent you a copy of the material with which we have circularized the important agencies concerned with human relations. Enclosed is a complete copy. It is a little too soon to appraise the results. So far we have received word from the AFSC of one $50 contribution, and several requests for additional copies of the material for confidential circulation to other interested parties who might want to help.

As I hope we made clear, this is completely experimental, and none of us can be sure that the results will be significant. I do think it will be helpful for all of these people to realize the extent of your efforts in the face of great odds.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Hazel Brannon Smith Appeal Material)

13 copies: Hazel Brannon Smith Material

January 30, 1958

Dr. John A. Morsell
Assistant to the Executive Secretary
N. A. A. C. P.
20 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear John:

Many thanks for your letter of January 22 expressing your willingness to help secure contributions for Hazel Brannon Smith. Enclosed are the copies of the material which you asked for. I am sure your distribution of them will be most helpful.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 3-6890

January 22, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 606
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We have your confidential letter and enclosures regarding the situation of Hazel Brannon Smith and the Lexington Advertiser. We are, of course, most anxious to help and hope to make a direct contribution of our own in the manner suggested.

We would like, however, to extend the appeal to a few sources to which we have access. Would it be possible to have a dozen copies of the material you sent us so that we may forward the full story to that many potential contributors.

We are in complete agreement as to the vital importance of maintaining Mrs. Smith's newspaper, both from the point of view of freedom of the press and in the interest of a sane voice in the wilderness.

Cordially,

John

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the
Executive Secretary

JAM:erb

January 30, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
Twenth South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mike:

Many thanks for your letter of January 22 and the enclosure acknowledging Mr. Dreyfous' congribution. It is encouraging to know that the appeal is getting some response.

I have had requests for additional copies of the material from several organizations that want to call the matter to the attention of potential contributors.

I can readily understand the limitation on your acknowledgment of these contributions, and I think the letter you have written Mr. Dreyfous handles the matter very well.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JAN 24 1958

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Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

January 22, 1958

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold,

The Hazel Smith appeal is certainly well formulated. As you see, a first check has come in. These sums will be a morale booster, even if they do not solve the problem of capital debt.

We cannot acknowledge these receipts directly for individuals, but our Committee is easy about giving further grants to Hazel Smith as funds become available. The wording in your appeal seems to cover the situation all right.

Cordially yours,

C H Yarrow Phila

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

Enclosure: CC letter to George A. Dreyfous, Esq.

RECEIVED JAN 24 1958

January 22, 1958

George A. Dreyfous, Esq.
1609 National Bank of Commerce Building
210 Baronne Street
New Orleans 12, La.

Dear Mr. Dreyfous,

We wish to acknowledge receipt of your check for $50.00 as a contribution to the Rights of Conscience Program. We are happy to receive such funds and can assure you that they will be devoted to the purposes that you are interested in.

We have been in touch with Mr. and Mrs. Smith for some time and are very cognizant of the brave stand that they have made and the great difficulties that they have experienced. We have given aid and assistance to Mrs. Smith in the past and hope to be able to carry on with more aid in the future.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

Enclosure: Receipt for $50.00

bcc: Harold Fleming
Evelyn Andrews

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Marie M. Runyon, *Membership Secretary*

Hazel Br. Smith

February 7, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I thought you would like to have the enclosed note from James Kerney, Jr., editor of the Trenton Times, to whom I wrote about the plight of Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith.

Sincererely,

Alan

Alan Reitman
Assistant Director

cc: Harry Fleischman
Enc.

TRENTON TIMES NEWSPAPERS
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

JAMES KERNEY, JR.
EDITOR

FEB 7 1958

February 6, 1958

Mr. Alan Reitman, Assistant Director
The American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Alan:

I am sympathetic with the problems of Mrs. Smith in Lexington, Mississippi. But, quite frankly, I know of no editorial group competent to do anything to help her, unless it is possibly the Sigma Delta Chi journalism fraternity. The American Society of Newspaper Editors has no real guts in this kind of matter, from my experience with them, and there is no other organization ready to do any work.

Faithfully yours,

Chairman:
I. CYRUS GORDON

Directors:
RABBI EUGENE J. LIPMAN
ALBERT VORSPAN

COMMISSION ON SOCIAL ACTION

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#3017

Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

Union of American Hebrew Congregations · Central Conference of American Rabbis
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods · National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
National Federation of Temple Youth

838 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 21, N. Y. · REgent 7-8200

February 18, 1958

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is a check made out to the American Friends Service Committee which we are sending you in response to the joint memorandum about Mrs. Smith of Lexington, Mississippi. Would you be good enough to pass this on to the proper person.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Albert Vorspan
Director

AV/rs

February 28, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mr. Yarrow:

Enclosed is a check for $100 from the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism for Hazel Brannon Smith. Also enclosed is a copy of the letter to Harold Fleming which accompanied the check.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosures - 2 (Check No. 001556 - $100; Vorspan Ltr.)

March 12, 1958

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Director
Commission on Social Action of
Reform Judaism
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear Al:

The copy of Mike Yarrow's letter to you reminded me that I hadn't written you myself.

The Commission's contribution for Mrs. Smith was very heartening to me and the others who joined in the memorandum requesting assistance. As I already had good reason to know, you and your agency can be counted on for sympathy and support to the beleaguered. This sensitivity is especially important at a time when the individual tends to get lost in the great abstract conflicts of principles and ideologies.

With appreciation and best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:fcl

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Director
Commission on Social Action
of Reform Judaism
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Vorspan,

Thank you very much for the contribution to the Rights of Conscience Program for Hazel BrannonSmith. Our official receipt is enclosed.

We are happy to receive such funds and can assure you that they will be devoted to the purpose for which they are intended.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

Enclosure: Receipt for $100.00

CC: Harold Fleming

rec'd
15 March 58

March 13, 1958

Mr. Albert Vorspan, Director
Commission on Social Action
of Reform Judaism
838 Fifth Avenue
New York 21, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Vorspan,

Thank you very much for the contribution to the Rights of Conscience Program for Hazel Brannon Smith. Our official receipt is enclosed. We assume it is correct to make it out to the Colonial Tanning Co., Inc. and that you will see that it gets to the proper person. If the receipt should be made out to the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, please let us know.

We are happy to receive such funds and can assure you that they will be devoted to the purpose for which they are intended.

Sincerely yours,

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:nmt
Encl: Receipt for $100.00
CC. Harold Fleming ✓
Evelyn Andrews

Copy of Yarrow's ltr - dtd 4/1/58 sent to:
A. E. Cox, Will Campbell, Art Levin

H. B. Smith

April 14, 1958

Mr. C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Mike:

Thanks so much for your letter bringing me up to date on the results of the appeal for Hazel Brannon Smith. I am impressed by the aggregate total that came in, considering the slow start. Please keep the books open awhile longer; I feel reasonably sure that at least a small additional amount will be forthcoming.

I hope I will see you soon under circumstances more favorable for discussion of our mutual concerns than we had at the CCD meeting.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Chairman
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Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

Rec'd 4/3/58

American Friends Service Committee

INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania
Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

April 1, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3,Georgia

Dear Harold, Re: Hazel Brannon Smith

We thought you might be interested in the results of the appeal which you organized in behalf of Hazel Smith:

George A. Dreyfous	$ 50.00
David and Sue Minter	25.00
Alfred Baker Lewis	100.00
James J. McClendon	5.00
Albert Vorspan, Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism	100.00
George A. Dreyfous	1,000.00
John A. Morsell, NAACP, N.Y. for:	
Amy Spingarn	100.00
P.M.H. Savory	25.00
Merrill M. Barlow	5.00
	$1,410.00

We heard from Hazel Smith the beginning of March, after her trip to New Orleans,and she seemed to be in better spirits. The amount of money that has been collected is not likely to be enough to solve her problems, but it may give her enough of a lift to carry on.

It was good to share frustrations with you at the meeting in New York last Wednesday.

Cordially yours,

Mike

C. H. Yarrow
Director
Rights of Conscience Program

CHY:erm

CC: Fay Hutchens (Texas)
Jean Fairfax

cc Mailed to
S. P. Carver Co
666 Fifth Ave,
N.Y. 19

cr. Ref.

January 23, 1959

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Barr Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Adam:

This is in reply to your letter about Hazel Brannon Smith.

The questions you pose are certainly the pertinent ones. In the last analysis, it seems to me that Hazel Smith, herself, is the only one who can give "hard" answers to them. But it is possible to get enough information at second-hand to enable you to decide whether you want to pursue the matter to ultimate negotiation.

I have talked this morning with a man who's probably closer to Mrs. Smith and her situation than anyone else. He is Eugene Cox, formerly of Holmes County, Mississippi, now working for the Department of the Rural Church, National Council of Churches. He is in close touch with Mrs. Smith and has been doing everything he could to help her. Following is a summary of the facts as he knows them.

Hazel Smith publishes four weekly newspapers in all. You will understand that these are very small operations, with limited circulation and advertising. Three of these papers are printed in her Lexington, Mississippi shop - The Lexington Advertiser, the Durant News and a Flora, Mississippi News. The fourth paper is a surburban weekly in

Jackson called the Northside Reporter. The printing of this one is done under contract by a Jackson firm. The three county weeklies have been Mrs. Smith's continuing operation; the Jackson paper was started a couple of years ago in an effort to off-set the loss caused by the Citizens' Councils pressure. None of the papers is earning an appreciable amount of money though the Jackson paper is thought to have good potentialities.

In normal times, it is possible that the book value of Mrs. Smith's properties would total $100,000. However, Cox says that in the present situation this value for purposes of loans or sale is greatly deflated. The properties include the newspaper building and press in Lexington and her house. Each of these is mortgaged, though I don't know for how much except in the case of the press. There is a loan of approximately $6,000 outstanding on the press, the total value of which is thought to be right around $15,000. Cox's understanding is that Mrs. Smith wants to secure a $15,000 loan with the press, of course paying off the existing indebtedness. This would enable her to consolidate her debts, excluding the mortgage on the house and the building.

Cox further says that a local loan is out of the question because of the pressures built up by the Citizens' Councils and their sympathizers. For example, officers of both of the Lexington banks and members of the corporation are starting an opposition paper. Cox himself discussed the possibility of a loan with the largest Memphis bank. He was told that this bank could not consider such a transaction because it would antagonize the Lexington banks. Cox feels that this same inhibition would apply to banks anywhere in the general area. This may sound incredible to someone living in a more normal society, but it is the kind of economic squeeze that one encounters in the deep South over and over.

As to the prospects of Mrs. Smith's survival, assuming a loan is made, I doubt that anyone could do more than speculate. She, herself, feels that the opposition paper is not well enough financed to operate competitively for more than a few months. She also feels that, given time, the Jackson paper will grow sufficiently to put her total operations on a self-sustaining basis. She is determined not

to surrender to the pressures in Lexington until and unless she is utterly defeated. It seems to me that if the loan can be properly secured, there is little to lose. Even if she folds up after another six months or year, the principle will have been defended for that much longer.

If this much information leaves you and Stephen Currier still inclined to pursue the matter, I should think you would want to arrange a discussion with Hazel Smith herself. If you decide to do this and I can help to facilitate it, you have only to let me know.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I doubt that Hodding Carter or Easton King (the publisher mentioned by Peters) have even this much specific information about Hazel Smith's financial status. But if you want more evaluation of the importance of the effort to keep her going, their views would be useful.

H.C.F.

Barr Building
Washington 5, D.C.
January 21, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

On the subject of Hazel Brannen Smith, Stephen Currier would like to have some hard financial information on her present position, on the terms of the proposed loan and, most important, on the likelihood that the loan would in fact put the paper back on a self-sustaining basis, so that the lender would not just be pouring money down a rat-hole, to put it somewhat inelegantly.

Bill Peters reports that Mrs. Smith owns not one but three papers in Mississippi, has been in business for twenty years, and has been highly successful. He doesn't know, however, what the relationship is between the paper that is in trouble and the other two. A year or two ago, when the question of a loan was first raised, Ed Lukas reports, the Smiths had a net worth of about $100,000 ($75,000 in the paper/s?/ and $25,000 in their house), and Ed could not understand why they were not able to obtain a $15,000 loan. There was some talk about the inadvisability of recording a mortgage locally (since the loan would have to be obtained locally) because it would show that the paper was in some trouble. But I take it that the fat is in the fire now, and one of the questions I need an answer to is why the local loan isn't now advisable. I hope you can find some gentleman in Mississippi to provide the answers without too much trouble. Peters says Hodding Carter is a good friend and would know, but he is out of the country. Peters also mentioned the man who prints P. D. East's paper, and publishes the paper in Pascagoula.

Apologies, and thanks.

Sincerely,

Adam Yarmolinsky

Warren Wilson School
Swannanoa NC
Wed & Thurs
Lusk Fri

Cox
EX 7-5102

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
BARR BUILDING
910 17TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

METROPOLITAN 8-6977

March 27, 1959

Hillcrest 3-2211

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director,
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is about Hazel Brannon Smith.

Mrs. Smith called me at the end of last week, because I had written her on Stephen Currier's behalf, and then had not replied to a letter from her giving me financial information. She told me that she was in desperate straits and needed at least $1,000 within a week, in order to keep from closing her doors. I have now succeeded in raising $1,000, in four chunks of $250, from Nancy Harrison, Phil Stern, Walter Ridder and Nathan Levin, with the understanding that I will get someone to go over her situation with her on the spot and prepare a full financial report with some projections and estimates about when she can turn the corner (depending in large part, of course, on when the Citizens' Council paper quits, which both Mrs. Smith and Bill Peters think will be soon). When I receive this information I am to pass it on to Nathan Levin, who has volunteered to look into the possibility of a loan even up to $10 or $20 thousand, to see her through until she gets into the black.

My request to you is whether one of your people could go through Lexington, Mississippi, in the next few weeks, and sit down with Mrs. Smith in order to make up such a report. I'm not asking, obviously, for a document prepared by a CPA, but I do need the kind of straighforward statement that Mrs. Smith herself is apparently unable to prepare - and she admits it. The best person to do this job would be a business man type who might be willing to invest a day, or part of a day, in the enterprise. I hope you think it's worth the investment.

I missed you in New York last week - called the Commodore up until the wee hours, when they were still expecting you, but you hadn't arrived. Please tell me when you're coming again.

Yours,
Adam

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
BARR BUILDING
910 17TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

METROPOLITAN 8-6977

April 30, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

How is your man Cox doing on Hazel Brannon Smith's problems? I'd like to get some word to my four lenders in the next week if possible.

I ended up my stay in Boulder by breaking a leg skiing the day after the conference ended, and just got back last Sunday, but I am beginning to learn to get around on crutches, and will be in New York the middle of next week. Let me know when you'll be up next.

Yours,

Adam

Sent Cox ltr of 5/4/59

May 5, 1959

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

Thanks for your letter concerning the Hazel Smith report. I have written Yarmolinsky that he can expect the analysis shortly.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Sent copy to A. Yarmolinsky

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

May 1, 1959

RECEIVED MAY 4 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
63 Auburn Avenue NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

At the time of my first trip to Holmes County, Mississippi, Hazel Smith was in Madison, Wisconsin. I did have the chance to discuss with Walter Smith the information needed for the report to Adam Yarmolinsky. Last week, I met the Smiths at Providence Farm where we had about 4 hours to discuss the matter in detail.

Due to the fact that some of the information we needed was not in final form on Sunday, I asked Hazel to complete the following and send to you for inspection and transmission to Yarmolinsky:

1. A balance sheet of assets and liabilities

2. An analysis of the operations of the competing paper, the LEXINGTON HERALD, based on their knowledge of the capital investment, size of weekly payroll and advertising sold each week since the paper started operating.

3. An estimate of income and expenditures for the four weekly papers published by Smiths. This to cover the period they expect the other paper to hold out.

4. An estimate of what will be required to refinance present loans, to pay off current debts and to meet any deficit in operating costs for the next 12 months, or so.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene Cox

A. E. Cox, President

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

MAY 7 1958

MF - File
Hazel B. Smith

MISSISSIPPI EDITORS

School Bombings Deplored In Call For Liberty Stand

Bombings of a Jewish Center and Negro school in Jacksonville, Fla., were deplored by an editor who said the next explosion may be at "your church, or mine."

In her BANNER COUNTY OUTLOOK, Mrs. HAZEL BRANNON SMITH said also that thoughtful Southerners were "appalled to learn from news accounts that 54 sticks of explosives were found at a synagogue in Birmingham.

"These incidents followed the bombing on March 16 of synagogues at Miami and Nashville."

Mrs. SMITH declared that "if the present pattern of agitation by hate-preaching pressure groups is allowed to continue unchallenged then the South should prepare itself for many more such outrages."

History's need at the moment is "men and women of character and integrity with backbone enough to stand up and be counted for truth and right," she said.

"If we don't speak up for decency, law and order, for individual liberty and freedom under the law, then we are destined to wake up soon with all of our freedom gone. The hoodlums will have taken over entirely.

"If they can bomb a synagogue today and get away with it, tomorrow it may well be your church, or mine."

★ ★ ★

May 11, 1959

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Barr Building
910 17th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Adam:

Here is everything that Hazel Smith sent me. The financial data, at any rate, seems clear enough, though I haven't taken time to ponder it at length. I've retained copies here, however, and if you would like me to press for any clarification or additional dope, let me know.

Mrs. Smith called me at about the same time she mailed this material -- her purpose being to emphasize the offer to come to Atlanta. I explained to her that my role is the modest one of middle-man once removed and that you are the important guy in these negotiations. If by any remote chance you feel I can accomplish anything for you by seeing her here, I will encourage her to come; otherwise, I will let it lie.

One of my projected conferences having evaporated, I am now due to arrive in New York on Thursday night, the 21st, at the usual hour of 9:30 or thereabouts. This time, I'll be putting up at the Henry Hudson, since that is where my principal meeting is taking place. Do call me if you're in and feeling strong Thursday night; otherwise, I'll hope to see you Friday if you're still in New York.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF:ls
Enclosures

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
BARR BUILDING
910 17TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

May 8, 1959

METROPOLITAN 8-6977

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
64 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your note of May 4 about Hazel Smith and Gene Cox. Nathan Levin just called me today to ask when he could expect a report. I suspect that material that comes directly from Mrs. Smith will need some editing by Cox in order to make it comprehensible, but maybe she is working from specific instructions.

I do expect to be in New York, probably arriving the evening of the 20th, and staying on a day or two, and I'll plan to call you at the Commodore that evening if I'm in, or the next morning, or you can reach me at the Bar Association, Murray Hill 2 - 0606.

Yours,

Adam

P.S. How do the orthopedists support themselves in Atlanta?

Established In 1837

THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

Printers -:- Publishers

Lexington, Mississippi

May 4, 1959

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH, Publisher

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing what I hope is all of the information you need to help secure for me adequate funds so that I can continue in business-either in the form of outright grants or a long term loan without interest,or at a very low rate of interest. You will note from my operating statement that I paid out $2,030.93 interest in 1958. This was at the rate of six and five per cent. I am paying 5 per cent on my press and six per cent on my note to the First National Bank of Jackson.

On the balance sheet under the heading of "real estate" I have put the valuation of this property the same as on a financial statement I made to the Jackson bank nearly two years ago when I borrowed money from them to keep going. Appraisers were used on the property then, a Jackson real estate man who is familiar with Lexington property values, and this figure was accepted as accurate by the bank. Actually, it represents the money we have in the properties, rather than their actual value, which I believe to be more than is stated on paper.

The new newspaper in Lexington (Holmes County Herald) has not caught on like its backers thought-and I have gained some additional support that I did not have before in some local business and professional people who know what is going on and knowx it is not good for the community. I believe the outcome of which paper survives is going to be determined by which one can obtain sufficient capital. The new paper was set up to last a year-and after that it was supposed to be up to Marshall to make it pay. Thus far he has not demonstrated an ability to do it-and the only way he could get enough business to support his established overhead is to take not only all of my business at The Advertiser, but practically all of the business the Povall Printing Co. in Lexington is getting. The woman who runs this is a widow, mother of two children in college, and a sister-in-law of the Mayor of Lexington, Allie S. Povall. She has the county printing tied up until next May under contract-and I have the county legals tied up until next February. So he is headed off there.

The new newspaper was "sold" as a "good 6% investment" by men as a business proposition-to get the initial backing in the organizational meeting to which only a select few were invited. After that the stock was sold under pressure to business men around the square in Lexington and throughout the county as much as possible, using the organizational setup of the Citizens Councils to do it. These people are now awake to

Established In 1837

THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

Printers -:- Publishers

Lexington, Mississippi

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH, PUBLISHER

what has been put over on them and I do not believe they will be buying additional stock. In fact, few of them have the money to do so even if they wanted to. Only two or three of the "hard core" of rabid segregationists who comprise the local leadership of the CC have any money to back the new newspaper further. So, barring an incident to give me another black eye, or give them ammunition to use against me, it is just a question of time until they run out of operating capital.

Circulation-wise the new newspaper is an admitted failure-claiming only 1200 circulation. He has already started trying to run some special promotion each week to try to drum up linage-but this gets old very fast in small towns. Merchants get tired of being pressured to put a special type of ad or a signature page every week-and they turn against you.

If I can just sit steady and continue my present way of operating I will be able, God willing, to come out on top. The only thing that makes it worthwhile to me is the encouragement I get from hundreds of readers and subscribers who look to me as their shield and defender in a way-knowing that if the element represented by the new newspaper does take over in the community and county that they will have no rights, no voice. This may sound corny to you over in Atlanta, but I have lived with these people nearly 23 years and I know they trust me and they all have implicit faith that I am going to win-and they look on it as "right is going to win". So all I can do, regardless of how tired I am, is to fight as long as I can and in every way I can until my resources are exhausted. In the final analysis, I, too, am trusting in "right" to win.

The Lexington Advertiser is regarded as an institution-it is 122 years old. In an area like this, where tradition is so strong, it is virtually impossible to get people to stop reading a newspaper which has always been in their homes. All of them read it from childhood on up-and there are few people who have no ties with it at all. These newcomers read it because it is the established paper in the community-and the other paper, edited as it is, only reflects one thing-ridicule and scorn for "the nine old ninnies" or "the jackasses" which comprise our U. S. Supreme Court. Many people have told me they have always enjoyed The Advertiser and thought it was a good newspaper, but that they did not realize just how good it was until the new newspaper began operating in Lexington and they had a chance to compare. We have had a total of about 25 cancellations, or failures to renew, since the new newspaper started. We have added 212 new subscribers. Only about 12 of the 25 were Lexington or Lexington RFD. We will continue to gain, I believe.

After you have had a chance to study these figures and see what you think you can do, I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible. If there is any other information you need, please let me know. Also we will drive over to see you to talk about it, if you think that would be helpful. I haven't seen my father in Gadsden, Ala. for some time and we could visit him enroute. I need help quickly, as you can see.

Sincerely,

Hazel Brannon Smith

Sheet I

Balance Sheet
April 30, 1959

ASSETS

Cash on hand and in bank	$ 691.56	
Notes receivable- NONE		
Accounts receivable	3,360.42	
Real Estate:		
1. Commercial building- (houses The Lexington Advertiser)	20,000.00	
2. Home and 17 acres improved land- (suitable for subdivision)	22,000.00	
3. 500-acre Cattle and Timber farm- (completely fenced, ponds, etc. estimated value $50.00 acre)	25,000.00	
Newspaper Properties:		
The Lexington Advertiser- (Plant and equipment)	80,000.00	
The Durant News	10,000.00	
The Banner County Outlook	3,000.00	
The Northside Reporter- (offset equipment)	25,000.00	
TOTAL ASSETS	$189,051.98	$189,051.98

LIABILITIES

Accounts Payable	$ 7,200.84	
Notes Payable:		
*A. First National Bank, Jackson, Miss. (Payable semi-annually at the rate of $300. per month with 6 per cent interest)	21,600.00	
*B. Sowashee Building Corp. Meridian (Payable $200. per month- with interest at 5%)	4,200.00	
Net worth	156,051.14	
TOTAL LIABILITIES	$189,051.98	$189,051.98

*A-Secured by Deed of Trust on Items 1, 2, and 3 listed under Real Estate
*B-Secured by Deed of Trust on Cox-O-Type newspaper press in Lexington

Sheet 2

Operating Statement
1958

Schedule of Business Income-
all from newspaper publishing-

RECEIPTS		$47,439.56
EXPENSES		
Salaries and wages	18,738.07	
Newsprint, Supplies	7.173.96	
Repairs, maintenance	1,030.05	
Printing	5,478.56	
Editorial, Circulation Promotion	1,055.13	
Telephone	1,205.03	
Car Expense	1,853.83	
Utilities	1,429.58	
Interest paid	2,030.93	
Advertising Service	279.14	
Insurance	489.22	
State & County Taxes	737.58	
Fed. Unemployment Tax	50.12	
State " "	251.46	
Social Security Tax	391.07	
Sales Tax	78.00	
Freight and Postage	792.15	
Rent (N'Side Reporter)	660.00	
TOTAL EXPENSES	$43,723.88	$43,723.88
NET INCOME		$ 3,515.68

****

Estimate of Income
for 1959

ESTIMATED INCOME, for 1959	$ 36,000.00
ESTIMATED EXPENSES, for 1959	$ 48,000.00
Anticipated Deficit for 1959	$ 12,000.00

This is purely an estimate of income-naturally I hope it will be more. Expenses will run slightly more than 1958 at a minimum figure. Labor is up and an additional worker in office is needed-as well as a first class job printer in job printing department.

Prior to 1954 I earned an average yearly income of about $15,000 from these properties-since 1949.

Since 1954 gross business and net income have steadily declined. This situation will continue for one year at least-after which I hope to have enough printing contracts to maintain my volume enough to be able to at least remain in business and have a living out of it.

Sheet A

DATA ON
HOLMES COUNTY HERALD
Lexington, Miss.

Organized at Lexington by a group of Citizen Council leaders, acting as individuals, in December, 1958, after several months of careful, secret planning.Organization meeting was secret-by invitation only.

Incorporated under laws of the State of Mississippi, January, 1959, capital stock under charter $30,000. There are approximately 190 stockholders who own this stock ($25.00 a share). Largest stockholder holds only ten shares. Only one-half of the $30,000 stock has been sold as far as can be ascertained. More than 60 per cent of those buying stock did so because they "felt they had to" and have said so many times.

The newspaper has an "Executive Committee" each member of which is a "front man" for those who want the paper to succeed-the real ones behind it, a group of about seven men. The Executive Committee of five men are called when any question comes up-The Board of Directors is composed of 30 men with representatives from as many communities in the county as possible-patterned after the organizational setup of the Citizens Council

Editor of The HC Herald is Chester Marshall, who was hired by the seven or so men behind the movement even before any stock was sold, or the meeting held, or the business incorporated and directors selected.

Mr. Marshall had worked at The Lexington Advertiser for 15 months prior to going to work for the new newspaper. He is about 45 years old, has a wife and three small children. He thought he saw in the new paper a way to eventually get control of a paper of his own. He was being paid $100.00 per week by The Advertiser; his salary with The Herald, it is understood, is also $100. He is supposed to have some kind of a deal whereby he can eventually buy the stock at the same figure "even if it is worth more". Mr. Marshall is a high school graduate and cannot spell. There is not one person on his staff with college or journalism training or practical newspaper experience.

The HC Herald was "supposed" to have enough money to operate one year-after which Marshall was expected to make it pay its own way. However, since the $30,000 stock definitely has not been sold, it is doubtful that the newspaper can operate an entire year without further financial assistance from the stockholders (which we do not believe will be forthcoming) or a great increase in the advertising and job printing they do.

Their circulation is only 1150 at the top figure-with only about 950 of these going to Holmes County homes-and some of the 950 figure are duplications in that the Herald added every business firm in the county free, after the first four weeks when they were desperate to get more papers in to more homes. (The Lexington Advertiser has more than twice their circulation). The Herald has not sold a single Negro subscriber, to our knowledge. (Holmes County is 75 per cent Colored in population).

Only one merchant on the Town Square is an avid supporter of The Herald, a Variety Store owner, Patterson. The other variety store owner uses the columns of The Advertiser exclusively. The latter is steadily gaining patronage.

The most time anyone has given the HC Herald to last is one year-and this includes a banker who is on its board of directors.

HC Herald-Sheet B

ESTIMATE OF

Current ~~Operating Statement~~ Balance Sheet of The Holmes County Herald
at Lexington, Mississippi on April 30, 1959

(Time of Operation 13 Weeks)

ESTIMATED INCOME

1. Subscriptions, 900 at $3.00 per year	$2,700.00	
2. Advertising, average of $300. per week	3,900.00	
3. Commercial job printing (only a guess)	1,000.00	
4. Sale of Stock	15,000.00	
TOTAL ESTIMATED INCOME		$22,600.00

ESTIMATED EXPENSES

1. Cost of Plant: Outright purchase for cash of several pieces of Used Newspaper Machinery-Linotype, press, strip caster	7,000.00	
Down payment on $8,900. miscellaneous equipment (balance payable $150.00 per mo.)	2,000.00	
Three months payment on this contract- (Above secured by Deed of Trust recorded in Holmes County Courthouse)	450.00	
Paper, ink, supplies (to begin business)	3,000.00	
(CASH OUTLAYESTIMATED COST TO SET PLANT UP)		$ 12,450.00
2. Operating Expenses (3 months)		
Labor(includes 3 wks. in Dec. for two people-and 3 weeks in Jan. for five people before a paper was ever published) Weekly payroll now runs $440.00 per week.	7,060.00	
Rent at $75.00 per month (first three months were given them free)	75.00	
Utilities: lights, power, water, phone and gas (est. $200. monthly)	600.00	
Maintenance (Allused equipment they purchased is continually breaking down-first press they installed never ran and had to be replaced-with another used press	250.00	
Advertising Service	51.00	
Insurance (estimated)	200.00	
Estimated Operating Expenses		8,236.00
TOTAL ESTIMATED EXPENSES		$20,686.00
TOTAL INCOME OVER TOTAL EXPENSE..... ..		1,914.00

HC HERALD Sheet C

Estimated monthly expenses of HOLMES COUNTY HERALD :
April 30, 1959

Labor (weekly payroll of $440.00 per week)	$1,870.00	
Correspondents (paid monthly by the column)	70.00	
Newsprint, supplies, printing papers(bonds)	500.00	
Utilities, lights, power, gas, phone	200.00	
Advertising Service	17.00	
Freight, postage,(regular)	25.00	
Rent (known to be $75.)	75.00	
Repairs and maintenance (minimum)	30.00	
Extra mailing expense for HERALD-second class permit not yet secured- (an estimate)	60.00	
MONTHLY TOTAL ESTIMATED Operating Expenses		$2,847.00
Plus monthly note on equipment		150.00

****

Estimated monthly income in the future HOLMES CO. HERALD:

Advertising (display-paper cannot run legal advertising until it has published 52 consecutive weeks) $300 week	$1,300.00	
Subscriptions- 20 per month (and this is extremely doubtful)	60.00	
Job Printing- estimated only (there is another job printing shop in the town run by a widow with 2 children in college)	500.00	
Estimated monthly TOTAL INCOME		$ 1,860.00

ANTICIPATED DEFICIT OF INCOME OVER EXPENSES	$ 987.00
Plus monthly note on equipment at	150.00
Total anticipated monthly deficit...	$1,137.00

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
BARR BUILDING
910 17TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

METROPOLITAN 8-6977

RECEIVED MAY 18 1959

May 15, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This will be a complaining letter, and I apologize for it in advance.

When I raised the initial $1,000 loan (which I know is a piddling amount) for Hazel Smith, I had to promise each of the lenders that since they were responding to an emergency call, arrangements for permanent financing were under way. Those arrangements, in turn, depended on my promise to Nathan Levin, (who volunteered to arrange the permanent financing), that I would get him proper financial statements and projections, such as any long-term borrower would have to produce. In promising to provide that material, I relied, perhaps wrongly, on your interest in the problem, which I knew was limited, but which I thought I could stretch to the point of getting some help for Mrs. Smith on putting the material together. If I was to go ahead at all, I had to rely on you, since I couldn't do it myself and I knew Mrs. Smith couldn't do it. And after her tearful half-hour appeal on the telephone, I felt under some pressure to act.

The material you sent on from Mrs. Smith this week, is, I'm sure, the best that she can do, and it gives me a number of facts that I never knew before, but it just isn't the kind of professional job that I can put before Nathan Levin. If I did, he would probably throw it back at me, and that would be the end of the matter, and perhaps of my future effectiveness with him.

The April 30 balance sheet is all right, or would be with additional notes. But the operating statement has no information on the income side, except a total figure, and the "estimate of income for 1959" is no substitute for a d etailed projection (which I assume would include an operating statement for the first quarter), showing <u>where</u> the loss of income

is expected, i.e. in what specific items, and what a line-by-line budget for 1959 should look like. Even more important, there are no projections showing when the paper can expect to get into the black, perhaps under alternative assumptions about the rival paper. Nor are there any figures from which one could derive an estimate of the actual long-range financing need, or the terms on which it would have to be arranged. Just because there are so many uncertainties in the picture, it is essential to have all of the facts that can be presented. I haven't tried to list everything that's missing, but I'd certainly include, in addition to the above, copies of operating statements back to 1954 (when Mrs. Smith says she was earning $15,000 out of the newspaper), and a separate analysis of the job-printing business.

Isn't it possible, and isn't it worth while, to find a young lawyer or an intelligent accountant, who could spend a day, or even a half-day in Lexington, and prepare a proper report? I don't want you to do this just to get me off the hook, but (maybe because I am on the hook) I really believe it's worth this much effort, if only to avoid the powerful and unhappy precedent that destruction of the paper would create.

I am returning Mrs. Smith's letter and attachments. Incidentally, when (and if) the new report comes in, it ought to be in five or six copies, so that I can give one to each of the lenders, and Nathan Levin will have an extra copy for the man he wants to tap.

I will look for you Thursday evening, the 21st, or Friday morning, when I hope to be less cantankerous.

Yours,

Enclosures

May 20, 1959

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
The Lexington Advertiser
Lexington, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Smith:

Following receipt of your letter and financial data, I passed on all of the material to Adam Yarmolinsky. I am sorry to have to report that Adam feels much more precise and detailed information will be required if he is to proceed with the effort to arrange a long-term loan, as well as giving the promised report to the lenders of the $1,000. I know this will be unwelcome news, but Adam is dealing with business people who, he feels, will not respond to anything but a professional analysis of the situation.

Knowing the burden this might put on you, in an already over-burdened situation, I have talked with Gene Cox about ways in which it might be handled. Gene feels that the CPA who has handled his affairs might be commissioned to prepare the necessary analyses, with no danger of indiscretion. Or it may be that you use an accountant who could do it. If there is a problem of expense involved, we would be willing to take care of that.

Gene will be in touch with you shortly about all this. I am sending a copy of this to him, and am listing below the kinds of information that Yarmolinsky has specified as needed:

(1) A financial picture of the decline of net income from the pre-1954 average of $15,000 to the anticipated 1959 deficit of $12,000. The simplest way to show this might be through annual operating statements for this period. In any case, the analysis should show what revenues decreased, what expenses increased, and why these changes occurred. If, as one assumes, advertising revenue dropped, this should be shown in dollars and explained in terms of Citizens Council pressures and any other relevant factors. Yarmolinsky specifies a breakdown of the income shown on your operating statement, and instead of the overall estimate of income for 1959, "a detailed projection, including an operating statement for the first quarter, showing in what items the loss of income is expected and what a line-by-line budget for 1959 should look like." He also mentions the desirability of a separate analysis of the job-printing business.

(2) Projections of the anticipated return to the "black" over a period of time. Yarmolinsky realizes that this will depend on factors that are hard, if not impossible, to predict -- notably the fate of the opposition paper. But he feels that you might even make several different assumptions about the rival paper and project a return to solvency under these varying alternatives.

(3) Finally, "figures from which one could derive an estimate of the actual long range financing need, or the terms on which it would have to be arranged." In other words, what would be the proposal for a loan -- amount, duration, and terms -- and on what figures would the proposal be based.

Outlined this way, this sounds like a tall order -- which it undoubtedly is. But it strikes me that your tax records, plus the estimating you have already done about the future, should supply most of what is needed.

I shall look forward to hearing from you and/or Gene about the feasibility of this next step. Trying though this process is, it should be worth it if it leads to a financial solution.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

cc: Mr. A. E. Cox

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

June 2, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Mr. B. H. Hirsberg of the Ellis & Hirsberg firm in Clarksdale, Mississippi, agreed to assist Hazel Smith with the preparation of the material for Yarmolinsky.

I suggested to Hirsberg that he bill the Delta Foundation for the charges involved. SRC can reimburse us for this item when it is convenient.

I called Hazel from Providence Farm last Tuesday and told her that Hirsberg would be able to see her on either Thursday or Friday. After I returned to Memphis, Hazel called me to see if I had a copy of the information she first prepared for you to send Yarmolinsky. I had to tell her that she had not sent me a copy. It is possible she called you before the week was over.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene Cox

A. E. Cox

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

ESTABLISHED IN 1858

THE DURANT NEWS

DURANT, MISSISSIPPI

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH
PUBLISHER

August 3, 1959

Answered

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am enclosing accountant's reports which were received by me only yesterday. There was some delay in his office getting them out and I was delayed in getting some information to him because of the death of my father in Gadsden.

I only hope this information is what the people want-and that we can get some help at once. My situation is desperate here. I've got to get hold of some money to pay on some bills and notes or I am going to be compelled to give up.

The opposition paper is in just about the same situation I am in-they owe everybody to the full limit of their credit and I know of two firms that have cut them off, a paper house and an engraver. We do business with both.

According to the local reports there is not any hope of the board of directors of the other paper getting out and trying to sell more stock-the paper has been, from the standpoint of quality, a great disappointment to them and from what we can find out they are all disgusted with the whole operation, and wish they had never started it.

We are practically living on our nerves now-and in this terribly hot weather it is a terrific strain.

Please, Mr. Fleming, let me hear from you just as soon as possible.

I am enclosing the original and one copy-keeping one copy for my file. If you do not need to keep a copy yourself you may send it back to me--but be sure and send it first class mail and mark PERSONAL.

Sincerely,

Hazel Brannon Smith

Hazel Brannon Smith

%THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER
Lexington, Mississippi

COPY OF LETTER
ADDRESSED TO:

July 31, 1959

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
The Lexington Advertiser
Lexington, Mississippi

Dear Mrs. Smith:

We are addressing this letter to you and enclosing two extra copies as we are not quite sure as to whom you desire the letter to be forwarded.

We have reviewed the letter from Mr. Fleming of May 20, 1959, and the information that you have supplied to us, together with operating statements and submit herewith condensed statements of operations for the calendar years 1950-1958, inclusive, and for the period from January 1 to May 31, 1959.

The Northside Reporter was started by you approximately on July 1, 1957, and from and after that date, the operating figures contain the experience of the Northside Reporter, including both income and expenses. In order that the actual operating experience of your other publications can be determined, we are setting forth herewith the receipts from the Northside Reporter which is as follows:

July 1, 1957 - Dec. 31, 1957	$7,000.00
Calendar Year 1958	13,000.00
Jan. 1, 1959 - May 31, 1959	6,342.00

The statements of operations have been prepared on the cash basis of accounting. It is our understanding that indebtedness for supplies and other expenses that were unpaid as of the end of each of the years has increased since 1956.

There is also enclosed herewith copy of a balance sheet of April 30, 1959, which has been prepared according to our understanding on a basis of your opinion of value, and not necessarily cost. There is also enclosed herewith operating statements for the period from January 1, 1959, to May 31, 1959, for both the Lexington Advertiser and Northside Reporter.

A determination of salaries and wages and total expense in reference to receipts for the years 1950-1958 are submitted for

such trend as they may reflect.

It is our understanding from you that there has annually been deducted an expense labeled "editorial promotion" which has to a certain extent represented some personal expense of yours. The amount deducted for the years 1950-1958, inclusive, was as follows:

1950	$1,839.67
1951	1,800.00
1952	1,728.55
1953	1,026.46
1954	569.50
1955	1,164.81
1956	962.00
1957	1,359.00
1958	1,055.13

Assuming that the editorial promotion was entirely personal expenses of yours, cash profits, defined as net profit plus depreciation and plus editorial promotion for the years 1950-1958, reflect as follows:

1950	6,144.48
1951	11,050.85
1952	6,881.22
1953	10,325.98
1954	8,758.52
1955	9,991.89
1956	6,467.65
1957	6,431.94
1958	4,570.81

In reviewing the statements of operations and other operating information submitted, we feel that it should be directed to the attention of interested parties that the last six months of each year produce approximately 2/3 of the annual revenue. This, of course, is due to the economic conditions of our section of the country where agriculture products are harvested only in the last half of the year and business generally reflects considerable improvement in the last six months of each year over the first six months.

We understand that your current indebtedness as of May 31, 1959, for unpaid supplies and materials amounted to approximately $1,500.00.

You have anticipated operating experience of the Northside Reporter for the calendar year 1960. You anticipated revenue for that year of $30,000.00 and we determine expenses of $24,000.00, or a net profit of $6,000.00. It is your expectation that revenue from this publication will increase annually. We determined anticipated expenses based upon percentage of revenue

to expense with effect given to fixed expenses and a fuller usage of labor by greater volume.

Based upon the experience of previous years, we have determined a projected statement of operations for 1959 for all of your publications, exclusive of deduction for depreciation, to be as follows:

Revenue		$56,000.00
Less: Expenses -		
Salaries & Wages	22,000.00	
Supplies & Newsprint	7,000.00	
Outside Printing	5,000.00	
Interest	1,300.00	
Other Expenses	14,000.00	49,300.00
Expected Net Profit		6,700.00

It appears that you have been able to maintain revenue for 1957 and 1958, but that your expenses have substantially increased for the years since 1955, as is shown by the enclosed determination of expenses in reference to revenue. It would appear that the revenue has been maintained by greater and more costly effort, probably representing greater solicitation expenses and invasion of territories where expenses in connection with travel and deliveries substantially render that business unprofitable.

If we can supply any further information, please advise.

Yours very truly,

B. H. Hirsch

BHH:pm
Enc.

EXHIBIT A

STATEMENTS OF OPERATIONS

MRS. HAZEL BRANNON SMITH - LEXINGTON, MISS.

	1950		1951		1952		1953		1954		1955	
RECEIPTS		29,377.67		35,482.12		33,441.06		38,329.59		37,933.79		42,460.12
DEDUCTIONS												
Salaries & Wages	11,156.09		11,628.12		11,461.87		12,598.52		14,355.78		15,830.95	
Supplies & Newsprint	6,136.69		5,877.30		7,932.31		8,177.92		6,995.24		10,023.86	
Outside Printing	-0-		-0-		-0-		-0-		-0-		-0-	
Interest	315.00		238.45		360.00		188.00		859.37		595.65	
Other Expense	7,465.08		8,477.40		8,534.21		8,065.63		7,536.38		7,181.58	
Depreciation	750.00		750.00		750.00		5,164.43		5,164.43		5,164.43	
Total Deductions		25,822.86		26,971.27		29,038.39		34,194.50		34,909.20		38,796.47
NET INCOME		3,554.81		8,510.85		4,402.67		4,135.09		3,024.59		3,663.65

STATEMENTS OF OPERATIONS

MRS. HAZEL BRANNON SMITH - LEVINGTON, MISS.

	1956		1957		1958		Jan. 1-May 31, 1959	
RECEIPTS		34,973.06		50,700.44		47,439.56		17,399.29
DEDUCTIONS								
Salaries & Wages	15,105.40		17,748.23		18,738.07		8,999.46	
Supplies & Newsprint	5,886.29		8,106.53		7,173.96		373.80	
Outside Printing	-0-		2,965.65		5,478.56		1,977.00	
Interest	438.18		1,469.67		2,030.93		-0-	
Other Expense	8,037.54		15,337.42		10,302.36		2,918.29	
Depreciation	3.486.66		3.486.66		2.496.66		-0-	
Total Deductions		32.954.07		49.114.16		46.220.54		14.268.55
NET INCOME		2,018.99		1,586.28		1,219.02		3,130.74

EXHIBIT B

BALANCE SHEET

MRS. HAZEL BRANNON SMITH - LEXINGTON, MISS.

APRIL 30, 1959

ASSETS		
Current		
Cash on Hand & in Bank	691.56	
Accounts Receivable	3,360.42	
Total Current Assets		4,051.98
Fixed		
Buildings & Land	67,000.00	
Plant & Equipment	118,000.00	
Total Fixed Assets		185,000.00
Total Assets		189,051.98
LIABILITIES		
Current		
Notes Payable-First National Bank	3,600.00	
Notes Payable-Sowashee Building Corp.	2,400.00	
Accounts Payable	7,200.84	
Total Current Liabilities		13,200.84
Long Term		
Notes Payable-First National Bank	18,000.00	
Notes Payable-Sowashee Building Corp.	1,800.00	
Total Long Term Liabilities		19,800.00
CAPITAL		
Net Worth		156,051.14
Total Liabilities & Capital		189,051.98

EXHIBIT C

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS

THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1, 1959 to MAY 31, 1959

GROSS INCOME		
Revenue		11,056.57
DEDUCTIONS		
Salaries	7,064.36	
Repairs	311.76	
Telephone	508.31	
Labor	221.40	
Express & Postage	117.50	
Transportation	157.66	
Power & Lights	318.00	
Heat	83.61	
Insurance	76.20	
Water	30.79	
Edit. Promotion	169.89	
Taxes	611.72	
Photo Supplies	118.47	
Dues	29.36	
Total Deductions		9,819.03
NET INCOME		1,237.54

EXHIBIT D

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS

THE NORTHSIDE REPORTER

FOR THE PERIOD JANUARY 1 to MAY 31, 1959

GROSS INCOME		
Revenue		6,342.72
DEDUCTIONS		
Printing of Paper	1,977.00	
Salaries	1,713.70	
Rent	275.00	
Supplies	255.33	
Telephone	118.42	
Postage	68.00	
Taxes	24.19	
Advertising	17.88	
Total Deductions		4,449.52
NET INCOME		1,893.20

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL RECEIPTS

MRS. HAZEL BRANNON SMITH - LEXINGTON, MISS.

Year	Salaries & Wages	Total Expenses
1950	37.97%	87.90%
1951	32.77%	76.01%
1952	34.27%	86.83%
1953	32.87%	89.21%
1954	37.84%	92.03%
1955	37.28%	91.37%
1956	43.19%	94.23%
1957	35.01%	96.87%
1958	39.50%	97.43%

August 5, 1959

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
The Lexington Advertiser
Lexington, Mississippi

Dear Hazel:

Thank you for your letter and the enclosed reports by Ellis & Hirsberg. I am forwarding one of the copies immediately to Adam Yarmolinsky; in order that he may understand the urgency of your situation, I am also sending him a copy of your letter to me. As soon as I have further word from Adam, you will hear from me again. Meanwhile, I should like to hold on to the duplicate copy you were thoughtful enough to send.

I am very sorry to hear of your father's death, for which you have my sincere sympathy.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures: Ltrs and audited financial statement from
Ellis & Hersberg for H. B. Smith

via air mail

August 5, 1959

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Barr Building
910 - 17th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Adam:

At long last, some material from Hazel Smith has arrived. Since she sent two copies of everything, I am forwarding the originals to you at once. While I am not delaying this for a thorough perusal, at a glance I see nothing in the way of projections for the opposition paper. However, Hazel has something to say about that in her letter to me, a Thermofax copy of which is also enclosed.

When you have had a chance to digest this, let me know your reaction.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

via air mail

August 19, 1959

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Barr Building
910 - 17th Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Adam:

I'm baffled, too. A personal confrontation is obviously essential in order to reach a final judgment in the Hazel Smith affair. I know from my own experience that audits can be drastically misleading (even to the people whose books are audited), and I greatly hope that that is the case here. From what I know of Hazel Smith and surmise about her record-keeping, this is at least a possibility.

Seems to me there would be certain advantages in a Mississippi meeting. But your schedule and the time factor being what they are, what about an early meeting in Washington -- assuming Hazel Smith can do it? This might present a problem in terms of availability of her records, but maybe she could bring the most important ones in a suitcase.

Let me know what you want me to do.

I've had no further word from Mace or Larkin. I share your doubt that Larkin, unassisted, will produce the kind of script we feel is called for. But my guess is that they will do some kind of

revision, and we will see. Since the first phase seems to be concluded, send me a statement at your convenience.

With chagrin, sympathy, and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
BARR BUILDING
910 17TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

METROPOLITAN 8-6977

August 12, 1959

RECEIVED AUG 14 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have read the material supplied by Messrs. Ellis and Hirsberg. I have studied it; I have thought about it; I have gone back to the account of Mrs. Smith's troubles in Bill Peter's book. I have read her latest unhappy letter. And I am baffled.

It seems to me there is absolutely no relation between the figures as presented and the claim that she lost business because of an editorial she wrote in 1954, or because of the establishment of a rival newspaper in 1958. Her receipts for 1954 were substantially the same as for 1953, and well over the average for 1950-52. In 1955 they were still higher. Her net income was $1000 less in 1954 than it was in 1953, but this seems to be accounted for entirely by an increase in salaries and wages, and her net income came back up in 1955 to the 1950-52 level (if we omit 1951, which appears to have been an atypically high-profit year). Her expenses went up substantially at the beginning of 1957, but so did her receipts. Both increases are, apparently, the result of the acquisition of the Northside Reporter, which may have been ill-advised, but is scarcely the act of a martyr.

Net income has dropped off since 1955, but it has done so only gradually, and is largely accounted for by the appearance of an item for 'interest' beginning in 1947, before the rival paper was organized, and before she could have felt its effect. Yet there is no indication why she had to borrow in 1957 and 1958, when she was apparently operating on the same margin that did not require borrowing in 1950-56 - unless, of course, it was the result of ill-advised expansion.

The letter from Messrs. Ellis and Hirsberg, accompanying the figures, suggests that income has fallen off because of higher promotion costs, but I can't see it in the figures, particularly since the promotional expense of the Northside Reporter isn't separated out.

It may also be that the figures for the Lexington Advertiser over the last few years would give a different picture of the source of the trouble; but these figures are not here.

Then there is the Balance Sheet, as of April 30, 1959, which shows Total Liabilities, Current and Long-term, of $33,000, all of them apparently acquired in the last two years, since there is no record of interest payments before 1957. Where did this money go? If not into Mrs. Smith's pocket (which I don't really believe). Was it to replace wornout plant and equipment, which should have been covered by depreciation allowances that had been used over the years for current expenses? Or was it because of an unplanned decision to put in more expensive equipment at what seems a very odd point in the fortunes of the business? I can't imagine any other theory that makes sense of the figures.

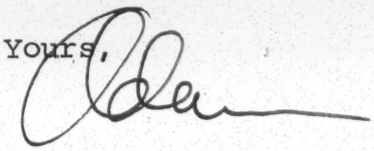
Another question: why does the Northside Reporter show a net income of some 30% of gross for the January-May period? While the Lexington Advertiser, with almost twice the gross, shows only a 10% net income? The difference seesm to be in the salary figures, and suggests an unrealistic allocation of salary expense. Incidentally, does this include salaries for Mr. and Mrs. Smith? There is no indication whether it does or not.

I am unwilling to believe that this is all a hoax, or the result of the fevered imaginings of an emotional woman. Perhaps my unwillingness is the result of my investing a thousand dollars of other people's money in the belief that Mrs. Smith's troubles were the direct result of her speaking out for justice, and that she needed to be tided over a period when her income had been cut by an economic boycott which, if successful, could threaten the free press in the south. The figures seems to tell a different story, however.

The question now, however, is what to do about it? I obviously can't do anything on the basis of this material. I suppose you are right that I shall have to get together with Mrs. Smith to go over her figures myself. I can't possibly do this until October 1st at the earliest, since I have a heavy deadline to meet September 17th, and another for October 2nd, with postponed work piling up in the meantime. If necessary, however, I can I suppose, come to Atlanta, or even to Lexington, early in October, and try to make some sense out of this mess. I don't want to do it, however, if you think the whole thing is futile; although it would be fairly embarassing to have to tell Nathan Levin and the others that I have thrown in the towel at this point.

I thought your letter to Mace was fine, and I hope they come through with a new script. I am not sure Larkin is capable of it himself. But maybe they can bring in someone else to work with him if they really want to pursue it, which I believe they do.

Yours,



August 19, 1959

Mr. A. E. Cox
Delta Foundation, Inc.
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Gene:

Enclosed is our check, payable to the Delta Foundation, for accounting services in the case of Hazel Smith.

We received the audited financial statements from Hazel a couple of weeks ago, and I forwarded them directly to Adam Yarmolinsky. The outlook is not encouraging. I have just received a long letter from Adam, in which he expresses utter bewilderment as to how the financial statements bear out Hazel's account of her difficulties. I won't go into the details, since they are hopelessly complicated. In any case, Adam has finally come around to the view I have urged all along -- namely, that it is essential for him and Hazel to sit down together and thresh out the complicated question of her finances.

I haven't yet answered Adam or written further to Hazel, so please regard the above as confidential for the moment.

Naturally, I will encourage the idea of a personal meeting between the two of them. The problem is Adam's schedule, which will keep him in Washington until October and possibly later.

While I would much prefer to see them get together in Mississippi, the urgency of Hazel's continuing problems suggests the second-best alternative of a trip by her to Washington. If Adam approves of this plan, I will write her accordingly. I'm a bit troubled over the expense this will involve, for we're about out of loose funds for such purposes.

Anyway, I will keep you posted and will look forward to seeing you when that is possible. Meanwhile, if you learn anything further about Hazel's immediate situation, let me hear from you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Check #466; $175.00)

August 15, 1959

Dear Harold:

The attached has just arrived from Ellis & Hirsberg. You will note that it has been charged to Delta Foundation, Inc., as I requested. I am sending them our check and you can reimburse us at your convenience.

Hodding Carter told me on Wednesday that he had seen Smitty and Hazel on Sunday. I have had no word from them in weeks.

I spent last week visiting in Mississippi. I picked up a bug and have been dragging around the past two days as I attempt to get ready to return to Mississippi on Monday. The staff at Mt. Beulah Christian Center has been depleted by death, illness, resignation and vacation, so I am going to take a week of my annual leave and run down to give them a little help.

Just as soon as I get a bit of time, I'll try to give you a brief report on the Mississippi situation.

Cordially,

Gene

AUG 27 1959

Editorials

File — Hazel Smith

Labor Is Due An Apology

Regardless of the outcome of the gubernatorial contest a segment of Mississippi labor is due an apology.

We sincerely believe Governor-Elect Barnett should apologize to the Mississippi members of the AFL-CIO whom he has slandered as no group of people in Mississippi has been slandered in a state political campaign.

Because Mississippi's working men and women affiliated with the AFL-CIO saw fit to "recommend" the candidacy of Carroll Gartin for governor, based upon his record of public service in the office of Lieutenant Governor, as they had every right to do, Mr. Barnett deemed it politically expedient to say everything in his power to smear the whole labor movement.

Mr. Barnett chose to drape what he called "the scarlet cloak of the CIO" on the shoulders of our Lieutenant Governor and say that if Gartin were elected governor he would be dictated to by David Beck and Jimmy Hoffa. The latter are unsavory characters who have been exposed by the McClellan Committee of Congress as a "menace" to the country, to use Senator McClellan's own words.

The fact of the matter is that both Beck and Hoffa are connected with the Teamsters International Union, a union which has been expelled from the AFL-CIO. The mention of their names in connection with the AFL-CIO is thoroughly dishonest, and Mr. Barnett must surely know it.

That anyone, let alone a Mississippi gubernatorial candidate, would associate decent working men and women of Mississippi with these two notorious men is ridiculous. To further try to show the Lieutenant Governor of Mississippi as conniving with them is an insult to the intelligence of our people.

But many people were fooled by the charges hurled by Mr. Barnett—and a definite anti-labor feeling entered the campaign.

It should be remembered by Mississippians that a Teamsters Union official was the only labor leader from our state subpoenaed by the McClellan Rackets Committee as a witness—although no charges were brought against that individual.

Nor is this an attempt to indict Mississippi members of the Teamsters Union —we feel they are in an embarrassing position as a result of bad leadership on the national front. Their exploitation by Mr. Barnett only makes their situation worse.

As a result of Mr. Barnett's demagogic tactics a wedge has been driven between groups of Mississippians which should not exist.

One labor spokesman put it thus: "Our people have been slandered for the simple act of carrying out the duty of every good American in finding out the best qualified man for governor and then supporting him. A vote cast in ignorance for the least qualified candidate is worse than no vote.

"Good relations built up over the years between workers and their employers have been torn asunder by a man (Barnett) who has professed to be the working man's friend. Farmers have been turned against their city cousins who work in the urban communities."

The bitterness engendered by Mr. Barnett within the ranks of labor and without is going to linger for a long time following this campaign. This is not in the best interest of Mississippi. We need all people working together for the common good in the development and progress of our beloved state—this means industry, labor, management, both employers and employees, business and farmers professional men and women, all officials of our government from the precinct to the state level.

Any organization, group or individaul which seeks to set one against the other is working against the common good.

It is high time all citizens of the state try to become informed on our affairs and work to the end that the greatest good will be accomplished for Mississippi, leaving out selfish desires and personalities.

It might be a good starting point to try to learn and understand a little more about labor—because it is going to play a more important role in the future of our state than it has in the past—provided our industrial program continues to progress.

Labor is entitled to fair treatment in the state's press and other mass communication media—and it is in that spirit this is written.

Labor is entitled to fair treatment in a gubernatorial contest.

A good place to begin would be an apology from Mr. Barnett to the 50,000 members of the AFL-CIO in Mississippi whom he has slandered.

Such a statement might clear the atmosphere after the campaign and help dispel some of the bitterness and resentment that now exists—making it possible for him to get his administration off to a better start on January 19th.

The Lexington Advertiser

Hazel Brannon Smith (Mrs. Walter D.) ———————— Editor and Publisher
Established in 1837 — Published Every Thursday. — Subscribers Rates - Anywhere in Holmes County, $3.00; Outside Holmes County, $3.50; Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Lexington, Mississippi.

via air mail

January 28, 1960

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
2017 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington 8, D. C.

Dear Adam:

I was glad to get your not-so-recent letter and to find out that I'll be seeing you at Notre Dame, deo volente.

As you will have perceived, I've heard nothing from Hazel Smith either. As a first gambit in the matter of the first loan, I have written Gene Cox and asked him if he would employ his rapport with Hazel by raising the matter with her. (I also hinted that he might try to help her with the elementary requirements of good manners, good communication, and good interpersonal relations.)

If Gene Cox doesn't get any results, I will take it up directly with Hazel. I wouldn't mind a bit doing it now, but feel that somebody closer to her might accomplish the purpose more efficiently.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- Bill Peters has been here, and will return shortly, on a CBS-TV assignment.

HCF

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
2017 Connecticut Ave., N.W.
Washington 8, D. C.
NO 7-2666

January 15, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Hazel Brannon Smith is Saved. I've heard this, needless to say, not from Hazel but from Gil and Nancy Harrison, who are financing her salvation, which I understand has now been accomplished.

Incidentally, she ought to pay back the three small temporary loans I arranged for her from Nathan Levin, Phil Stern, and Walter Ridder, and I hesitate to suggest it to the Harrisons. If you are in touch with her, perhaps you could pass the word, although I hesitate to impose on you further. Maybe she will write me some day.

Otherwise I am busy with a variety of interesting things, which I hope to be able to tell you about at Joe O'Meara's clambake at Notre Dame on February 14. I trust you are planning to attend. If not, let me know when you will be in New York next. I'm still there every other week anyway.

Yours,

Adam

ADAM YARMOLINSKY
BARR BUILDING
910 17TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.
2017 CONNECTICUT AVE., N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

14 March 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

About Hazel Smith, yes please.

and thanks again

Yours,

Adam

Rec'd 3/15/60

DELTA FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED
933 CHAMBLISS ROAD
MEMPHIS 16, TENNESSEE

March 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Brother Adam was wrong. Hazel Smith has not "been saved." She told me last week that Harrison came through with a loan of $10,000 - and the promise of another $5,000 on April 1st. This is not sufficient to refinance her outstanding loans, pay past-due accounts and provide sufficient operating capital for the next few months. I left her in tears - with no suggestions as to how she might escape her dilemma.

At the General Board meeting of the National Council of Churches at Oklahoma City recently, I learned from Jon Regier that my project can be expected to terminate June 30, 1960.

As matters now stand, I expect to be in Atlanta April 18-19 for a Regional Staff Meeting of the National Council of Churches.

With very best wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Gene

A. E. Cox

C

The Delta Foundation is a non-profit educational organization and contributions to its support are allowable income tax deductions

THE EVERYDAY MAGAZINE®
Published Every Day—Weekdays and Sundays
in the ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
Sunday, November 26, 1961
Section H—Pages 1 to 10H

Clarissa Start

Rummage Sales Vs. Small Business

ARE RUMMAGE SALES and resellit shops unfair to small business? One of our readers thinks they are and called to tell us so in no uncertain terms.

"Have you ever considered the merchant's eye view of rummage sales?" she asked. "We run a small store in a lower income neighborhood and rummage sales and resellit shops for charity hurt our business tremendously.

CLARISSA START

"Just the other day a woman came in and I admired her bag," she continued. "Now we sell nice bags for $2.98 to $5.98 which is what our customers can afford. She was carrying what was obviously a good bag, in the $20 class. It wasn't worn at all. When I admired it, she said, 'I just got it at the resale shop up the street for 75 cents. Isn't it nice?' "

On another occasion, our reader continued, she passed a temple in the West End and noticed a large crowd lined up.

"They didn't look like members of that congregation or residents of that neighborhood," she said. "In fact they looked like they belonged in our neighborhood. Then I saw the big sign, 'Rummage Sale.' If each of those people spent just $3 at the sale, they were buying something they would have bought from a merchant."

▶ **OUR ANONYMOUS CALLER** thinks the entire business of raising money for charity by going into business is overdone.

"Once upon a time when a group wanted to raise money for a good cause," she said, "they gave a nice party. If the cost of the dinner came to $3 to $5, the guests were charged $10 and the extra amount provided the contribution to the good cause. The guests could well afford the extra amount, the good cause was helped, and it hurt no one.

"Today every hospital has a fancy gift shop. The shop pays no taxes, is operated by volunteers, gives no work to anyone, and yet makes a big profit. When you go to visit someone who's ill or has had a baby, you don't buy a gift from the department store or a neighborhood shop as you once would have done. You take the easiest way out and stop in at the hospital shop on your way.

"Moreover," she added, "all of you who write columns in the newspapers advertise these enterprises. Those of us who are in the same business can't get that amount of free advertising."

Woman Editor's War on Bigots

Hazel Smith Fights on Despite Efforts of Mississippi Foes to Silence Her

By Hodding Carter
Editor, Delta Democrat-Times

LEXINGTON, Miss., Nov. 25.

THE FETCHINGLY HELPLESS and beautiful Southern belle and the gallant Southern gentleman are two of the principal stage props for those who write or dream or prate of the South that never really was.

Hazel Brannon Smith, editor and publisher of four small weekly newspapers in Mississippi, is fortunate in that except for her good looks, she does not fit the first stereotype. She is unfortunate in that the dominant male citizens of Holmes county, in whose county seat she publishes the Lexington Advertiser, her largest weekly, have about as much of the chivalry ascribed to the old South as does a cottonmouth moccasin.

That the attractive Mrs. Smith is still in business after 25 latterly stormy years in Holmes county is a tribute to her resolute and resourceful spirit. That she is having an increasingly hard time keeping going is also a tribute of sorts to the persistence of a small but powerful group of Holmes countians who are trying to put her out of business.

These gentry, I am hopeful, are not typical of most Southern men. But it so happens that Holmes county is made up partly of hill and partly of flat Delta land; and too many of its citizens combine the worse rather than the better qualities of each region: the arrogant feudalism and reactionary outlook of the oldtime, life-and-death masters of vast acres; and the provincial suspicion, the racial and religious bigotry and the predilection for violence which have traditionally been part of the character of hillmen everywhere.

In some similar areas the good and the bad qualities of the homefolks are mixed; some-

EDITOR HAZEL SMITH and an employe look over a copy of her Lexington (Miss.) Advertiser fresh off the press.

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH

passed a temple in the West End and noticed a large crowd lined up.

"They didn't look like members of that congregation or residents of that neighborhood," she said. "In fact they looked like they belonged in our neighborhood. Then I saw the big sign, 'Rummage Sale.' If each of those people spent just $3 at the sale, they were buying something they would have bought from a merchant."

▶ **OUR ANONYMOUS CALLER** thinks the entire business of raising money for charity by going into business is overdone.

"Once upon a time when a group wanted to raise money for a good cause," she said, "they gave a nice party. If the cost of the dinner came to $3 to $5, the guests were charged $10 and the extra amount provided the contribution to the good cause. The guests could well afford the extra amount, the good cause was helped, and it hurt no one.

"Today every hospital has a fancy gift shop. The shop pays no taxes, is operated by volunteers, gives no work to anyone, and yet makes a big profit. When you go to visit someone who's ill or has had a baby, you don't buy a gift from the department store or a neighborhood shop as you once would have done. You take the easiest way out and stop in at the hospital shop on your way.

"Moreover," she added, "all of you who write columns in the newspapers advertise these enterprises. Those of us who are in the same business can't get that amount of free advertising."

What really burned our caller up, she concluded, was a recent incident. A friend of hers was appointed chairman of a rummage sale. She called the merchant and her husband to ask if the organization could arrange to use one of their stores for the sale. Our caller went around talking to herself for some time after that.

▶ **FRANKLY,** I had never thought of rummage sales or resale shops as competition for the stores, perhaps because my own purchases from them have been in the nature of extras which do not—I think—detract from my regular purchases of new, fresh merchandise. And not all of them provide much competition. A friend of mine summed up one she attended not long ago. "That wasn't a rummage sale," she said. "It was a rubbish sale."

Walter Winchell

Man About Broadway

MELINA MERCURI ("Never on Sunday" star) and her producer Jules Dassin were expected to wed when his wife got a divorce. Mrs. Dassin got it in Mexico five weeks ago. . . . Geraldine Page's Big Secret is Rip Torn. . . . Ava Gardner's new slave is Mexican actor Antonio Muret. . . . Ronald Colman's widow (Mrs. George Sanders) is rumored wrestling with That Big Decision. . . . Ditto the Van Johnsons. . . . Actor Tony Franciosa and Judy Cantor (of the Balaban movie clan) will Do-it New Year's eve. . . . Toni Arden and Beerl-lionaire Paul Pabst are a New Two. . . . Mrs. Dean Martin wants her Ever Lovin' to jilt The Clan. . . . Grace Kelly is getting more than seasick from those cruises on the Onassis-Callas yacht.

▶ **NATALIE WOOD'S** recent mate Robert Wagner and Marion Marshall, the former Mrs. Stanley Donen, gave Rome reporters insomnia. . . . Friends suspect that "3 Penny Opera" producer Carmen Capalbo and Phyllis Kirk may have knotted a month ago. . . . Wasn't that cozy pair in a Lexington avenue coffee shop A. Miller and M. Monroe? . . . Yorkville has a new "religious" group (headed by a defrocked holy man) who proclaimed Hitler a saint. It boasts over 3000 members, one of whom is the son of a late First Lady of the stage. . . . A waitress at a popular Twist joint stabbed the son of a U.N. official with a fork. Because he came in with another doll after dating her two months.

▶ **THE SAMMY DAVIS JRS.** consult their medic this week to learn if another image is en route. . . . Bugs Baer is happily on the mend at St. Luke's following surgery. . . . The Rich-Get-Richer: Backers of the new hit "The Complaisant Lover" include Mrs. E. C. Woodward, Helen Wrigley of the choongum fortune, Betsy Cushing Whitney, Robert Lehman, Mary Lasker and Arthur Loew. . . . Some of the big Yank stars at the recent Royal Command performance in London flopped large. . . . The Steve Allen-ABC-TV cold war needs a Dag Hammarskjold. . . . Debra Paget has Jody McCrea and Tony Anthony glaring.

Bennett Cerf

Try and Stop Me

WHAT IS A WOMAN? A discerning student at M.I.T. obliged with this "chemical analysis:" "Thought to be a member of the human race. Seldom found in natural state. Surface coated with paint and other chemical compounds. Has low freezing point, but is highly explosive. Extremely active when in vicinity of opposite sex. Chiefly ornamental. Illegal to own more than one specimen."

▶ **SIGN** on a piano tuner's office: "I am usually out to lunch from 12 to 2—but I'm offenbach sooner."

In a restaurant window: "Help stamp out home cooking!"

In a seafood emporium: "Fresh fish only 30 cents—but don't ask what kind."

In a Milan men's wear establishment: "Don't be mistaken for an American tourist. Buy one of our Italian ready-made suits!"

In a Baltimore bar: "Free lunch: now 90 cents."

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In some similar areas the good and the bad qualities of the homefolks are mixed; sometimes the favorable qualities dominate. But not with Hazel Brannon Smith's somewhat less than courageous foemen in Holmes county.

Until a few years ago Hazel Smith's career made an enviable success story. She came breezing into Holmes county, Miss., in 1936, a high-spirited, energetic and joyful girl with a journalism degree from the University of Alabama, and a loan of $3000 to go toward the purchase of a broken-down weekly, the Durant News.

My wife and I had come to Mississippi to found our own daily in Greenville at about the same time. We remember meeting Hazel at our first press association meeting and hearing her tell her dream of making something out of what was then almost nothing. We worried a little because we doubted that the execution could ever match the vision.

We were wrong. In less than 10 years Hazel had transformed the Durant News and bought the larger Lexington Advertiser. Later she was to acquire a third and much smaller one; and, in the recent past, acquire in Jackson a suburban weekly.

Working night and day, learning the art of printing as well as of publishing, tirelessly striving to make Lexington, Durant and all of Holmes county better and more profitable places in which to live, Hazel wrought miracles in the old shop in Lexington in which the papers were printed.

Today, one of the most modern and complete weekly printing plants in the state is housed in a pleasant building; Hazel and Walter Dyer Smith, the talented and friendly Yankee husband from Philadelphia whom she acquired when on a round-the-world trip after her pioneering trials were over, live in a more than comfortable home on a tract of some 20 rolling, tree-shaded acres within the city limits of Lexington. Despite the economic setbacks caused by the implacable hostility of the Holmes county bosses, they have hung onto a small cattle ranch where she and "Smitty," as everyone calls her husband, have for seven years been trying to improve the quality of their beef cattle.

But all that is only the material side of it.

Twenty or so years ago, people began reading each week's issues of the Durant paper with eagerness rather than with the long-accustomed boredom; for Hazel was making good her promise to let the citizens know what was going on, to crusade for law and order, which to a considerable degree were strangers to Holmes county, and to bespeak the rights of all citizens—the last-named purpose probably being the most dangerous notion that had ever been publicly voiced in the county.

EDITOR HAZEL SMITH and an employe look over a copy of her Lexington (Miss.) Advertiser fresh off the press.

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH

With the purchase of the Lexington Advertiser in 1943 Hazel stepped up her fight against the slot-machine operators, liquor racketeers, gamblers and conniving officials who were finding easy pickings and little opposition in the clique-ridden rural county. In 1946, thanks principally to her persistence, a grand jury voted 64 indictments, after investigating organized crime in Holmes county.

But Hazel became one of the objects of court action herself when the trial judge found her guilty of contempt of court for interviewing a witness, the widow of a Negro for whose death by whipping five white men were indicted but not convicted. The Mississippi Supreme Court reversed his decision.

The judge fined her $50 and sentenced her to 15 days in jail, but suspended sentence and put her "under good behavior" for two years. Hazel refused the gag and appealed to the State Supreme Court which later ruled in her favor. Hazel won the cheers of her fellow editors in and outside of the state. But she had made dangerous enemies.

In 1948, a World War II veteran was killed in an automobile collision with a man who had just been acquitted, bewilderingly, on bootlegging charges in still wide-open Holmes county. Hazel's editorial denouncing the jury won her the year's top award from the National Association of Press Women. It also won her some new opponents. In the same year she received the certificate of merit for outstanding service to Mississippi in the field of human relations, from the Mississippi Association of Teachers in Colored Schools.

Holmes county, in a state whose people vote dry and drink wetter than most any sister Southern state, was still honeycombed with bootleggers and other law violators whom the apparently complacent city and county officers couldn't detect. Again and again, from 1951 to 1954, Hazel Smith kept up the fight against the sheriff and his general disinterest in cleaning up the county.

Then, in 1954, Hazel really got in bad with the other whites. On the July 4 weekend, incumbent sheriff Richard F. Byrd, accompanied by three other peace officers, drove his car up to a group of Negroes who had gathered at a roadside cafe, probably for a few illegal drinks.

He asked one of them, a 27-year-old man, why he was "whooping" so loudly. When the Negro denied that he was guilty of this serious violation of the peace, the sheriff shouted to him to get going. As the Negro ran, the sheriff shot him in the thigh.

In her first news story reporting the affair, Editor Smith recounted that she had not been able to get a statement from the sheriff. In the next issue of the Lexington Advertiser, Hazel told the story of how the man was shot by the sheriff when he hadn't violated any law and how the sheriff had not even threatened him with arrest before the shooting. In a front-page signed editorial she followed up the newspaper report with a denunciation of the sheriff for brutality in this and other cases involving Negroes. Wrote the angry young woman:

"The laws in America are for everyone—rich and poor, strong and weak, black and white. The vast majority of Holmes county people are not rednecks who look with favor on the abuse of people because their skins are black. Byrd has violated every concept of justice, decency and right. He is not fit to occupy office."

The sheriff filed a libel suit for actual and punitive damages in the amount of $57,500. At the October term of court a trial jury awarded Sheriff Byrd $10,000, after each juror allegedly dropped into a hat for drawing, slips of paper upon which he had written down the amount he thought the sheriff deserved. The Holmes county grand jury adjourned without indicting anyone in the shooting of the young Negro.

The year 1954 was a tense one in Holmes county for another and more significant reason. In the wake of the United States Supreme Court's decision on school desegregation, the citizens of little Indianola, less than 50 miles from Lexington, organized the first White Citizens Council, the white supremacy group which, while abjuring violence or masking, pledged itself to hold down Negro voting, fight "moderates," and prevent school integration by economic and social pressures. A second unit was almost immediately organized in Holmes county. Among its leading members were men actively aligned with the sheriff in his feud with the editor and suspicious of her advocacy of equal justice.

That summer a respectable Negro woman, a teacher for 20 years, was shot in her own home by a leading Lexington white man after she had remonstrated with him for driving his automobile into her yard and damaging it while turning around.

White Citizens Council members and others tried to persuade Hazel Smith to kill the story. She printed it. Telling the story did no good, for no arrest was made. The wounded teacher was dismissed from the school and her husband was fired by the filling station operator for whom he worked. The pair then moved to Chicago.

The White Citizens Council gathered momentum. County and state and southern politicians began to cash in on the fear and unrest of the white people over the Supreme Court's frontal assault. Tensions in Holmes county increased.

A mass meeting was called by the White Citizens Council in the little village of Tchula so that citizens could hear a tape-recording of a so-called investigation, conducted by the sheriff and members of the council, of a Negro teen-age boy who had been charged with insulting a white school girl. The boy was found blameless, but the meeting turned into a mass denunciation of idealistic Dr. David Minter, a physician, and his friend and associate, A. E. Cox, who directed a bi-racial co-operative farm in Holmes county.

Both men were present at the meeting when speakers demanded that they leave the county because they assertedly advocated and practiced racial integration. Dr. Minter and Cox were booed when they tried to answer, and soon were repeatedly threatened by letters and anonymous calls.

The Rev. Marsh M. Callaway, a white Presbyterian minister of Durant, who had protested at the meeting "the un-Christian and un-American treatment of the pair by a kangaroo court" was dismissed by his church before the end of the year, and left the state.

So did the two men whom the genteel Holmes mobsters had threatened, though in their own good time. Hazel Smith meanwhile had kept fighting for the rights of all three.

The embattled editor won a round in November 1955, when the Mississippi Supreme Court unanimously and caustically reversed the libel judgment and dismissed the sheriff's suit. Said the court in part:

"Under the facts in this record there was no justification whatever for hitting this Negro with a blackjack or shooting him . . . It follows that the Negro was unjustly assaulted in both instances.

"The right to publish the truth with good motive and to justifiable ends, is inherent in Section 13, Article III, Constitution of 1890 . . . 'the freedom of speech and of the press shall be held sacred . . .' Out of the testimony of the officers themselves, the news items and other pertinent comment in question are believed to be substantially true and the plaintiff was, therefore, not entitled to recover anything."

And for the second time Hazel won the National Federation of Press Women's principal award, for the libel case editorial. But the victory was relatively a hollow one; for in January 1956, a set of council-dominated trustees in the Holmes County Hospital fired her husband as administrator of the hospital, despite the medical staff's unanimous resolution asking that he be retained. One trustee in a newspaper statement said: "There is nothing against him or his record, but his wife has become a controversial person."

Hazel went on winning more and more awards while losing more and more dollars. In 1956 the National Editorial Association in convention in Louisville, Ky., awarded the Herrick Award to Hazel Smith "for editorial writing, embracing the highest type of American principles and ideals." In the next year the Fund for the Republic presented her a citation for "an American whose actions have made an unusual contribution to advancing the principles of freedom and justice and the bill of rights."

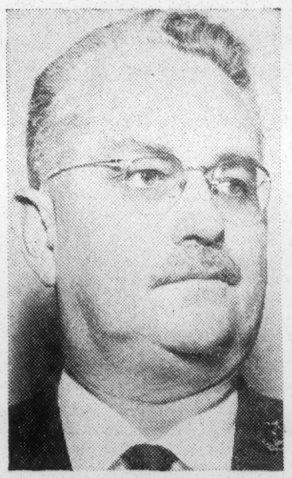
Since every citizens council member knew that the Fund for the Republic was a dangerous organization, Hazel also received another black eye. But in her own state, in the same year, the Mississippi Press Association in convention adopted by unanimous vote a resolution "commending Mrs. Hazel Smith, editor of the Lexington Advertiser and the Durant News for her epochal fight in the interest of freedom of the press."

Clearly she was becoming far too much of a problem of the atavists to be dealt with lightly. The White Citizens Council lead-

Continued on Page 7, Col. 6.

View of the composing room in Lexington where Mrs. Smith's papers are printed.

The Writer



HODDING CARTER

Hodding Carter, Pulitzer prize-winning editor who wrote the accompanying article at the invitation of the Post-Dispatch, is a Southern moderate who has long opposed race extremists. He is publisher of the Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss.

A native of Hammond, La., he is a graduate of Bowdoin College at Brunswick, Me., and studied at Tulane University, Harvard University and the Columbia University School of Journalism in New York. Among honorary degrees he has received is one from Washington University in St. Louis in 1954.

He won the Pulitzer prize for editorial writing in 1946, and in addition to his newspaper work and extensive writing for national magazines, is the author of several books.

Martha Carr's OPINION

Her Mother Needles Mother-in-Law

Dear Martha:

RECENTLY MY MOTHER and mother-in-law had occasion to be together for a few hours. The outcome was disgusting. Although my mother-in-law would not say anything to me, she told my husband and he told me. First of all my mother told my mother-in-law that I did not take good enough care of my five-month-old baby. This is not true as anyone who knows me could tell you. My mother said that I should be home taking care of my baby instead of working. Being a new mother I would love it if I could stay at home. Unfortunately we need the money I bring in so that we can eat. We have been married only 15 months.

Two weeks after we were married my husband was laid off and was out of work for six months. Then I became pregnant. During the time my husband was not working our bills naturally piled up. So I went back to work a month ago to help clear up some of these old debts and keep from getting further in debt. As anyone can see it is necessary that I work until we can get caught up and make a fresh start toward ours and the baby's future. Also my mother told my mother-in-law that my husband should be able to support us without my help. Don't you think my mother is overstepping a bit? I am at a loss as to what I sould say to her. I have not seen her since this incident occurred. Please help me before we meet again.

DISGUSTED.

It is pretty plain that your mother was taking a subtle way to needle your mother-in-law about her son's inability to support you. Your mother of course chose to overlook the fact that your husband was out of work through no fault of his own and led your mother-in-law right into the trap by pretending to criticize you for not staying home and taking care of your baby. Unfortunately it is almost impossible for mothers and mothers-in-law to refrain from meddling in the affairs of their children to some extent. Your mother resents the fact that you must work. His mother resents the fact that your mother criticized her son. I think the wisest thing would be to say nothing to either your mother or mother-in-law. Pretend that your mother's criticism was never relayed to you. Be as independent of your two families as you can and lead your own lives. You seem to have a level head on your shoulders. Don't get embroiled in a family feud.

Dear Martha:

▶ **AT THE RIPE OLD AGE OF 29,** I, a man, would like to meet my mate but I do not want to meet her at the usual swimming pool, tavern, dance hall or bowling alley. I do not want to sound presumptuous but I have also become disillusioned with the caliber of young women I meet at church gatherings. The usual advice, not necessarily yours, given to females is not to be too eager in their quest for a man. Personally, this wouldn't matter at all if their moral standards met my seemingly impossible requirements.

DISAPPOINTED IDEALIST.

I wouldn't advise you to lower your standards but I would advise you to prepare to go through life alone

Mechanics-of-Living Blues

By Adele Starbird

FOR YEARS I have been complaining bitterly about the amount of time any civilized person has to spend on the mere mechanics of living, by which I mean eating, keeping clean and buying clothes, to mention a few essentials. I grumbled that the mechanics of living left no time to live.

There ought to be some way of disposing of these routine matters efficiently, if one is responsible only for oneself.

I did a little research on the subject. I tried various experiments in living. And I am prepared to report that even a single woman, unemployed, living in a hotel with very good service, spends a signifcant portion of each day puttering on little chores.

Suppose she eats dinner in the hotel dining room—that takes about an hour. If she prepares her own dinner, however simple it may be, she cannot beat the time. Cooking, eating and washing the dishes will require more than an hour.

Even if she has her hair done in a beauty parlor, she has to spend one hour and a half of her good time submitting to the process. It would be convenient if she could remove her head and send it over to the hairdresser. I never see a statue of St. Denis carrying his head under his arm without thinking, perhaps irreverently, that such an arrangement would have its points.

ADELE STARBIRD

Last week I decided to defrost my refrigerator. During my years at the university, the maid must have defrosted the one in my apartment while I was at the office. At any rate I had never seen it done. I supposed there was nothing to it.

I read the instructions pasted inside the door, filled the pans with hot water and sat down confidently to type. What happened next reminded me of all the descriptions of the great spring thaw in Northern Canada. Everything seemed to be breaking up. Water dripped with noisy monotony and flowed out on the floor; chunks of ice fell with heavy thuds to the bottom of the box. What with mopping, scooping out the piles of ice, washing and drying the racks and pans, I put in two full hours. And there was no typing that morning.

For consolation I read a chapter from Epictetus on "Cleanliness." He said if nature had intrusted a horse to your care, you would not neglect it. Well, you must consider that nature has placed your own body in your care.

I am resigned now. Civilized men and women are still animals. A woman cannot afford to be less well groomed than a cat, to which she is so often compared. If a bird oils its feathers, shouldn't a man oil his hair, as the television commercials suggest?

New Design From Paris; Sheath, Pop-Over Tunic

'Role Hangover'

HOLLYWOOD, Nov. 25 (AP)—Actor George Peppard has one occupational hazard that worries him—role hangover.

"I get myself so immersed in a role that it takes me days to get over it—even after the picture is finished. It's great for comedy, such as 'Breakfast at Tiffany's,' but I turn down all roles of psychopathic killers."

Editor

Continued From Page One.

ers began organizing a concerted advertising boycott. Her local advertising volume shortly fell off some 50 per cent, a loss which she has never recovered. She kept and even gained readership; but without the necessary advertising and commercial printing volume, her papers began to suffer.

And in 1958 her enemies organized a new weekly paper at a meeting at which an officer of the local citizens council presided and asked for stock subscriptions from those present—mostly council members. The new weekly, The Holmes County Herald, has been subsidized from the beginning by well-to-do council leaders. It couldn't have lasted three months without pressure in its behalf from county politicians and White Citizens Council leaders, generally the same persons and all of the same readily recognizable stripe.

Hazel Smith, lacking subsidy, began to show the strain. Once again the same pattern was repeated—professional recognition at the cost of financial setbacks. Marquette University in Milwaukee honored her at the twenty-seventh annual Matrix Table sponsored by Theta Sigma Psi. But some of her gallant foes got even in 1960 with an act that shocked the better citizens. A cross was burned on her lawn by a group of teen-agers, including the son of a man prominent in council circles. Hazel herself descended upon them as the cross burned, and after they had fled, removed the license tag from their car so that proof of ownership and probable occupancy could be made.

The year before she had received the Elijah Lovejoy Award from the University of Southern Illinois: "for demonstrating the ability to perform under great stress . . . her role as editor of the community's newspapers so effectively as to win the approval and support, in growing numbers, of the right thinking people of her town and county . . ."

So what will happen next? There is no real wealth in Holmes county. It is unlikely that the other newspaper will survive if Hazel's friends begin to speak out, as some already are doing. Men get tired of indulging their prejudices at the expense of their pocketbooks. And this is exactly what is happening in the case of the Holmes County Herald, a travesty of a newspaper which is only an instrument devised to destroy a brave woman, who 25 years ago came to Mississippi with eyes shining and dreaming a dream that had to do with the rights of all men and the freedom of newspapers to speak their pieces.

Maybe the brave bigots will stop putting up. Maybe the now silent, decent people will begin speaking up. Maybe next year the Lexington Advertiser, which is celebrating its 125th anniversary this year, will still be Hazel Brannon Smith's editorial voice. If not, another light will have gone out in a shadowed state.

And perhaps the supreme irony is that nowhere outside the deep South would Hazel Brannon Smith be labeled even a liberal in her racial views. If she must be categorized, then call her a moderate; a churchgoing, humanity-loving newspaper woman who takes seriously her repsonsibilities toward her fellow men. But that doesn't fit well in Holmes county where the most benighted are today also the most powerful.

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mother-in-law right into the trap by pretending to criticize you for not staying home and taking care of your baby. Unfortunately it is almost impossible for mothers and mothers-in-law to refrain from meddling in the affairs of their children to some extent. Your mother resents the fact that you must work. His mother resents the fact that your mother criticized her son. I think the wisest thing would be to say nothing to either your mother or mother-in-law. Pretend that your mother's criticism was never relayed to you. Be as independent of your two families as you can and lead your own lives. You seem to have a level head on your shoulders. Don't get embroiled in a family feud.

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DISAPPOINTED IDEALIST.

I wouldn't advise you to lower your standards but I would advise you to prepare to go through life alone unless you come down off that pedestal upon which you have placed yourself. There are many wonderful young women with high moral standards who would make you a good wife but I wouldn't wish that fate upon them. You have much too good an opinion of yourself to be able to make anyone but yourself happy.

Send a self-addressed stamped envelope for Martha's "Merry Christmas" leaflet, giving ideas for decorations, games for the Christmas season, and recipes for the holiday season.

Joseph G. Molner

Insect Bite Treatment

A 19-YEAR-OLD COLLEGE STUDENT, helping his father spray trees, was stung by a wasp and collapsed immediately.

After a few minutes he began to tremble, was violently sick at his stomach, large blotches appearing on his skin, as well as swelling, of course, at the spot where he was stung.

DR. MOLNER

The foregoing was from a letter and the writer asks: "Is there anything that can be done for this type of thing? About three years ago the boy was stung on the neck and the swelling was so terrific he nearly choked to death."

Yes, there are things that can be done.

Severe reactions from insect bites are not common but they can be dangerous. Snakebite isn't common, either, but it is dangerous. For a person unusually sensitive to insect venom, the consequences can be as severe as snakebite.

About one person in 50 becomes increasingly sensitive to insect stings, after once being bitten, but the severity varies. In extreme cases, and there are a number of them each year, such a sting can be fatal. More often, it is merely terribly annoying.

With the honeybee, as is pretty well known, the stinger breaks off, and should be pulled or squeezed out at once, to prevent further venom from seeping in. The bumblebee, hornet, yellow jacket, wasp, etc., can sting again. So first aid begins with getting rid of the stinger if it breaks off. If it doesn't, try application of cold, and some alkali which may be soap, weak ammonia, or bicarbonate of soda.

▶ **IF THERE IS** extensive swelling, redness, itching or other widespread reactions, antihistamine drugs can be taken by mouth or applied as creams or lotions to overcome the hypersensitivity, which is another word similar to "allergy." That's why the antihistamines help. (Calamine lotion is soothing to the bitten or itchy area.)

A tourniquet is very useful—a little realized fact—to people known to be highly sensitive to certain bites. It should be loosened at intervals of two or three minutes, and NOT left continuously tight. The gradual release of insect venom helps modify the severe effects.

In addition to medical aids, proper clothing and the ability to remain calm and not run, or slap at an insect, remain important in avoiding bites, and the attendant consequences.

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Send $1 for printed pattern A885 to St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Pattern Department, P.O. Box 59, Old Chelsea Station, New York 11, N. Y. Please print plainly your name, address with zone, style number and size.

ture is finished. It's great for comedy, such as 'Breakfast at Tiffany's,' but I turn down all roles of psychopathic killers."

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9359 Nat. Bridge—Shopping Center
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MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS

"The Truth Shall Make You Free"

Volume One — Number One | Jackson, Mississippi — Saturday, December 16, 1961 | 10 Cents Per Copy

Smith Announces For Congress

A Newspaper Is Born

Never in the history of journalism, as we know it in the State of Mississippi, has any newspaper from its inception had such bold aims and purity of purpose as the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS.

This is a Mississippi paper and a free paper.

Let it be clearly understood from the very beginning that this paper is incorporated in Mississippi by Mississippians for Mississippians — All Mississippians! We intend that it will be the Peoples' Paper. We know that Mississippi needs such a newspaper and the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS is determined to fulfill that need.

This newspaper holds certain beliefs that are characteristic of free Americans. We believe that all men should be free — no man a slave. We believe in freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom of movement, and freedom from intimidation. These, among others, are the rights of all Mississippians, regardless of creed, color, or religion. The MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS dedicates itself to helping to maintain these freedoms. But even more important the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS makes a pledge of helping to secure these rights for those Mississippians who have been denied them.

This newspaper will at all times champion the cause of justice. It will fight injustice. It will take no backward steps.

Much will be written in the future in the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS about the problems of this State and our

R. L. T. Smith Will Be First Negro To Run In 20th Century

It was announced today that Mr. R. L. T. Smith of Jackson will run for United States Representative from the 4th Congressional District of Mississippi. Smith will presumably oppose the incumbent Congressman, Honorable Jonn Bell Williams of Raymond in the Democratic primary of June 5, 1962.

Mr. Smith, so far as the FREE PRESS can determine, will be the first Negro candidate from Mississippi for a major office in the 20th century. The announcement of Mr. Smith's candidacy was made by his campaign manager, Dr. A. B. Britton of Jackson in an exclusive release to the FREE PRESS.

Dr. Britton further said that a press conference will be held at 3:00 p. m. on Saturday, December 16, 1961, in the Masonic Temple building at 1072 Lynch Street. He added that full scale

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Much will be written in the future in the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS about the problems of this State — and we have many. We will not hesitate in offering constructive criticism. We very definitely will have our say about our state's fiscal policies, about our schools, about teachers salaries, about reapportionment, about voting and registration, and about desegregation.

We will be interested in the various communities and their problems.

We turn our attention now to one of these communities and one of its problems.

The community is Jackson, Mississippi. The problem is an economic one, as well as a moral issue — a question of right and wrong.

For years, the Negro population of Jackson has spent its money with the merchants of Jackson. Most merchants readily accept this Negro business. But many times the Negro has not been given the same courtesy and appreciation as is extended to whites. Too many times he has heard himself called, "Sam", 'Sally', 'John', 'preacher', 'boy', or 'girl'. The Negro as a group has remained patient but will not remain patient indefinitely. The Negro wants the same courtesy that is extended to others. He wants the same opportunity of employment in these stores as whites. This desire has been conveyed to members of the

(Continued on Page Two)

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Dr. Britton further said that a press conference will be held at 3:00 p. m. on Saturday, December 16, 1961, in the Masonic Temple building at 1072 Lynch Street. He added that full scale campaign plans were underway and that a headquarters office would be opened in a matter of days. The campaign manager stated that Mr. Smith would wage a vigorous and large scale effort throughout the district and into all sections of the 13-county area.

Mr. Smith is a prominent Jackson businessman, a former mail carrier and a Baptist minister who has pastored in and around the Jackson area for more than 25 years. He is one of the leading citizens of Jackson.

Watch next week's Free Press for a feature story on Mr. Smith.

R. L. T. SMITH

Jackson Negroes Asked: "Stay Off Capitol Street"

In a December 9th statement, NAACP leader Medgar W. Evers called on the Negro community to "stay off Capitol Street."

Mr. Evers said in a prepared statement: "For many years now, Negroes have lined Capitol Street in Jackson, Mississippi, spending their money where they could neither be employed as sales clerks, eat at lunch counters, nor be given courtesy titles as 'Mr.', 'Mrs.' or 'Miss.' These indignities have, in a number of instances, been harsh and brutal, as well as humiliating.

"I am reminded here of an incident which occured recently to a prominent Negro woman, who was accused of taking articles from a Capitol Street merchant. This lady was searched and humiliated before numerous spectators. As it turned out, the

(Continued on Back Page)

Seven Clarksdale Negroes Will Be Tried For "Conspiring To Withhold Trade"

A hearing for seven Clarksdale Negroes charged with "conspiring to withhold trade from downtown merchants" has been set for next Tuesday, Dec. 19th, at 10 a. m.

Judge Rodney Brooks will preside at the trial to be held at the County Courthouse in Clarksdale with County Attorney Thomas H. (Babe) Pearson prosecuting.

Jack Young will represent the defendants who are Aaron Henry, president of the State NAACP, Mrs. Vera Pigee, Rev. Theodore Trammell, Laboyd Keys, R. L. Drew, John C. Melchor and Walter Wright.

The arrests of the seven Clarksdale citizens came after a conference which was called by the County Attorney of Coahoma County, with the Rev. Theodore Trammell, Mr. R. L. Drew, and Mr. Aaron E. Henry, had been held. These three leaders were asked to use their influence to call off the downtown Clarksdale boycott which reportedly has been 95 per cent effective. The men refused to call off the boycott.

Prior to the arrests, it was decided in a meeting of the Coahoma County Federated Council of Organizations that the downtown merchants would be given the opportunity to regain Negro patronage, if they wanted it. "We asked them to begin employing Negroes in other than menial positions, in stores desiring Negro trade. We feel they should be given jobs as clerks etc., also, just as white citizens, that Negroes should be extended courtesy titles such as 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.', said Mrs. Vera M. Pigee, spokesman for the group.

Can't Parade

November 3rd 1961, was the Annual Homecoming day for Coahoma Junior College. Every year for the past twelve years the Homecoming Parade has marched through the downtown streets of the city. This year Chief of Police Ben Collins and Mayor W. S. Kincade refused to permit them to parade at all and the Homecoming festivities had to be cancelled.

Invitation Is Withdrawn— A Slap In The Face

Back in October, 1961, the Chamber of Commerce extended to both the Coahoma Junior College and the Higgins High School an invitation to participate in the Christmas parade. This has been the custom of the city and the Chamber of Com-

(Continued on Back Page)

EDITORIALS

A Newspaper Is Born—

(Continued from Page One)

Downtown Merchants' Association. We understand that these merchants have refused to discuss the matter. We further understand that Negroes have been asked by their leaders to protest. The form of protest is elsewhere presented in this newspaper. This situation could have and should have been prevented. The MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS urges the merchants of Jackson to take a forward step.

We urge all our leaders to take an active part in bringing about the redeemed community, a community in which men might live together in peace and harmony.

This might be done by each citizen of Mississippi:

1. Putting forth an extra effort to respect the person and property of others.
2. Constantly reminding ourselves that we are only free to do those things which do not abridge the freedom of others.
3. Realizing that no matter how disrespectful an individual might become, this person is sacred because he is a creation of God and must be treated as such.
4. Using his influence to bring others into the struggle for human dignity.

In order that we might better serve and meet the needs of all the people of Mississippi, we encourage you to write letters of constructive criticism to the editor and to present plans by which we can work together to improve any given problem within our state.

SUPPORT YOUR PAPER—the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS.

The "Little" Man's Politics

The three-judge district court decisions in Greenville and Jackson of November 20 and 21 declaring unconstitutional the state's transportation segregation laws have taken a major step forward in the fight to remove legal segregation from Mississippi.

The important thing to note is that, in lawsuits involving the constitutionality of a state law, the Chief Judge of the U. S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals is required to appoint a three-judge court, two judges of which may be circuit judges from outside Mississippi.

This is what happened here:

When Chief Judge Tuttle of Atlanta appointed, several months ago, himself and Mississippi Federal District Judges Mize and Clayton to hear the original (and very far-reaching) transportation desegregation case filed by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Tuttle was out-voted on the State's motion to delay the case. Tuttle felt strongly that, since a preliminary injunction was applied for, the hearing should be held right away.

Note: Section 2284 of Title 28, United States Code, requires that "the application for a preliminary injunction shall be given precedence and assigned for a hearing at the earliest practicable day."

Chief Judge Tuttle then resigned from the special three-judge court and appointed in his stead another circuit judge, Richard Rives, a most distinguished jurist from Alabama.

When the revised three-judge court finally ruled (several months later), Rives wrote a strong dissenting opinion that would have halted many of the present criminal proceedings against "Freedom Riders" now pending in Hinds County Court and would have stopped all further arrests of them.

But, the majority and controlling opinion, that of Mize and Clayton, ruled to send the case to the Mississippi State courts.

The Legal Defense Fund has now appealed direct to the U. S. Supreme Court.

After this episode, Judge Tuttle then appointed himself and Judge Rives and only one Mississippi federal judge when the next occasion arose — the Justice Department's suits to declare unconstitutional the State's transportation segregation laws and to enforce the Interstate Commerce Commission's desegregation regulation.

The results of these suits are now history.

The New York Times carried a front page story entitled: "U. S. Court Voids Mississippi Transportation Segregation Laws."

So, Welcome to Mississippi Judge Tuttle and Rives!

We want to see you again!

We need the justice that you bring with you!

Political And Voting Tips

Remember that you must pay your poll tax in December or January. So pay it at the sheriff's office in the court house NOW!

If you'll be 21 before November 6, 1962, you can register (at the Circuit Clerk's office in the court house) NOW and through May to vote in the June 5, 1962, Democratic primary election for Representatives in Congress. This is a very important election — SO REGISTER NOW!

If you're 21 between January 1 and November 6, 1962, you can register AND VOTE in the June 5, 1962, Congressional election WITHOUT paying any poll taxes. So you young people in this group: Do your duty and REGISTER NOW!

You older citizens! Do your part! — If you're over sixty, you don't have to pay poll taxes. Go down now and register AND VOTE June 5, 1962!

And don't forget this: You need to pay your poll taxes AND register in order to vote. (Poll taxes, though, aren't needed if you've just become 21 or are over 60 — see paragraphs three and four above.) You do both at the same time in the court house.

Note this well again: You can pay poll taxes only during December and January, but you can register at any time. But anyone can go down and pay your poll tax for you. Just give him or her the $2.00 and your address. He can pay it and bring that important poll tax receipt right back to you! Call 355-7345 to have someone come by to pay your poll tax or by the Free Press Office at 1022 West Lynch Street.

REMEMBER THIS IS THE DUTY YOU OWE TO YOUR WIFE, YOUR CHILDREN, YOURSELF, YOUR CITY, COUNTY, STATE AND NATION, AND — MOST OF ALL — to our DIVINE MAKER! So do it NOW!

News Censorship Is Revealed By Sanders

Dick Sanders, news director of WLBT-WJDX, speaking to the Millsaps College student body on November 30th, made some interesting and revealing observations on the limited and/or delayed news coverage in Jackson and most other large cities. He specifically related this problem to a concern for the "welfare of society."

Acute discernment between comprising on principles and comprising on situation seems required to determine what constitutes the "welfare of society," noted Mr. Sanders. For illustration, he cited the efforts of the NAACP to bring about a more equitable situation in downtown Jackson. As a first step, the NAACP contacted the downtown merchants' association to request a meeting to discuss the problem, discrimination in the downtown shopping area. When such a meeting was not forthcoming, the NAACP threatened to and subsequently did call a boycott.

For the most part the news media have refrained from reporting these events.

The problem confronting the news reporters defining the "welfare of society" explained Mr. Sanders, is not an uncommon one. He reported that most of the larger cities throughout the country of racial unrest or

(Continued on Page Three)

MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS
Saturday, December 16, 1961
Paul E. Brooks ..... Editor
Published every Saturday by the HiCo Publishing Company, Inc. at 1072 West Lynch Street, Jackson, Mississippi.
Subscription price: $5.20 per year — $2.60 for six months — 10 cents per copy.

NAACP Asks US Atty. Gen., Gov. Barnett To End Segregation

The Mississippi State Conference of NAACP Branches in its 16th annual session adopted the following resolution:

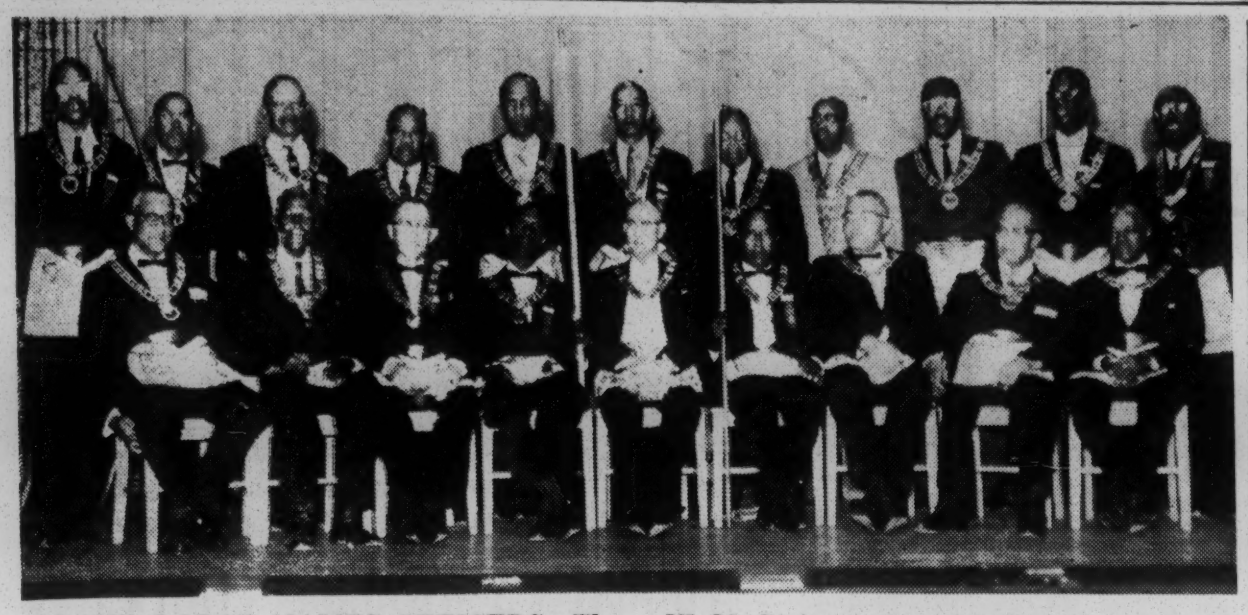
WHEREAS, with the Interstate Commerce Commission ruling which went into effect November 1, 1961 being flouted in a defiant manner by state officials, private citizens, and Ku Klux Klansmen alike, we look with hearty approval on the speedy action taken by the U. S. Attorney General to insure the supremacy of Federal Law over unconstitutional State statutes, customs and practices which prohibit Negro Citizens the free access and use of public conveyances and their terminal facilities, and,

WHEREAS, statistics indicate where there is laxity with regard to public school attendance, there is normally a high degree of juvenile delinquency, and, WHEREAS the State of Mississippi does not have a compulsory school attendance law, we call upon the Governor and the Legislature at its forthcoming general assembly to enact such legislation that will insure provisions for compulsory school attendance through age 18. WHEREAS, as the fostering of good and honest Government is based upon the practical application of Citizenship training, we feel that a person should not be permitted to graduate from college nor to teach in the public school system of Mississippi if they have reached 21 years of age, unless he or she is a qualified elector.

WHEREAS, there is evidence of an increase in police brutality throughout the state, and WHEREAS, Negroes are continually being falsely accused of trumped-up charges that serve to incite race against race, we call upon the Governor of Mississippi and the Federal Government to investigate recent charges of this nature in Jackson, Clarksdale, Gulfport, McComb, Terry, State Line, Tylertown, and Liberty, Mississippi.

WHEREAS, there exists problems that cause racial tensions within the state, of a magnitude that could result in racial violence, we call upon the Governor and other responsible Citizens of the State of Mississippi to seriously consider the establishment of a Bi-racial Committee composed of the responsible Citizens of both races to work harmoniously to resolve these problems and bring about an atmosphere in Mississippi that respects the dignity and complete humanity of all Citizens.

FINALLY, there exists on the statute books of Mississippi numerous laws that support and encourage segregation, discrimination and racial bigotry to the extent that Mississippi Citizens, both white and Negro, who choose to obey the laws and rulings of the Federal Government with regard to segregation being unconstitutional, are intimidated and subjected to the cruelest brand of racial pressures. We call upon the Governor and the legislature, at its next sesion to initiate steps to repeal all of the laws in the State Constitution that encourage, propagate and support racial segregation and racial bigotry.



GRAND LODGE NAMES OFFICERS: The W. M. Stringer Grand Lodge F. and A. M., Jurisdiction of Mississippi, Prince Hall Affiliation, meeting in its 86th Annual Session, elected the officers pictured above:

Left to right, seated: M. M. Reid, Secretary-Treasurer, Masonic Relief Department; B. B. Dansby, Treasurer; Dr. Lee M. Owens, Deputy Grandmaster; Josh Baker, Senior Deacon; E. W. Palmer, Secretary; Dr. H. J. Fields, Senior Warden; T. C. Almore, Jr., Warden.

Standing: Malcolm Smith, Assistant Tyler; Richard Jones, Pursuviant; Rev. J. A. Thornton, Chaplain; Allen Davenport, Librarian; Joseph Henderson, Assistant Secretary; Rev. G. C. Wells, State Lecturer; W. C. Collier, Assistant Secretary; J. D. Williams, Chorister; Rev. H. A. Belin, Chaplain; and Rev. C. C. Coleman, Chaplain.

News Censorship Is—

(Continued from Page Two)

rioting will be made. This does not exclude the making of tapes or films for later use. In properly carrying out this agreement, the heads of the news services must let the situation itself, not personal bias, be the determining factor, Mr. Sanders pointed out.

The discussion brought out the fact that the South is faced with its own additional problem of news reporting: the presentation of both sides of the question. In order for the people to make responsible decisions, they must be able to consider both points of view. Presenting both views, contends Mr. Sanders, is the responsibility of the news media.

Albany, Georgia, "Protests" Will Continue

Non-violent protests against forced segregation will continue in Albany, Georgia, according to a news release from that city today, despite continued arrests of students and individuals engaged in sit-ins and kneel-ins in that city and attempted mob action Wednesday.

The events in Georgia this week briefly were as follows:

On Sunday, Dec. 10, at 3:40 p. m. eleven staff members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who arrived in Albany were greeted by 400 Negroes, mostly students, and six policemen. They were arrested and charged with breach of peace.

These students were James Forman, national director of SNCC, Bernard Lee, Norma Collins, Tom Hayden, Lenore Tate, Per Laursen, Joan Brown ie, Bob Selmer, Bertha Gober, Willie Mae Henderson and Charles Jones.

On Monday 267 Negroes were arrested as they protested the arrests of the SNCC group Sunday. A spokesman for the 267 said "more protests would follow." The protests took the form of marching around the Courthouse singing Freedom songs.

On Wednesday, 74 Negroes staged a kneel-in on the Courthouse steps in Albany to protest all of the arrests that had been made. "We will not get up until all charges against Freedom Riders are dropped," they said.

Later on Wednesday a mob of fifty white people advanced on the persons who were kneeling-in at the Courthouse. The mob was stopped by Albany police who formed a semi-circle around the group.

An unidentified police spokesman said "We will protect you as long as possible, but we must have your cooperation."

During the demonstrations one white man was arrested for singing "Dixie."

"We Service All Makes Of Radios & Electrical Appliances
CASTON'S APPLIANCE
3624 Whitfield Mill Road

For Your Automotive Needs—
Oliver Dixon's
ROSE STREET GULF
Rose and Pearl Streets

Robinson Shoe Shop
For
Good Shoe Repair
2640 Whitfield Mill
Shopping Center

For Service With You In Mind:
LEWIS BARBER SHOP
1234½ Valley Street

Valley Street Beauty Shop
Hair Stylists
Completely New and Modern With Skilled Beauticians
Miss Lois Portis and Miss Annie Paige
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Service Within Your Budget At
CUT RATE SHOE SHOP
133 N. Farish Street
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New Smackover Cafe
We Specialize In Private Parties and Take Home Service
1091 Lynch Street
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Lonie Forte, owner

SERVICE BY COLLINS
Funerals Since 1903
★
MONUMENTS
NOTARY
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★
415 North Farish Street Jackson 2, Miss.
FL 3-2377 Or FL 5-1888

"Styles To Fit Every Face"
Charm Beauty Salon
900 Evans Street
Pearlie Mae Davis and Mary E. Larry, operators

Home Improvement
New Homes
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1104 Lynch Street
FL 2-7313
Loans: F.H.A. — G. I. Conventional

Keys For Your Every Need.
Johnson's Lock and Key Service
615 N. Farish Street
FL 3-3266
Jack Johnson, Proprietor

Good Food . . . .
Penguin Drive In
Lynch and Dalton
FL 2-9398
GOOD FOOD

For the Very Best in Women's Apparel at Reasonable Prices Shop
SANDERS
For Christmas Gifts
Corner Farish At Hamilton
(next door to the Alamo Theater)
FL 5-8471
Free Parking

Frank Conic's
Conic's Beauty And Barber Supply
Supplies and Equipment — Free Parking For Customers
615 North Farish Street
Jackson 2, Mississippi

Arrested December 8, 1961, on charges of "conspiring to withhold trade from downtown merchants," were, from left to right: Mrs. Vera Pigee, Rev. Theodore Trammell, Mr. Laboyd Keys, Mr. R. L. Drew, Mr. John Melchor, Mr. Aaron Henry, President of the Mississippi State Conference NAACP, and Mr. Walter Wright.

Seven Clarksdale—

(Continued from Page One)

merce for the past 15 years. On November 8, 1961, the Chamber of Commerce sent a letter to both Higgins High School and Coahoma Junior College, cancelling the invitation previously extended.

According to Mr. Leonard Farr, secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, the Mayor's letter was written by himself and in no way reflected the attitude of the merchants.

The first student reaction was to protest this insult by a march on City Hall to denounce Mayor Kincaid. But when word of this reached the adult Negro community the move was discouraged or stveral reasons: the great number of possible participants would require bond higher than they felt could be raised; the right to picket and protest would not have been upheld by a hostile city administration; there is always the possibility of violence and these demonstrations getting out of hand. So with the student leaders the adults of the Clarksdale community worked out a nonviolent peaceful protest of withholding trade from the areas in which the students were forbidden to parade.

The slogan used by the people of Clarksdale was: "Should we TRADE in areas where we can't PARADE?"

Jackson Negroes—

(Continued from Page One)

lady had purchased the articles in her possession from another clerk in the store.

"The incident described in the above paragraph is just one of many similar indignities experienced by Negroes who shop on Capitol Street in DOWNTOWN JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI.

"WHY SHOULD NEGROES NOT BUY ON CAPITOL STREET? The fact that Negroes make up a large volume of the business transactions on Capitol Street, and the fact that the merchants have consistently refused to employ Negroes as sales clerks and extend courtesy titles are reasons which all of us, I am sure, will agree are sound.

"To those of you who believe in human decency, dignity, and respect: We urge you to cooperate with us and DO NOT BUY ON CAPITOL STREET until such time as we are treated as other Americans, citizens, and customers."

For A Christmas Gift
that will be appreciated —
Give THE FREE PRESS

OPTOMETRIST
Dr. David M. White
505 N. Farish St.
FL 5-9085
10-6
Eyes Examined
Glasses Fitted

For All Your Hair Needs
Go To
Modern Beauty Salon
2632 Whitfield Mill Road
EM 6-9181
Annie, Laverne, Rose, and Mary to serve you

LULABELLE'S FASHION CENTER
"Everything In Mi-Lady's Needs"

Ladies Wear	Men's Wear
Cosmetics	Hats
Gloves	Dress Shirts
Costume Jewelry	Sport Shirts
Lingerie	Ties
Dresses	Handkerchiefs
Blouses	Socks
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Gifts	

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1072 Lynch Street Jackson, Mississippi

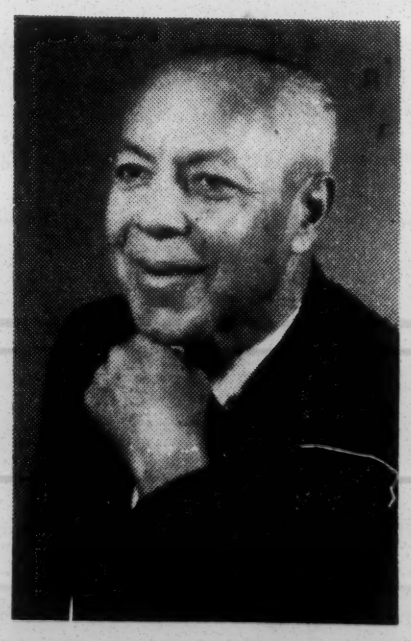
Wells Furniture Co.
Welcomes The "Free Press"
"SAVE AT WELLS"
DIAL FL 5-7843 FL 2-8014
409 North Farish Street
Jackson, Miss.

SMITH'S SUPER MARKET
(Formerly Valley Street Grocery)
1253 Valley Street R. L. T. Smith, Jr., Mgr.

Get your gas at . . . .
JOHNNY HAYES SHELL
2141 Whitfield Mills
Open 6 to 9

"Pleasing you —
Pleases us."
D and L Shoe Repair
For All Your Shoe Needs
1085 Lynch Street
FL 2-9546

Kollege Kleaners
Dry Cleaning—Altering—Laundering
Hats—50c and up
Dresses—$1.04
Suits—$1.04
Short Coats—50c
Blouses—35c and up
Ties—26c
Overcoats—$1.15
Bose Reed, owner-manager
414 Lynch Street FL 2-9328



Original Oil Portrait
Entirely handpainted from any clear photo or snapshot of a loved one or a family pet. (We can extract an individual from a group.) Specify color of eyes, hair, complexion and dress of subject. 8x10 portrait on silk $9.95; on canvas $19.95. Shipment four to five weeks. Satisfaction guaranteed. Sorry, no C.O.D.'s.
Order From:
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1114½ West Lynch Street
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THE DURANT NEWS

A Newspaper Reflects Its Community

The Newspaper That Boosts Durant

100th Year — Number Eleven | Durant, Mississippi — Thursday, December 28, 1961 | $3.00 Per Year

Holmes County Churches Receive Award

Through Hazel Eyes

By Hazel Brannon Smith

This is the last column of "Eyes" for 1961.

At the year's end we always mentally review events of the past year and take a few moments to anticipate what the New Year may bring.

We wish to express again this week, as we did in our Christmas column, our sincere, deep appreciation for the friendship and support of our thousands of friends and readers throughout Holmes County and the state. We shall always strive earnestly to be worthy of your trust.

Despite the continuing attacks from a few fanatics, principally in Lexington, this editor and The Lexington Advertiser have continued to make gains in 1961.

We might add these gains have been realized in spite of the lies that those opposed to us have circulated and caused to be circulated.

My friends hear these lies and report them to me in detail together with the names of persons doing the talking. My friends think I should expose these people by printing their names and what they are saying and some have urged me to sue those responsible for slander and conspiracy — and I have quite a case against them, if I choose to use it.

The only reason I have largely ignored these attacks, instead of answering them, is to keep the community peace as long as possible. I know the people of Holmes County have more sense than to believe these lies and distortions. Certainly the vast majority of our people are intelligent and try to think for themselves. Only a few gullible people have been influenced in any way by all the attacks made against me since 1954, when

we cannot do. That alone is why this editor and The Advertiser will fight them to a finish — so that this community and all of its people, may remain free.

These home-made Hitlers have been trying in every way they can to cram their own newspaper down the throats of the people of Holmes County. They are trying to force merchants to advertise in their paper right now. They have tried, unsuccessfully, to force people to subscribe to their paper. They have sought, again unsuccessfully, to force Negro citizens of Holmes County to subscribe to their paper.

One of these days the businessmen of Lexington (now hurting) are going to get good and tired of the unholy pressures exercised by the "bosses" and stage a good size revolution.

And when they do revolt, The Advertiser and this editor will still be here doing business at the same old stand and striving, as we always have for 125 and 25 years respectively, to build Lexington and Holmes County up in a constructive fashion — not tear it apart like the "bosses" are now doing.

We'll still be around to carry their obituaries.

Another promise to our readers: During 1962 we shall continue to publish the best newspaper in Holmes County with more news about Holmes County people than any other paper. The news will be, as it always has been in our papers, completely factual, unbiased and unprejudiced. This we believe to be the primary purpose of a newspaper — to keep the people informed about matters affecting their own interest.

No potential "boss" will

Edward B. Guess Dies In Kosciusko

Edward Brister Guess, well known resident and former mayor of Durant, died at 1:30 p. m. Christmas Eve at the Montfort Jones Memorial Hospital in Kosciusko after an extended illness.

Mr. Guesss, 78, was born in the Hesterville Community of Attala County, the son of the late G. T. and Mrs. Pearl Bowles Guesss. He moved to Durant in 1917 where he was manager of the Jackson Coca-Cola Bottling Plant until ill health forced his retirement.. He was active in public affairs, served as a member of the Durant Board of Aldermen and mayor. Even though he was incapaciated he always made the annual roll call when the Holmes County Court was in session. He was also interested in fraternal organizations and served as secretary of the Masonic Chapter and Blue Lodge for thirty years. He was a member and deacon of the Presbyterian Church of Durant.

Funeral services were held Monday afternoon ata 2:30 from the Durant Presbyterian Church. Interment was in the Kosciusko Cemetery under the direction of Jordan Funeral Home.

He leaves his wife, Mrs. Julia Smithson Guess of Durant, as his only immediate survivor.

Snow, Ice Increase Automobile Accidents

Five per cent of fatal motor vehicle accidents and 10.7 per

But Why Leave Us Out?

Compulsory Unitization Pushed By M-C

(An Editorial)

The editor of this newspaper is being discriminated against by the Mississippi-Alabama Division of the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, an organization of oil and gas companies and producers which compose one of the most highly organized and well-heeled lobbying groups in the state.

At the present time the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association is pushing a compulsory unitization law that would affect every small land holder in the state who owns potential oil and gas producing property. The Association hopes to get this compulsory unitization bill passed at the 1962 session of the Mississippi Legislature. As a part of this campaign they ran an advertisement in November on the unitization question in the newspapers of the state.

That is, they ran the ads in every paper except the four Mississippi newspapers owned and edited by Hazel Brannon Smith of Lexington.

This is why we say we have been discriminated against.

Why? The question naturally arises.

Mid-Continent ran the advertisement in the Holmes County Herald in Lexington, a newspaper with about one-fifth as many subscribers and possibly ten per cent as many readers as The Lexington Advertiser, which has served the people of Holmes County for more than 124 years, a newspaper owned and edited by Mrs. Smith.

Mid-Continent did not run the advertisements in The Durant News, although it is the only newspaper in Durant, also in Holmes County. The Holmes County Herald has practically no subscribers in Durant. The News, too, is owned by Mrs. Smith.

Normally an association like Mid-Continent wanting to see a bill enacted into law would run such an advertisement in every newspaper in the state. Certainly money is no object to the rich and powerful oil and gas producers who support Mid-Continent

Burrell And Pratt Are Permanent Co-Captains

ODE BURRELL

JOHN PRATT

Ode Burrell of Durant and John Pratt of Birmingham, Ala. were named permanent captains of the 1961 Bulldogs at the annual banquet held Friday evening in the Holmes Junior College Cafeteria.

Members of the team were honored by the college at this outstanding affair and especially invited guests were parents of the players and members of the faculty.

A father of one of the Bulldogs, Jack Scarborough, freshman, was the speaker for the occasion, Mr. Ben Scarborough of Kosciusko.

Mr. Scarborough, who has been minister of music at the First Baptist Church in Kosciusko for several years, brought a wonderfully inspirational message which was greatly enjoyed by all those attending.

Christmas Lighting Contest Winners Revealed For Commercial And Residential Areas

Hugh Carl's of Durant won first place for the commercial district in Durant's annual Christmas Lighting contest. Second place winner in this category was Ward's Jeweiry. The contest, held each year at Christ

Charles P. Durham, first; Mr. and Mrs. Joe Johnson, second.

Judging was held on the night of December 19th. Prizes will be awarded soon.

Thomas A. Stevens

Horseshoe, Oregon Place First, Third In Rural Program

Two Holmes County Churches received cash awards and certificates of merit as first and third place winners in the Rural Church Development Program from the Holmes County Farm Bureau on Sunday, December 24th. Winners were Horseshoe Baptist and Oregon Memorial.

Horseshoe Baptist

Horseshoe Baptist Church near Tchula was awarded $85.00 cash and a certificate of merit as first place winner, for their additional improvements on Sunday School rooms. During the past year six rooms have been added and the other rooms were painted. New equipment, including folding chairs, maps, blackboards etc have been added to both new and old rooms.

In addition to the Sunday School department, a new pastor's study was added, an attic fan installed, and the church grounds improved by setting out shrubbery, also a porch was built onto the front of the church.

Showing the growth of the church, which boasts approximately ninty-eight members, a Women's Missionary Society, Girls' Auxiliary, Royal Ambassadors and Sunbeams have been organized in the past few months

Frank Gwin presented Tol Thomas, Jr.., president of the Holmes County Farm Bureau who made the presentation to the pastor, the Rev. James Crowson.

Oregon Memorial

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make gains in 1961.

We might add these gains have been realized in spite of the lies that those opposed to us have circulated and caused to be circulated.

My friends hear these lies and report them to me in detail together with the names of persons doing the talking. My friends think I should expose these people by printing their names and what they are saying and some have urged me to sue those responsible for slander and conspiracy — and I have quite a case against them, if I choose to use it.

The only reason I have largely ignored these attacks, instead of answering them, is to keep the community peace as long as possible. I know the people of Holmes County have more sense than to believe these lies and distortions. Certainly the vast majority of our people are intelligent and try to think for themselves. Only a few gullible people have been influenced in any way by all the attacks made against me since 1954, when all this mess began.

Actually by now, the **really stupid** people making these attacks ought to realize they are not only building me up but at the same time tearing themselves down. They've just about had it — as we all know — and they are frantic.

By now most of the people of Holmes County are on to the little group of "loud mouths," as one merchant called them, and know that they are seeking one thing — to "boss" and control this community and this county. They don't want anything to happen in Holmes County that hasn't been "cleared" with them — and we do mean **everything**, up to and including organizing a PTA in Lexington.

The kind of control these little would-be big-shots would impose on us all is just as repugnant to every freedom-loving citizen of Holmes County as that exercised by the Communists, the Nazis or any other totalitarian, thought-control regime in foreign lands. They not only want to, but are actively trying to tell you and me, dear reader, what we can think, say and do, and **what** hurting) are going to get good and tired of the unholy pressures exercised by the "bosses" and stage a good size revolution.

And when they do revolt, The Advertiser and this editor will still be here doing business at the same old stand and striving, as we always have for 125 and 25 years respectively, to build Lexington and Holmes County up in a constructive fashion — not tear it apart like the "bosses" are now doing.

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No potential "boss" will tell us what to print, or what we cannot print, though some of them have tried.

We shall continue to be an independent newspaper, free from domination or control of any individual or group.

In 1962 we shall continue to follow the same policies adhered to always by this editor, to hold the columns of this paper open to any and all readers for self-expression, restricted only by a regard for decency, good taste and the laws of libel.

This is your hometown newspaper, dear reader, and it shall always continue to be just that as long as God sustains me and gives me strength to do my job. I am deeply mindful of my responsibility to all 27,000 of you and my job of helping to maintain the peace and tranquillity of our community and county. Were it not for my complete dedication to this responsibility, I would never have taken silently for so long the abuse of malicious and vicious men bent on my destruction. It may be necessary to speak out more in 1962 as these men try to make a last-ditch stand But as they feed the fires of racial prejudice and add to the flames that threaten to engulf us all, we shall continue to operate on a straight course with honest reporting and editorial integrity and with fair treatment to every reader and citizen of our community and area — the only course, we might add, that will avert racial conflict which is bound to come here, as elsewhere, if the fanatics in our midst continue to go unbridled.

HAPPY NEW YEAR.

of the Jackson Coca-Cola Bottling Plant until ill health forced his retirement.. He was active in public affairs, served as a member of the Durant Board of Aldermen and mayor. Even though he was incapaciated he always made the annual roll call when the Holmes County Court was in session. He was also interested in fraternal organizations and served as secretary of the Masonic Chapter and Blue Lodge for thirty years. He was a member and deacon of the Presbyterian Church of Durant

Funeral services were held Monday afternoon ata 2:30 from the Durant Presbyterian Church. Interment was in the Kosciusko Cemetery under the direction of Jordan Funeral Home.

He leaves his wife, Mrs. Julia Smithson Guess of Durant, as his only immediate survivor.

Snow, Ice Increase Automobile Accidents

Five per cent of fatal motor vehicle accidents and 10.7 per cent of all motor vehicle accidents in 1960 occured on snowy icy roads, according to reports of 25 state traffic authorities.

Reduce driving speed and increase the distance between vehicles when snow or ice are on roads and streets and be particularly careful on bridges, advises the Insurance Information Institute.

It takes three to twelve times as far to stop on snow and ice as on dry pavement, according to the National Saftey Council's Committee on Winter Driving Hazards. At 20 m.ph. (miles per hour) stopping distance is 60 feet on loosely packed snow and 195 feet on ice.

Ole St. Nick Captures Lawn Prize

Ole St. Nick on the lawn of Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Thornton on Pine Street in Lexington won first place in the lawn category of Lexington's Christmas Lighting contest last week. Adding to the attractive scene, but not seen in the picture is a smaller Santa Claus and Reindeer on the the back lawn of the Thornton home.

potential oil and gas producing property. The Association hopes to get this compulsory unitization bill passed at the 1962 session of the Mississippi Legislature. As a part of this campaign they ran an advertisement in November on the unitization question in the newspapers of the state.

That is, they ran the ads in every paper except the four Mississippi newspapers owned and edited by Hazel Brannon Smith of Lexington.

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Why? The question naturally arises.

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Mid-Continent did not run the advertisements in The Durant News, although it is the only newspaper in Durant, also in Holmes County. The Holmes County Herald has practically no subscribers in Durant. The News, too, is owned by Mrs. Smith.

Normally an association like Mid-Continent wanting to see a bill enacted into law would run such an advertisement in every newspaper in the state. Certainly money is no object to the rich and powerful oil and gas producers who support Mid-Continent.

So the average citizen would wonder why the Lexington editor was thus singled out.

But when it is remembered that Holmes County State Representative Wilburn Hooker is chairman of the House Conservation Committee to which the unitization bill is referred for action, the picture becomes very sharp and clear, at least to the citizens of Holmes County — for Rep. Hooker is one of the organizers and the main financial support of the Holmes County Herald. He is a member of the Executive Committee and its board of directors at the present time, the committee charged with trying to get enough money to keep the Herald going.

Now as an individual citizen Wilburn Hooker can fight me any way he chooses and I will have it out with him on a local level. To date I have largely ignored him and his gang and their frantic efforts to keep their newspaper alive. In this connection he has solicited advertising for the Herald, which he has every right to do.

He has gone farther — and asked people not to advertise in The Advertiser. This is promoting a conspiracy and is illegal, as well as unmoral and revolting. But even here I will still deal with Mr. Hooker on a local level.

But if and when State Rep. Hooker uses the office bestowed upon him by the people of Holmes County to influence and advance his own economic self-interest, then it is time to call a halt. That time is here and now.

Now, this is what I should like to know:

Was the discrimination against the Lexington editor by Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association inspired by its desire to incur favor with State Rep. Wilburn Hooker?

This seems hardly possible since Rep. Hooker was author of the unitization bill and enthusiastically, though unsuccessfully, sought its passage in the last session of the Legislature.

Could it be that the discrimination against the editor was a pay-off to Rep. Hooker for "services rendered?"

The people of the whole state will be interested in the answer to this one — because unitization is one of the most highly controversial measures to face the 1962 session. And informed people know that much is involved.

If a group like Mid-Continent can be influenced or intimidated in any way, for any reason, to use these cheap tactics on a lone woman editor, what more could it be contrained to do under additional pressure? How far will it go to get the compulsory unitization bill passed?

Without going into the merit or demerits of unitization itself (and we have not yet made up our mind on it) we would say that the apparent methods and tactics being used to push unitization are highly questionable, to say the least, and need a close examination and study by all interested citizens of the state — most of all by the members of the Legislature to whom we must look to protect and defend the peoples' interest.

Hazel Brannon Smith

ODE BURRELL

JOHN PRATT

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Residential winners are as follows:

Outdoor Tree — Mr. and Mrs. R. W. Rucker, first; Mr. and Mrs. I. H. English, second.

Inside Tree — Dr. and Mrs. A. A. Derrick, Jr., first; Mr. and Mrs. W. H. McKenzie, second.

Window — Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Snyder, first; Mr. and Mrs. D. T. Hester, second.

Doorway — Rev. and Mrs. R. E. Wasson, first; Mr. and Mrs. D. M. Barranco, second.

Overall Effect — Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Durham, first; Mr. and Mrs. Joe Johnson, second.

Judging was held on the night of December 19th. Prizes will be awarded soon.

County Schools Open January 2 After Holiday

Holmes County school children will resume their studies on Tuesday, January 2nd according to school officials.

Classes have been closed since December 20th for the Christmas holidays.

Thomas A. Stevens Rites Held Today

Thomas Alexander Stevens of West died Tuesday night Dec. 26th at 11:00 p. m. He was six years old.

Thomas was born February 12, 1956 and had been in ill health his entire short life.

Survivors are his parents, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Stevens,III, a brother, A. J. Stevens, IV. a sister, Elizabeth Ann, paternal grandmother, Mrs. A. J. Stevens Jr., maternal grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. John L. Mason, maternal great grandmother, Mrs. H. W. Mason, paternal great grandmoter, Mrs. Grace Alexander.

Graveside funeral services will be held at 10:30 a. m. Thursday at West cemetery with the Rev. Vic Shaw officiating, assisted by the Rev. R. E. Wasson. Southern Funeral Home is in charge of arrangements.

Pallbearers are Joe McLellan, John Arnold, Jimmy Bowen and Phillip Browning.

as first place winner, for their additional improvements on Sunday School rooms. During the past year six rooms have been added and the other rooms were painted. New equipment, including folding chairs, maps, blackboards etc have been added to both new and old rooms.

In addition to the Sunday School department, a new pastor's study was added, an attic fan installed, and the church grounds improved by setting out shrubbery, also a porch was built onto the front of the church.

Showing the growth of the church, which boasts approximately ninty-eight members, a Women's Missionary Society, Girls' Auxiliary, Royal Ambassadors and Sunbeams have been organized in the past few months

Frank Gwin presented Tol Thomas, Jr.., president of the Holmes County Farm Bureau who made the presentation to the pastor, the Rev. James Crowson.

Oregon Memorial

Oregon Memorial Church, northwest of Lexington, was awarded $50.00 cash and a certificate of merit as third place winner in the Rural Church Development Program. The Rev. Crawford Ray, Methodist pastor, accepted the award from Mr. Thomas on behalf of the church.

The church received the award primarily on the close fellowship and cooperation of the Baptist and Methodist denominations worshiping together. Other merits of the church include its "sick and relief fund" set up to help members in time of sickness and need. Each Sunday donations are made to this fund by members. During the past year the fund has helped approximately twenty-four sick people through gifts of cash or personal items.

Improvement to the church grounds also had an important role in the selection of Oregon as a winner. Members of the church donate their time and efforts to keeping the church lawn attractive. New portable tables were built for special events especially the annual

(Continued On Page Eight)

Arkansas Travelers Meet Lions

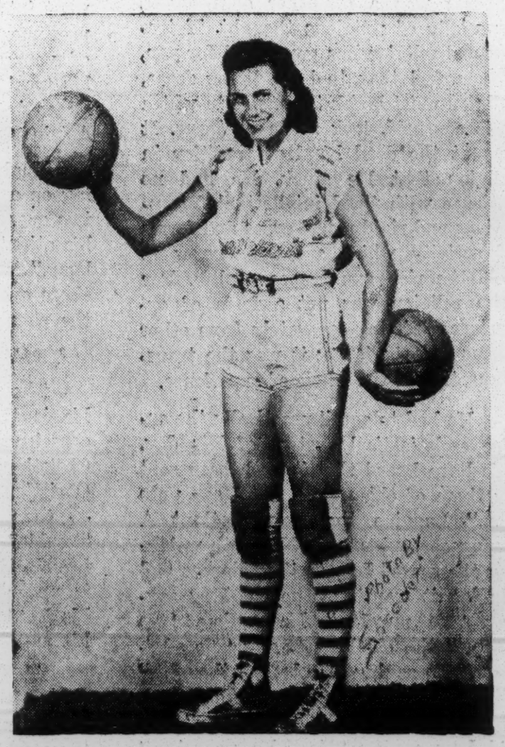
An exciting basketball game featuring the nationally known Hazel Walker Arkansas Travelers team and the Durant Lions Club team is set for Saturday, December 30 at the Durant High School Gym at 7:00 p. m.

The Arkansas Travelers were organized in 1949 by the famous Hazel Walker who had played in national amateur competition basketball, for fourteen years. She was an all American for eleven years, holding the record for women players During the past twelve seasons more than 2500 games, covering the United States and Mexico, have been played. This is the only girls' traveling team who play men's teams using men's rules, asking no favors from their opponents.

Wheeler Bolden is in charge of arrangements for this event which is being sponsored by the Durant Lions Club. Mr. Bolden is busy coaching his team in readiness for the game.

Members expected to play are Mr. Bolden, Lindsey O'Rear, Harvey Ray, George Pilgrim, John Marshall Pilgrim and Mel Chrestman.

Advance tickets will be on sale. Contact any member of the Durant Lions Club early for a ticket to this big event. Proceeds will be added to the Lions Club Swimming Pool Fund.



MISS HAZEL WALKER

The Lexington Advertiser

A Newspaper Reflects Its Community

"Principles and Men: Truth—the Weapon we use in their Defence."

Volume 124 | Lexington, Mississippi — Thursday, January 11, 1962 | Number Forty-One

Through Hazel Eyes

By Hazel Brannon Smith

Many small landowners in Holmes County, and some of them not so small, are disturbed over an impending bill to be introduced in the legislature—the compulsory unitization law for state oil and gas fields.

A spokesman for this group contacted me Friday and asked that I get the facts on this measure and give them to the people of Holmes County. The group feels the bill is definitely detrimental to their interest and other landowners in Mississippi. They feel that it would enact a law designed to protect the interests of the big companies—and take away their own rights.

I had already started a file of information on this matter. I became interested when the Mississippi-Alabama Division of the Mid-Continent oil and Gas Association left my four newspapers off their "Unitization" advertisment schedule which ran in November. This Association, a lobbying group which represents major oil and gas companies and large independents, is pushing the compulsory unitization bill which was introduced by State Rep. Wilburn Hooker of Holmes County at the last session of the legislature. Although the measure was soundly defeated then, they are going to introduce another bill this session—and Mr. Hooker, chairman of the House Conservation Committee, has already declared in favor of it.

I have already stated editorially that the apparent methods and tactics being used by Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association ano Rep. Hooker to push what has been described as a "force bill" are highly questionable, to say the least, and need a close examination and study readers and let them decide for themselves. But the more I learn about compulsory unitization , the more I am inclined to be against it. Perhaps this is because I am basically against the use of force to make anyone do anything.

There is organized opposition to the compulsory unitization bill by the Mississippi Mineral and Royalty Owners Association of which Frederic F. Mellen, a consulting geologist of Jackson, is executive director. Mr. Mellen has been in the oil exploration and production industries for more than twenty years.

Mr. Mellen's contention, and that of other qualified opponents, is that unitization should always be voluntary on the part of the landowners, and that a field should be unitized only after the necessity for it is definitely established.

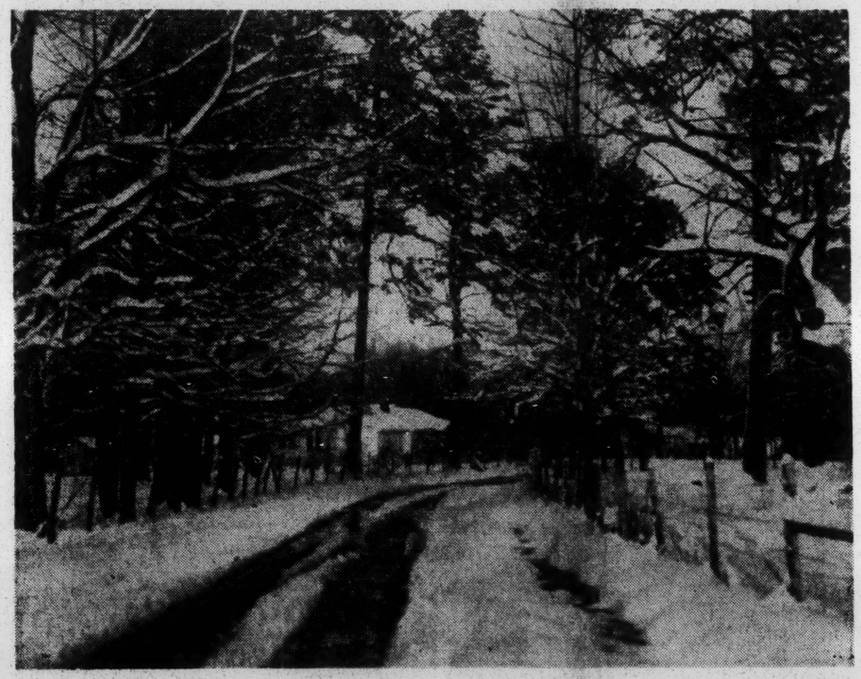
The Mineral and Royalty Owners' Association says the enactment of a compulsory unitization law would result in the establishment of a vast "underground storage for oil." The major companies want this, it contends, because "they can import foreign oil cheaper than they can produce it domestically."

Mr. Mellen says the clamor of the major oil companies for a compulsory unitization bill is motivated by the "desire of these over-producing and over-importing monopolistic corporations to abrogate their lease contracts with landowners of Mississippi."

The campaign for the compulsory unitization law is based on propaganda and not facts, he said.

"It is based solely on the economic hole the major

Holmes County Hit By Snow Tuesday



BLANKET OF WHITE COVERS HOLMES COUNTY: A three and three-fourths inch snow covered Holmes County along with the rest of the state Tuesday of this week making the roads and highways virtually impassable. Above scene on Westwood in Lexington is typical of the many beautiful snow scenes available — if one could get out and see them.

Low Temperature Of 3.5 Degrees Is Reported; Schools, County Offices Closed

A beautiful blanket of snow covered Holmes County this week.

Snow began falling early Tuesday morning in the northwest section of the county, around Cruger, and by 8:00 a. m. a few flakes were falling over the entire county. It began snowing in earnest about 10:00 a. m. and continued to fall hard and fast until about 9:00 p. m. and reached a depth of 3¾ inches.

The thermometer dropped to a low of 3½ degrees Tuesday night with a high of 7 about 9:00 a. m. Wednesday. Expected high for Wentsday was 20 degrees.

Not only Holmes County, but most of Mississippi was covered with snow, requiring the closing of many highways throughout the state.

Schools Close

All schools in the county closed early Tuesday morning or by noon and children sent home on busses before roads were too badly covered. Students will be advised when to return to school.

Telephone Service

According to Mrs. Dora Pearl Tidwell, chief optrator in the Lexington office, about fifty per cent of the toll lines are out but all local lines are all right. Mrs. Tidwell said, "the girls worked ten hours Tuesday in order to answer the many calls of patrons." Every available girl with the company was called in to work.

Mississippi Power and Light Company reported no broken lines or power damage in any way.

County Offices

County offices, including the Welfare Department, Health Department, and Holmes Extension workers were closed. Also all branches of the Holmes County Library.

Thawing Pipes

Zero temperatures, which are predicted, brought a warning from Fire Chief Billy Rathell against thawing frozen water pipes with blow torches or other forms of fire.

Chief Rathell advised residents to use common sense if their pipes freeze.

"It could save their lives and their property."

He said the best way to thaw a frozen pipe is to wrap it in rags and pour hot water over the wrapping.

Most of the business firms and stores in the county remained open for business as usual.

Holmes' First Baby Born On January 9th

Holmes County welomed its first baby for 1962, little Dora May Lepard, on January 9th at 9:30 a. m.

Dora May is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John Alec Lepard, RFD, Goodman. She was born at the Holmes County Community Hospital in Lexington and weighed seven pounds, two ounces.

Sharing congratulations with the happy parents are the maternal grandmother, Mrs. Georgia Billings of Goodman and the paternal grandmother, Mrs. Fannie Lepard of Kosciusko, four brothers and two sisters.

Rites Set Today For Mrs. Tate

Funeral services for Mrs. Sallie Lou Rodgers Tate will be held today (Thursday) at 3:00 p. m. from the Southern Funeral Home Chapel in Lexington, with the Rev. P. D. Bragg officiating.

Mrs. Tate, 71, died Tuesday night at 8:45 in the Holmes County Community Hospital after several weeks illness.

She had made her home in Holmes County for a number of years, where she will be missed by a host of friends. She was a member of the First Baptist Church of Lexington.

Survivors are two sons, Irby Lee Tate, Lexington; Earl Tate, Belzoni; a daughter, Mrs. Nellie Sisson, Lubbock, Texas; three brothers, Longino Rodgers, Belzoni; Leroy Rodgers, Greenville; Cunningham Rodgers, Lexington; three sisters, Mrs. Lillie

Holmes Editor Is Target Of Vicious Smear Campaign

Lexington Will Host Basketball Tournament January 19-20; Schedule Listed For Event

Lexington High School will

Howard Stubb.

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I have already stated editorially that the apparent methods and tactics being used by Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association and Rep. Hooker to push what has been described as a "force bill" are highly questionable, to say the least, and need a close examination and study by all citizens of the state, especially the members of the Legislature to whom we must look to protect and defend the peoples' interest.

Since the publication of that editorial on December 28th I have had many reports from vigorous opponents of compulsory unitization. One of the more interesting reports was that "$50,000 had been set up in the budget to get the bill passed" through the Legislature and more than that amount had already been spent. It will be interesting to see how these reports turn out. But it is my understanding that some members of the Legislature already have the information and that it will be released.

In my editorial of December 28th I said that I was keeping an open mind on the question of compulsory unitizaion—and I still am. It is a complicated and highly controversial measure and a very important one to every landowner in the state. I shall continue to study the question and try to be able to pass on the facts to our

should always be voluntary on the part of the landowners, and that a field should be unitized only after the necessity for it is definitely established.

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Mr. Mellen says the clamor of the major oil companies for a compulsory unitization bill is motivated by the "desire of these over-producing and over-importing monopolistic corporations to abrogate their lease contracts with landowners of Mississippi."

The campaign for the compulsory unitization law is based on propaganda and not facts, he said.

"It is based solely on the economic hole the major companies have dug for themselves in exploiting the petroleum resources of foreign countries. Wider spacing and compulsory unitization are the devices through which they ask the domestic producer, the land and royalty owners, and local governments to subsidize them in their foreign exploits."

Mr. Mellen and his associates say they are just as interested in conservation of resources as anyone but think it should be done on a sound and honest basis.

The proposed unitization bill, they contend, will inevitably leave oil in the ground because it will lead to an inadequate number of wells for most effective recovery of oil and gas They believe the present law, which allows a field to be unitized on the consent of 100 per cent of the landowners, is adequate.

The principal objection voiced by the average citizen is that he loses control of his own property—and that alone is enough to be against compulsory unitization.

Mrs. J. E. Dollahite Dies In Jackson

Mrs. J. E. Dollahite, widely beloved citizen of Durant, died Monday at 3:30 p.m. in the Baptist Hospital in Jackson following an illness of two months. She was 86.

A native of York, Ala., Mrs. Dollahite had made her home in Durant for the past sixty years where she had a host of friends. She was an active member of the Durant Methodist Church, the Women's Society of Christian Service, the Gamma Literary Club, United Daughters of the Confederacy, the American Legion Auxiliary and a past Worthy Matron of the Eastern Star.

Funeral services were held Wednesday at 2 p. m. from the Durant Methodist Church with the Rev. R. E. Wasson, the Rev. Durell Makamson and Robert Shoemaker officiating. Burial was in Mizpah Cemetery with Southern Funeral Home in charge of arrangements.

Surviving is one son, Gene Dollahite of Clawson, Mich. and two grandchildren.

Pallbearers were Joe York, Henry McKenzie, Herman Clements, Charles Irby, Dr. C. E. Patton and Ray Campbell.

Services On Friday For Miss Netherland

Miss Martha Ophelia Netherland, well known resident of the Coxburg community died Thursday at 1:15 p. m. at her home after an extended illness. She was 83.

She was a native of Holmes County, born and reared in the family home near Lexington. She was a member of the Harlands Creek Baptist Church.

Funeral services were held at 2:00 p. m. Friday from the Coxburg Methodist Church with the Rev. Roy D. Raddin officiating.

Survivors are four brothers, Rufus Netherland, Lexington; Vernon Netherland, B. L. Netherland, Eden; W. B. Netherland, Memphis; two sisters, Mrs. Ama Wallis, Lexington and Mrs. J. E. Stewart, Lexington.

Southern Funeral Home of Lexington was in charge of arrangements.

Her nephews served as pallbearers.

At University Hospital

Bobby Cauthen is critically ill at University Hospital, Room 531, in Jackson. Bobby's mother, Mrs. Joe Cauthen is second grade teacher in the Lexington School.

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Holmes Editor Is Target Of Vicious Smear Campaign

Sovereignty Commission, Citizens' Council Joined By Senator Williams In Attack

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of two Holmes County newspapers, The Lexington Advertiser and The Durant News, became the chief target of a vicious statewide smear campaign initiated by and using the combined facilities of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission and the Mississippi Citizens' Councils last week.

These two organizations, both of which are supported with state tax funds, were materially assisted in their joint undertaking by Holmes County State Senator T. M. Williams, who made a personal attack on Mrs. Smith in a speech on the Senate floor Thursday, thereby making certain the widest possible publicity was received.

The attempted smear took the form of a mailing from the state office of the Mississippi Citizens' Councils, located at 115 Howard Street in Greenwood, which went reportedly to all the newspapers of the state and was distributed to all members of the Legislature. In addition, Sen. Williams said they were mailed to "all of the people of Holmes County."

The mailing included a photo copy of a four-page December 16th edition of the "Mississippi Free Press," a Negro weekly newspaper printed by Mrs. Smith in the commercial printing department of her newspaper plant at Lexington. A heavy border at the top of the nameplate of the paper was used around two lines of type which said: "This is a reproduction of a paper being printed at Lexington, Miss., by Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, Editor of the Lexington Advertiser and The Durant News."

The second piece in the mailing was an affidavit executed in Hinds County on Jan. 2, 1962, by Albert Jones and A. L. Hopkins, which stated that on Friday night, December 15, 1961 at 8:20 p. m. the two men "being together at the time" observed a meeting at an office building in Jackson the window of which bore the name of "Mississippi Free Press." A. L. (Albert) Jones, a former sheriff of Hinds County, is director of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission and Mr. Hopkins, known widely as "Andy", a former member of the Highway Patrol, is a full-time investigator of the Sovereignty Commission.

Jones and Hopkins stated in the affidavit that those attending this "meeting" included the editor and her husband, Walter Dyer Smith.

Mrs. Smith's Statement

Mrs. Smith said: "The purpose of this affidavit was to make it appear that I was meeting and consorting with Negro integration leaders. Therein lies the smear which is but one more incident of a continuing campaign against me which began in 1954; with the organization of the Citizens' Council in Holmes County.

Then she said flatly: "There was no 'meeting' at the Mississippi Free Press office attended by me and my husband on December 15th, or at any other time, before or since. Nor has there been an integration meeting anywhere else at any time attended by us. The only time I have ever been in the Free Press office, and that has not been over two or three times, has been either to deliver the papers or collect for printing them. I have never been there long enough to even sit down. This despicable effort by Mr. Jones and Mr. Hopkins to try to make it appear that I am plotting with Negroes or anyone else is unworthy of American citizens, much less Southern gentlemen. I am ashamed of them.

"But I cannot get worked up even over this when I know that both of these men take their orders from the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission of which State Rep. Wilburn Hooker is a member.

Mrs. Smith continued:

"I cannot get excited over the Citizens' Council mailing. They have been doing this thing undercover against other good citizens for years now. This is just the first time it's been brought out in the open so dramatically. I am mindful too, that the Citizens' Council takes its orders from its State Executive Committee, of which State Rep Wilburn Hooker is also a member. He has been since the statewide Citizens' Council came into being. He and Sen. Williams were two of the principal organizers of the Citizens Council in Holmes County

"I know also, as do all the people in Holmes County, that Mr. Hooker was an organizer along with Sen. Williams and is the principal financial support of the Holmes County Herald, an opposition newspaper founded in Lexington nearly three years ago, to put me out of business, simply because I will not take orders from or be controlled by the Holmes County bosses, foremost of whom is Hooker.

"Now Mr. Hooker is trying desperately to save the Holmes County Herald, which would have gone under a long time ago without outside help, as everyone knows, so that he can tell the people of Holmes County only what he wants them to hear—and you can rest assured the Herald will never print even a suggestion of criticism against their fairhaired boy.

"In fact, even the bare suggestion that Mr. Hooker might be less than perfect, as implied, not stated, in my page one editorial of December 28th was probably what provoked this latest attack on me from the Sovereignty Commission and the Citizens' Council.

"Does anyone think for one moment that either of these spy and smear groups would have dared act against me without the direct order or specific approval of one of their bosses—and Mr. Hooker is a boss of the Sovereignty Commission and the state Citizens' Council, being a member of the governing bodies of both.

Present Question

"The question Holmes County citizens must decide now is whether they want to continue to have a newspaper open to all the people of the county, a newspaper that will honestly protect and defend their right to know, a newspaper that will print the truth and not bow down to a boss-controlled clique which uses economic pressure, reprisals and intimidations of all kinds, to hold an entire county in terror."

"I have no doubt whatever as to the outcome.

"The vast majority of the people of Holmes County, and I am speaking of the approximately 7000 white people are completely disgusted with the continuing efforts of Hooker and his gang to try to force the Holmes

(Continued on Page Two)

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Thawing Pipes

Zero temperatures, which are predicted, brought a warning from Fire Chief Billy Rathell against thawing frozen water pipes with blow torches or other forms of fire.

Chief Rathell advised residents to use common sense if their pipes freeze.

"It could save their lives and their property."

He said the best way to thaw a frozen pipe is to wrap it in rags and pour hot water over the wrapping.

Most of the business firms and stores in the county remained open for business as usual.

Lexington Will Host Basketball Tournament January 19-20; Schedule Listed For Event

Lexington High School will host the Holmes County Basketball Tournament on January 19-20. Games will begin on Friday afternoon at 5:00 o'clock.

The schedule is as follows:

On Friday at 5:00 the Tchula girls will meet the Goodman girls. At 7:30 Lexington girls and Durant girls will play.

At 6:15 the Durant and Tchula boys will compete and at 8:45 Goodman and Lexington boys will be matched.

Finals will be played at 7:00 ad 8:15 p. m. on Saturday.

Officials are Lester Lyon and Howard Stubb.

Admission is twenty-five cents for students and fifty-cents for adults.

Telephone Lines Are Constructed In Holmes

A construction crew of the Southern Bell Telephone Company is busy this week building rural lines between Lexington and Tchula.

Work began this week and construction of the new lines will enable better service in the area.

paternal grandmother, Mrs. Fannie Lepard of Kosciusko, four brothers and two sisters.

Rites Set Today For Mrs. Tate

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Survivors are two sons, Irby Lee Tate, Lexington; Earl Tate, Belzoni; a daughter, Mrs. Nellie Sisson, Lubbock, Texas; three brothers, Longino Rodgers, Belzoni; Leroy Rodgers, Greenville; Cunningham Rodgers, Lexington; three sisters, Mrs. Lillie McLellan, Lexington; Mrs. Nettie Truitt, Lexington; Mrs. Anzie Lee Williamson, Meridian; and several grandchildren.

Pallbearers were John Massey Calvin Moore, Leslie Farmer, Albert Sanford, M. D. Bruce, Jack Farmer, Irby Ellington and J. L. Mayo.

From Jackson

Mrs. Reynolds Cheney of Jackson arrived Monday to spend the day with her son, the Rev. Reynolds Cheney, II, Mrs. Cheney and Antoinette.

State Gestapo Rule

Personal And Press Freedom Are At Stake

(An Editorial)

For the first time in the history of this great and wonderful state its legislative chambers have been subverted and used to launch a campaign of criminal conspiracy and abuse against a private citizen by a tax-supported agency of the state and a professional hate-peddling organization which illegally has its hands in the pocket of every taxpayer. This abusive conspiracy against me and my newspaper was further aided by Holmes County Senator T. M. Williams in a speech on the Senate floor.

I claim my right as a free American and as a citizen of a once-free state to be heard. It is not for myself alone that I speak, but for all freedom-loving citizens who do not want the Citizens' Council to take over our state.

The smear campaign begun on a statewide basis against me last week by the State Sovereignty Commission and the Mississippi Citizens' Council is eloquent and convincing evidence that **the freedom of every citizen is at stake.** This is the issue each of us must face individually and decide, especially the members of the Legislature who vote the money to finance the operation of the Sovereignty Commission and furnish a large portion of the funds of the Citizens' Council which are channeled to it by the Sovereignty Commission in clear defiance of constitutional authority.

The funds to the Citizens' Council should be stopped immediatelly and the Sovereignty Commission abolished.

This unholy combination of the Sovereignty Commission with its statewide network of paid spies (and we now have its own sworn affidavit that it is spying) and the vicious and dictatorial Citizens' Council (which tries to destroy anyone who does not conform totally and absolutely to its line) is a menace to every citizen and is to **be no less dreaded and feared than the Gestapo of Hitler's Germany and the paid informers of the Communist conspiracy.**

If we lose our personal freedom, what does it matter what our masters call themselves?

The smear and insinuations against me circulated by the Citizens' Council out of its state office at Greenwood are relatively unimportant as to content and charges. Had I been guilty of the worst possible implications that could have been taken from them, which I am not, I still would not be guilty of having done anything illegal or morally wrong. The people of my home county know it. So do the informed newspapers of the state and all other interested and intelligent citizens.

Despite the false implications of the affidavit signed by Albert Jones, director of the Sovereignty Commission, and Andy Hopkins, its paid agent, this battle is not an integration-segregation controversy at all, as they apparently would have you believe.

* * * *

The real question at issue here is the same today as it has been since July

(Continued on Page Two)

Personal And Press Freedom Are At Stake

(Continued from Page One)

of 1954 when the fight against me began in Holmes County — because I published a news story and editorially condemned the Holmes County Sheriff for shooting a Negro in the back. It is a question of the right of a free press, the right of a newspaper to print the truth and make fair comment. My position then was upheld by the Mississippi Supreme Court in a unanimous decision rendered in November, 1955, and I was cited and commended for my service to press freedom in Mississippi and America by a unanimous vote of the Mississippi Press Association, an association composed of every daily and weekly newspaper in the state.

The struggle that began then has continued until this day without letup and my opponents, some seeking revenge, have used every conceivable means to try to discredit and hurt me and alienate my friends and supporters throughout the county and state.

This small but highly vocal and in some quarters, influential clique has inspired boycotts, economic pressures and reprisals and other forms of intimidation which climaxed three years ago in the organization of an opposing weekly, the Holmes County Herald in Lexington, a community of 2700 population which can barely support one newspaper.

* * * *

Puzzled legislators, and other interested citizens, too, will get a clearer picture of the situation if they read the page one editorial in the December 28th edition of The Lexington Advertiser — an editorial which clearly shows the methods and tactics of my opponents, notably State Rep. Wilburn Hooker, and may well explain why the attack was made at this time. Mr. Hooker is a close associate of Sen. Williams, and with him an organizer and supporter of the competing newspaper, the Holmes County Herald.

Among others associated in the latter enterprise were former State Rep. Edwin White, Holmes County Citizens' Council Chairman William Moses and other Citizens' Council leaders. This group was aided and supported by a number of bootleggers, and bootlegger-sympathizers whom I have been fighting for years in order that our

Does any member of the Legislature, or any private citizen think for one moment that either the Sovereignty Commission or the state's Citizens' Council would dare move against any person in any county of the state without the direction, advise or consent of one of its own directors in the same county?

I think not and the majority of people in Mississippi are of the same opinion.

* * * *

Mississippi stands today upon the threshold of her brightest hour, economically speaking. But man does not live by bread alone. He cherishes his personal freedom, without which he is no better off than the people in the Communist-controlled countries. The spiritual values which we as a people hold above all else compel us to have a decent regard for the dignity of all men and live our lives and build our society on a policy of love, not hate, on faith and hope, not fear and despair. In this direction lies the growth and development of a magnificient Mississippi in which all races may live in mutual respect and pride — and only in this direction can we achieve real racial peace and harmony and our own happiness and prosperity. We cannot hold down more than 42 per cent of our entire state population without staying down ourselves — and all intelligent people know it.

This greatest of all nations was not built by men who were afraid. The Magnolia State was not carved out of a wilderness by the fearful and timid. And we cannot live and truly progress in today's atmosphere of fear — an atmosphere engendered by the Citizens' Council and its professional agitators who apparently are now running our state and setting its policies, even to the point of intimidating the Legislature. The average Mississippian has no authority or voice in the local Councils. They have been taken over by the professional politicians, although they were organized on a non-political basis. And the little people are supposed to "go along" and not ask questions.

Gestapo rule in Mississippi? It is nearer than we think.

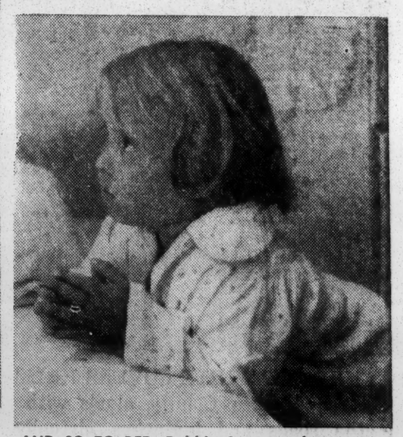
Responsible, dedicated, courageous

March of Dimes 1962 Poster Girl Spends a Busy Day at Her Home

THE DAY BEGINS — Five-year-old Debbie Sue Brown, who was born with an open spine, wakes up to a good-morning kiss from her mother, Mrs. Barbara Brown, in their home in Clarkston, Wash. Now a happy, active child, it was once feared Debbie Sue had only three months to live because of her serious birth defect.

DRIES BREAKFAST DISHES—Despite the braces she needs for both legs, Debbie Sue helps mommie around the house. She dusts, watches over her one-year-old sister, Carla, and helps feed 15 pet rabbits the family keeps. Local National Foundation-March of Dimes chapter helps finance her medical care.

SWINGING AWAY — Debbie Sue swings merrily. She is one of more than 250,000 infants born each year in this country with a significant birth defect. Debbie Sue, chosen from many candidates as 1962 New March of Dimes poster girl, symbolizes all victims of crippling birth defects, arthritis and polio.



AND SO TO BED—Debbie Sue says her evening prayers confident of a fine day tomorrow. A finer future for millions afflicted by crippling disease is brought closer through each contribution to the 1962 New March of Dimes to finance research, medical care, professional and public education.

George Phillip Taylor Dies In Greenwood

George Phillip Taylor, former Holmes countian, died at his

Looking Ahead

and distribution.

The New "Line"

The answer, from the "liberal" point of view: let the government take over. Yet, it is almost too obvious that when the government is free to print money and manipulate it at

Behind The Scenes . . .

American Business

By Reynolds Knight

Moderate consumer price increases are waiting in the wings and will appear shortly, according to the latest economic forefasts.

The brisk pace of consumer spending, coupled with rising industrial productivity, will inevitably force the price line upward in coming months. Although the rise will be slight, it will affect both industrial and consumer products, say the experts.

During the past year prices have remained relatively stable; indeed, in several periods, showed slight declines. But recent consumer spending patterns, if they continue, are bound to result in higher price tags for consumer goods. Look for the disappearance of big clearance sales, generous discounts and other obvious bids for consumer dollars during the next few months.

* * * *

Credit Strength

Consumers are beginning the new year in a "strong" credit position, according to L. Walter Lundell, president of C.I.T. Financial Corporation, the nation's largest consumer and industrial financing institution.

Instalment obligations have been repaid at a rapid pace during the past 12 months, consumer savings have increased, and substantial improvement is evident in factory wages and employment indices, he noted. A "continuing sales increase" is in prospect for the automotive, low-cost housing and other consumer-oriented industries for which C.I.T. provides instalment financing, he said.

"In 1962 instalment credit will take on added significance as a sturdy partner in our mass-production and mass-consumption economy," he observed. "The turnover of instalment credit, with millions of consumers assume new instalment obligations, continues to constitute a dynamic and constructive force in the current business upturn."

The new year, Mr. Lundell said, should see "a consistent but orderly increase" in the use of credit by both businessmen and consumers.

* * * *

Earthy Orbits

The newest advance in aerospace testing technology — a "ground-orbiting" space chamber designed to test entire space vehicles and systems — will save considerable time and tax-

million units, with an estimated value at factory prices in excess of $175 million," according to Walter A. Scheaffer II, president of the W. A. Sheaffer Pen Company.

These figures compare with 570 million units, valued at $135 million, produced in 1960, he said. They're based on reports from more than 70 firms in the writing instrument industry.

Unit-wise, production of ballpoints will lead the field again in 1962, and cartridge fountain pens will continue to show sizeabe gains, Mr. Sheaffer predicted. Currently more than one-third of all fountain pen dollar volume is attributable to the cartridge-filled type, he said. In spite of the tremendous popularity of ballpoints in recent years, the industry manufactured and sold more fountain pens in 1960 than in any previous year he noted.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS REVIEW

JACKSON AREA GETS BIG NEW INDUSTRY

Announcement of a new manufacturing pant to be constructed in the Jackson area was made December 28 by G. Dewey Hynes, executive vice president of General Cable Corporation. Hynes announced that his company would build a plant approximately 100,000 square feet, (to be completed in 1963) which would employ a minimum of 250 people. General Cable is a major manufacturer of electrical and communication wire and cable.

* * * *

HUNTSVILLE BOOM OF INTEREST TO HANCOCK

A recent report from Huntsville, Alabama, home of the Redstone Arsenal, indicates what Hancock county might have to look forward to as the site of a Saturn moon rocket test facility, since the test center in Mississippi will operate under the Alabama unit, both under the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The annual payroll of the Red stone Arsenal was estimated at $170,000,000 in a recent Associated Press story from Huntsville. Anoter estimate in the story was that the operation

which can barely support one newspaper.

* * * *

Puzzled legislators, and other interested citizens, too, will get a clearer picture of the situation if they read the page one editorial in the December 28th edition of The Lexington Advertiser — an editorial which clearly shows the methods and tactics of my opponents, notably State Rep. Wilburn Hooker, and may well explain why the attack was made at this time. Mr. Hooker is a close associate of Sen. Williams, and with him an organizer and supporter of the competing newspaper, the Holmes County Herald.

Among others associated in the latter enterprise were former State Rep. Edwin White, Holmes County Citizens' Council Chairman William Moses and other Citizens' Council leaders. This group was aided and supported by a number of bootleggers, and bootlegger-sympathizers whom I have been fighting for years in order that our people might have a decent county in which to live. The new newspaper was organized for one purpose—to put me out of business — principally because they cannot control my news and editorial policies, policies incidentally, that have never advocated integration of the races.

* * * *

State Rep. Hooker is a member of both the Sovereignty Commission and State Executive Committee of the Mississippi Citizens' Council.

As a state legislator he votes taxpayers' money to the Sovereignty Commission and as a member of the Sovereignty Commission he donates tax money to the Citizens' Council.

Is this morally or legally defensible? I think not.

But when Rep. Hooker uses his office and the power he attained through the gift of the people of Holmes County to persecute any citizen of our county for any reason whatsoever, then his position is truly indefensible.

and prosperity. We cannot hold down more than 42 per cent of our entire state population without staying down ourselves — and all intelligent people know it.

This greatest of all nations was not built by men who were afraid. The Magnolia State was not carved out of a wilderness by the fearful and timid. And we cannot live and truly progress in today's atmosphere of fear — an atmosphere engendered by the Citizens' Council and its professional agitators who apparently are now running our state and setting its policies, even to the point of intimidating the Legislature. The average Mississippian has no authority or voice in the local Councils. They have been taken over by the professional politicians, although they were organized on a non-political basis. And the little people are supposed to "go along" and not ask questions.

Gestapo rule in Mississippi? It is nearer than we think.

Responsible, dedicated, courageous leadership is the crying need of the hour — and Governor Ross Barnett and members of the Mississippi Legislature have the authority and the means to provide that leadership. We need leaders who will step out in front and lead, and not continue to follow blindly the dictates of the Citizens' Council.

We beg Governor Barnett and the gentlemen of the Legislature to cast off the shackles of the Citizens' Councils and their negative policies that bind Mississippi to a course which leads ultimately down the road to the point of return — and guarantees many bitter days in between. We beg you, instead, to adopt a positive attitude to our racial problems and attempt to solve them on a basis of Christian charity and fair play so that, working together, in an atmosphere of mutual trust, we may claim the bright future that is rightfully ours.

Hazel Brannon Smith

Holmes Editor Is—

(Continued from Page One)

County Herald down their unwilling throats. The 20,000 or more Negroes in Holmes County barely know it exists. They have steadfastly refused to have anything to do with it, even when the Herald added around 800 of them to the mailing list, seeking their favor. Even then they couldn't force them to read or subscribe to the Herald, so most of their names have been removed."

"It is tragic that Rep Hooker, Sen. Williams and their associates are willing to use their elective offices and these vicious tactics and methods to try to discredit me when, for the past 25 years, all of my adult life spent here in Holmes County, I have done nothing more than print the truth and meet issues as forthrightly as possible as they develop. I have not gone out looking for issues. I have been fair to the people of both races in the columns of my newspapers because I know this is the only basis upon which we can build sound racial relations in the county and state. The white people of Holmes County and Mississippi of good will feel the same way.

"When a white sheriff without reason shoots a Negro in the back, as happened in my county on July 3, 1954, I cannot look the other way. To do so would condone the crime and that I cannot do. Nor can I sit idly by and not condemn such action. The libel suit filed then from this action is the root trouble of everything that has heppened here since. My position was upheld unanimously by the Mississippi Supreme Court and I was commended by the Mississippi Press Association.

"We have the best Negro citizens in the world in Holmes County and there is no racial trouble or unrest threatening the public peace. There is no one that I know of, least of all me, who is trying to change this.

"But if Mr. Hooker and Mr. Williams continue in their present course they will make certain that we do have trouble here, as elsewhere in the state where fear controls the people and their leaders.

"I challenge these two gentlemen to live up to their responsibilities as public officials in a statesmanlike way, instead of their present course of petty politics, so that the people of Holmes County and Mississippi will be better served and that the state and all its people may advance on all fronts. I have endured their abuse and persecution almost silently now for more than seven years simply because I did not want to wash the dirty linen of Holmes County in public — and their attacks on me, if exposed. I knew would receive national publicity as they probably now realize.

"Now that these gentlemen by their own actions have invited this publicity, I shall endeavour to see that the people of Mississippi and the nation learn the truth, all of it."

The Lexington Advertiser

Thursday, January 11, 1962

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH (Mrs. Walter D.) _____ Editor and Publisher
Established in 1837 — Published Every Thursday — Subscription rates: Anywhere in Holmes County, $3.00 per year; Outside Holmes County $3.50 per year. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Lexington, Mississippi.

SWINGING AWAY — Debbie Sue swings merrily. She is one of more than 250,000 infants born each year in this country with a significant birth defect. Debbie Sue, chosen from many candidates as 1962 New March of Dimes poster girl, symbolizes all victims of crippling birth defects, arthritis and polio.

AND SO TO BED—Debbie Sue says her evening prayers confident of a fine day tomorrow. A finer future for millions afflicted by crippling disease is brought closer through each contribution to the 1962 New March of Dimes to finance research, medical care, professional and public education.

George Phillip Taylor Dies In Greenwood

George Phillip Taylor, former Holmes countian, died at his home in Greenwood Tuesday about 9:30 a. m. after an extended illness. He was 62.

Mr. Phil, as he was known to his friends, made his home on Horseshoe near Tchula for a number of years. He was a member of the Horsehoe Baptist Church, and a retired farmer.

Funeral services will be held today (Thursday) at 10:00 a. m. from the Tchula Baptist Church with the Rev. Roy D. Raddin officiating. Interment will be in Pinecrest Cemetery with Southern Funeral Home of Lexington in charge of arrangements.

Survivors are his widow, Mrs. Essie Mae Tate Taylor, Greenwood; a son Hugh Taylor, of Greenwood; five daughters, Mrs. James Nash, Morrisville, North Carolina; Mrs. Charles Reeves, Greenwood; Mrs. George Hogge, Virginia; Mrs. Earl Davidson, Florida; Mrs. Griffin Cholfont, Marietta, Georgia; a brother, Joe Taylor, Lexnigton; three sisters, Mrs. Lloyd Rogers Vaiden; Mrs. Louise Tate, Lexington; and Mrs. N. A. Tardy, Winona.

Lexington P. O. Gets New Trim, Paint Job

The Lexington Post Office Building is undergoing a facelifting this week. All trim work on the outside of the building is being redone.

Tuck masonry pointing is being aplied to all stone and brick, which consists of cleaning and replacing mortar.

The entire interior of the extension department is being repainted..

George E. Jensen Contractors, Inc. of Mobile, Alabama are doing the work. Work began the latter part of last week and is expected to be completed by January 16, weather permitting.

Mr. Joseph Gee Salley Rites Held In Gulfport

Mr. and Mrs. Lute Ellison, Mrs. C. O. Sudbeck and Mrs. Maud Legate attended the funeral of their uncle, Mr. Joseph Gee Salley in Gulfport on Sunday, January 7th.

Mr. Salley died Thursday night in Gulfport after a lengthy illness. Other survivors are his wife, Mrs. Lela Salley, a son Roy Salley, Mrs. Salley and two grandsons, all of Gulfport; two sisters in Texas.

Sympathy is exended the family here, where he has many other near relatives.

Looking Ahead

By Dr. George S. Benson., Pres National Education Program Searcy, Ark

THE USES OF INFLATION

One of the strange paradoxes of our time is that in our political life today those who so proudly march under the "liberal" banner often are really not champions of freedom at all. This column has been making this observation, off and on, for almost two decades It is a mistake, of course, to call all liberals Communists. Relatively few left-leaning "liberals" have carried cards in the Communist Party; even extreme liberals are not especially wanted inside the party, for they accomplish its goals more easily outside.

It does seem that "liberals" are becoming increasingly aware of flaws in the collectivist arguments. I believe that many sincere Americans are today examining critically the reasons for their political faith and that many of them are re-discovering the bed-rock principles upon which this nation's achievements are based. Some Americans, long accustomed to looking with suspicion upon "capital" or "property" while listening to the orators plead for "human" rights, are realizing that any planned economy leads to a net loss of freedom and human values.

Thirst For Power

Dr. Melchoir Palyi, in his "An Inflation Primer" (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, $4), has shown why this is so. The planned economy, he insists, cannot operate without inflation, nor can inflation be planned. The patterns of slow inflation, however, are apparent to managers and manipulators. Without a sound budget and credit system that will conserve and restrain the currency, the "patronage state" (misnamed welfare state, he says) can run wild. The politicians and others then have power to manage the economy and dispose of patronage as they please.

"In ultimate analysis," Dr. Palyi says, "it boils down to the choice between a free, competitive-market economy and a statist or collectivist system run by political fiat." The collectivist minded liberal, you see, does not like the free enterprise system. He usually assumes, falsely of course, that the free market system will not work, or that it results in depressions or recessions. His real objection, however, is that it deprives him of the exercise of real power over the control of production and distribution.

The New "Line"

The answer, from the "liberal" point of view: let the government take over. Yet, it is almost too obvious that when the government is free to print money and manipulate it at will, you no longer have a free country. "Currency manipulation is not only a characteristic of every collectivist society; it its the safest and surest way to colectivize every society," says Dr. Palyi. The collectivists, he explains, are no dreamers. They know what they want. They will use inflation as one means of gaining and holding power.

In describing the current status of creeping inflation, Dr. Palyi refers to a new "line" which is now being advanced on a broad front. This is the idea the U. S. must always "move ahead," that "growth" is important enough as "to justify more public spending, taxing, inflating, and meddling." There are good and sufficient reasons for rejecting this new "line." He unmasks this subterfuge, showing that the same old purpose is evident, to win friends and influence votes, under all sorts of humanitarian slogans that appeal to the greed of any groups that have the votes.

Toward Full Controll

"Crawling inflation is a very convenient avenue for the redistribution of incomes and wealth, a most effective subsidiary to discriminatory taxation, political patronage, governmental meddling, and outright corruption. Even the tightrope act of 'balancing' the economy between booms and recessions necessitatets a host of incisive fiscal and monetary maneuvers. And should the inflation get out of hand, the collectivist stands ready with price, profit, and wage controls . . . The greater the calamity brought about by inflation, the broader the power he is likely to acquire to combat the inflation. . . ."

"A word about the collectivist is appropriate. He is not Communist, oh no! Frequently, he claims to be a believer in economic freedom, with a bit of money management super-imposed. But on some basic points his thinking happens to coincide with the Kremiin line. Growth at any price, his ultimate ideal, is straight out of the bolshevist horse's mouth. And (changing the metaphor) he rides that horse for all it is worth."

REMEMBER THE BIRDS

Even here in the South where the winters are mild many species of birds have difficulty in finding sufficient food during a severe winter, especially during periods of heavy ice or snow. Bread crumbs, suet, small grain chick feed will bring many birds to the grounds as daily winter visitors.

and substantial improvement is evident in factory wages and employment indices, he noted. A "continuing sales increase" is in prospect for the automotive, low-cost housing and other consumer-oriented industries for which C.I.T. provides instalment financing, he said.

"In 1962 instalment credit will take on added significance as a sturdy partner in our mass-production and mass-consumption economy," he observed. "The turnover of instalment credit, with millions of consumers assume new instalment obligations, continues to constitute a dynamic and constructive force in the current business upturn."

The new year, Mr. Lundell said, should see "a consistent but orderly increase" in the use of credit by both businessmen and consumers.

* * * *

Earthy Orbits

The newest advance in aerospace testing technology — a "ground-orbiting" space chamber designed to test entire space vehicles and systems — will save considerable time and taxpayer dollars in future years, a leading aerospace manufacturer, the Bendix Corporation, predicts.

The down-to-earth space chamber developed last year can test complete space craft or component parts in a simulated space atmosphere. According to Louis B. Young, general manager of the Bendix Systems Division, the new space chamber, which "exceeded all specifications" in its recent initial test, can achieve simulated heights of 250 miles, a vacuum that eliminates 99.99 per cent of the earth's atmosphere, conditions of intense solar heat and cold, and the acceleration and the deceleration conditions of actual orbital spae flight.

The space chamber is the heart of a multi-million-dollar Bendix space laboratory that will be in full operation early this year. The new facility will significantly reduce the cost and time involved in testing new spacecraft and related systems, Mr. Young said.

Small Stuff

Some of the biggest industrial achievements of 1961 were in the field of miniaturization, according to an executive whose firm's newest product won last year's "Miniaturization Award."

William O. Bennett, vice president for research and engineering of the Bulova Watch Company, Inc., said his firm's "Accutron" electronic timepiece — which won the award in competition against 116 other entries—contains a complete electronic system and power source within a wrist-size watch. The "Accutron" is guaranteed to be accurate to one-minute-a-month in daily use, and has been used in U. S. satellite and industrial programs since being introduced.

Other entries in the miniaturization competition included a two-phase electric motor 1/64 inch square, an a-c timing motor 9/32 inches long and weighing 1/9 ounce, a surgical needle .008 inches in diameter, and a tiny computer "memory" unit that reduced from 10,000 watts to 1 watt the power needed to run a computer containing a million "computer logic" circuits.

* * * *

Pen Pals

The nation's pen manufacturers are looking to 1962 as the year in which production will hit the one-billion-unit mark for the first time, an industry says.

"Combined production of fountain pens, ballpoints and mechanical pencils in 1961 probably will total well over 950

ufacturing plant to be constructed in the Jackson area was made December 28 by G. Dewey Hynes, executive vice president of General Cable Corporation. Hynes announced that his company would build a plant approximately 100,000 square feet, (to be completed in 1963) which would employ a minimum of 250 people. General Cable is a major manufacturer of electrical and communication wire and cable.

* * * *

HUNTSVILLE BOOM OF INTEREST TO HANCOCK

A recent report from Huntsville, Alabama, home of the Redstone Arsenal, indicates what Hancock county might have to look forward to as the site of a Saturn moon rocket test facility, since the test center in Mississippi will operate under the Alabama unit, both under the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The annual payroll of the Red stone Arsenal was estimated at $170.000,000 in a recent Associated Press story from Huntsville. Anoter estimate in the story was that the operation pours $350,000.000 a year into the economy of Alabama. Location of the arsenal some ten years ago jumped Huntsville's population from 18,000 in 1950 to $72.000 today.

Although the Redstone Arsenal is Huntsville's major means of economic support, a Huntsville Industrial Expansion Committee is active on behalf of the city and Madison county, in which it is located. The committee recently hired a Mississippi industrialization expert, Guy E. Nerren, to attract new industry. Nerren until recently was assistant director of the industrial development department of the Delta Council, with headquarters at Stoneville, Mississippi.

Capitol News

By HEBER LADNER

BANNER YEAR FOR FARMERS

Mississippi farmers, using mechanical skill and technical knowledge, performed new feats in production in 1961. It was a banner year in which farmers made advances on nearly all farm fronts and established new records in some areas. Farmers set new records of production in soybeans, rice, pecans, peaches, broilers, commercial eggs and per acre yields of corn.

* * * *

MINERAL PRODUCTION

Mineral production in Mississippi during 1961 had a value of 5.3 per cent over 1960's figure. Petroleum, natural gas liquid, and natural gas accounted for ninety one per cent of the state's mineral production. Overall production of nonmetallic minerals increased due to the highway and industrial construction needs. The figure includes clay, sand and gravel, potassium compounds, anhydrous ammonia, and glass sands.

* * * *

GOOD TIME TO CHECK ON FARM MACHINERY

The winter lull affords a good opportunity for Mississippi farmers to check their machinery and equipment for possible sources of danger before the spring planting season and field work gets under way. Improper adjustment of equipment and machinery often is at least a secondary factor in accidents, injuries and subsequent loss of working time during busy seasons.

Holmes County Women Win Awards From NMGC...

Mrs. Eric Norquist was honored by the Men's Garden Club of America at their national board meeting held Friday and Saturday at Hotel Heidelberg in Jackson.

Mrs. Norquist won the distinction through her efforts in assisting in the organization of the Lexington Men's Garden Club.

The men's club was organized recently and the following officers were elected: Allan Ramsey, president; William Moses, vice president; Ben Moore Hammett, secretary and treasurer.

The charter will be presented at a early date. The roll of membership remains open and flower growers are invited to join early enough to begin growing plants in the early spring.

Mrs. Norquist and Mr. Ramsey attended the banquet on Friday night when Mrs. Norquist received a certificate of appreciation from Mr. Bryant Horne of Jackson, the newly installed president of National MGCA. Mr. Horne stated that Mississippi has led the entire United States in number of ladies so honored.

HONORED FOR HELPING organize Men's Garden Clubs in Mississippi were, left to right, Mrs. Eric Norquist, Lexington; Mrs. Walton Gresham, Indianola; Mrs. Charles O. Dean, Leland; Mrs. Louise Durham, Durant; and Mrs. Lester Brown, Kosciusko.

Miss Pettus Hostess To New Year's Party

Miss Sally Pettus was hostess to a New Year's party, Friday, December 29th at the home of her parents, Mr. and Mrs Enos Pettus.

An out-of-town guest was Miss Carolyn Haddon of Greenwood, others attending were Miss Ann Burkley, Eddie Weems and Butch McNeer.

Music was by Stereo Hi-Fi, from albums by Elvis Presley, Conway Twitty and other popular records.

The hostess, assisted by her mother and Ann, servtd homemade holiday cookies and Coca-Colas.

Attend MGCA National Meeting

Mrs. Eric Norquist and Mrs. Zouella Bacon of Durant spent the wtekend at the Heidelberg Hotel in Jackson and attended the meeting of the Men's Garden Club of America. Mrs. Norquist was an honor guest of the club.

Lexington Visitor

Mrs. Rudolph Gordon came to Lexington on Friday to accompany Mr. Gordon home. He was released from the Holmes County Community Hospital after a four weeks stay. Friends will be glad to know he is re-

Ricky Wynn Brooks Honored On Birthday

Mrs. Joy W. Brooks honored her son Ricky Wynn Brooks on his seventh birthday Saturday, January 6th at her home on Cedar St.

About ten close friends from the first grade, who have been classed with Ricky since kinderten days attended.

Boy's games were played indoors and out. The ring toss game was won by the team led by Olin Dunn Jr., and his teammates were Gary Willoughby and Jim Hughes.

The table was centered with a birthday cake flanked by crystal candelabra holding pale blue candles. The cake was decorated in blue and white icing tiny blue candles and a group of five fuzzy circus animals The favors were miniature prehistoric animals and birds which delighted the boys.

Also used as favors were baloons with a happy birthday motif matching the plates, cups and napkins.

Mrs. Brooks, assisted by Ricky's grandmother, Mrs. Ellis

News Of Women

SOCIETY ★ CLUBS ★ PERSONALS

Carl Wesley Legate Born In Natchez

Mrs. Maud Legate is the proud grandmother of a new grandson born to Mr. and Mrs. Claude Legate of Natchez, who has been named Carl Wesley Legate.

Carl was born Saturday, December 30th at the Jefferson Davis Hospital in Natchez and weighed eight and one half pounds. He has a brother, Dennis and sister, Claudia to welcome him.

The paternal grandparents are

Mr. Moses Speaks To Lexington H. D. Club

Mr. William Moses, County Civil Defense chairman was guest speaker at the monthly meeting of the Lexington Home Demonstration Club at City Hall on Thursday, January 4th.

Mrs. W. T. Holder and Mrs. T. M. Williams served as cohostess, and Mrs. Howard Terry, president, presided over the meeting. The opening song, "America" was led by Miss Mary Harpole, and the devotional was given by Mrs. Wil-

Attends Meeting

Mr. Allan Ramsey attended the national meeting in Jackson of the Men's Garden Club of America on Friday and Saturday.

Cheney Jackson Home Scene Of Debutante Tea

Mrs. Reynolds Cheney, her mother, Mrs. Garner W. Green and daughter, Miss Winifred Cheney were hostesses at a debut party on Saturday, December 29th honoring nine debutantes, at the Reynolds Cheney home on Riverside Drive in Jackson.

Yellow and white spring flowers adorned the home for a lovely tea given by Mrs. Cheney, her mother and daughter. Gladioli and snapdragons in the color scheme were displayed in the entrance hall and family room. The mantel in the living room was the focal point of the many beautiful arrangements with fanshaped designs of white gladioli in crystal vases.

The dining table was draped with a white Venetian banquet cloth with lace medallions over yellow satin. The centerpiece was a silver epergne holding white chrysanthemums and yellow snapdragons.

Mrs. Cheney wore a dress of midnight blue lace and chiffon, Mrs. Green wore pastel blue lace and Miss Cheney chose a white cotton brocade with a magenta cummerbund.

In Hospital

Friends of Mr. S. E. Henry are sorry to know that he is a patient in the Holmes County Community Hospital, and hope he will be up and out again soon.

Worship together this Sunday!

Holmes County Community Hospital

White Patients

Mrs. Sarah Malone, Lexington
Mrs. Mary Thornton, Lexington
Mrs. Esther Russell, Lexington
Mrs. Mable Russell, Lexington
Mrs. Olivia Wilkerson, Lexington
Mrs. Marie Young, Lexington
W. M. Winborn, Jackson
Ben Carnathan, Durant
Gaston Grantham, Lexington
Miss Charlie Harrison, Lexington
Miss Patsy Estes, Tchula
Miss Carolyn Rathell, Lexington
Mrs. Charlie Lundy, Lexington
Mr. Jim Bradley, Lexington
Mrs. A. P. Shepard, Lexington
Mrs. Mary Frost, Lexington
Mrs. Gordon Ellington, Lexington
Mrs. James Martin, Lexington
George Self, Tchula
Vardaman Ables, Lexington
Mrs. Mary Perry, Thornton
Mrs. John A. Lepard, Goodman
Baby Girl Lepard
Mrs. Steve Neal, Lexington
Mrs. M. D. Bruce, Lexington
Mr. S. E. Henry, Lexington

Colored Patients

Julia Hampton
Tealy Rhyne, Jr.
Minnie Clark
Callie Scott
Caterine Ross
Janie Pearl Richmond
E. W. Ratliff
Gordon Rathell
Thornton Williams
Landers Sims

From Vicksburg

Messrs. Grayden and T. H. Johnson, Jr. of Vicksburg were business visitors in Lexington on Monday.

Veterans Of Foreign Wars Meets Tonight

The Veterans of Foreign Wars Auxiliary will hold its regular meeting tonight (Thursday), January 11th at 7:30 at the Veteran's Hut.

All members are urged to attend.

Holiday Guests

Mrs. R. M. Gwin, Mrs. L. P. Johnson, Mr. Jim Cunningham and the R. L. Peaster family enjoyed a series of family get-togethers during the holidays. On Wednesday they were luncheon guests at Mrs. Gwin's home; on Thursday at the home of Mrs. Johnson, where they were joined by Mrs. Betty Moore Leby; on Christmas Day all were dinner guests of the D. C. Peaster family.

To Nassau

Mr. and Mrs. Henri Watson, Jr. enjoyed a vacation in Nassau during the holidays. The children visited Mrs. Watson's parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. N. Barron in Crystal Springs.

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BACK IN SESSION--
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Protect Our Children!

December 29th at the home of her parents, Mr. and Mrs Enos Pettus.

An out-of-town guest was Miss Carolyn Haddon of Greenwood, others attending were Miss Ann Burkley, Eddie Weems and Butch McNeer.

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Lexington Visitor

Mrs. Rudolph Gordon came to Lexington on Friday to accompany Mr. Gordon home. He was released from the Holmes County Community Hospital after a four weeks stay. Friends will be glad to know he is recovering at his home in Pickens.

CARD OF THANKS

I wish to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to my many friends for their prayers, phone calls, visits and cards.

Special thanks to Dr. Brumby and all the nurses for their kindness and attention during my recent stay in the Holmes County Community Hospital.

May God bless each of you.

Luther L. Upton

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Also used as favors were baloons with a happy birthday motif matching the plates, cups and napkins.

Mrs. Brooks, assisted by Ricky's grandmother, Mrs. Ellis Wynn, served ice cream, punch and slices of birthday cake to those present.

To Jackson

Mr. Joe Braddock, accompanied by Mrs. Braddock, entered the Veteran's Hospital in Jackson on Monday.

From Acona

Mr. Hallie Terry was a business visitor in Lexington on Thursday.

News Of Women

SOCIETY ★ CLUBS ★ PERSONALS

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Carl was born Saturday, December 30th at the Jefferson Davis Hospital in Natchez and weighed eight and one half pounds. He has a brother, Dennis and sister, Claudia to welcome him.

The paternal grandparents are Mrs. Legate and the late Mr. Carl C. Legate; the maternal grandparents are Mrs. Roy Nevell and the late Mr. Nevel of Stover.

Carl and his mother were dismissed from the hospital on Wednesday, January 3rd and are now at home on Ridgewood Road in Natchez.

Undergoes Surgery

Friends will be sorry to learn that Tiny Downer is hospitalized in the Veteran's Hospital in Jackson. Surgery was peromed last week.

From Jackson

Mr. and Mrs. Ramon Tate and children, Tack, Darrell and Dee-Dee of Jackson were weekend guests in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Bob Tidwell.

To Florida

Mr. and Mrs. John Kimbrough and childrtn, Bob, Kim and Betsy Alice spent a week during the holidays at Winterhaven, Florida.

CARD OF THANKS

I would like to take this means of thanking my friends for the many kindnesses shown me during my stay in the Holmes County Community Hospital. I am now recovering at home and will be glad to have you come by to visit me.

With deep gratitude to each of you,

Rudolph Gordon
Pickens, Miss.

Mr. Moses Speaks To Lexington H. D. Club

Mr. William Moses, County Civil Defense chairman was guest speaker at the monthly meeting of the Lexington Home Demonstration Club at City Hall on Thursday, January 4th.

Mrs. W. T. Holder and Mrs. T. M. Williams served as cohostess, and Mrs. Howard Terry, president, presided over the meeting. The opening song, "America" was led by Miss Mary Harpole, and the devotional was given by Mrs. Williams by reading the Psalm 100 as a basis for her meditation, "Looking Ahead."

The roll call and the minutes were read by the secretary, Miss Addie Vic Bailey. During the business session, year books were filled in, hostesses for the year selected, study topics assigned, officers appointed to fill vacancies, contributions to Old Men's Home and Old Ladies' Home were made.

Mrs. Erwin Moore presented the study topic for the afternoon, and two new members were given a warm welcome; they are Mrs. Clifton Hughes and Mrs. H. H. Lehman.

In conclusion Mr. Moses gave a most informative and timely talk on Civil Defense.

Delicious refreshments were served by the hostesses to the twelve members present, the guests and Miss Harpole.

From MSU

Miss Emilie Flower of Mississippi State University was an overnight guest at home Saturday, on her return to the University from a school trip to Jackson on the weekend.

On Christmas Day

Mrs. V. L. Lawshe was remembered on Christmas Day with five trays from thoughtful neighbors. Mrs. Lawshe has difficulty in walking, due to arthritis, but remains cheerful at all times.

Patronize Our Advertisers —

Attends Meeting

Mr. Allan Ramsey attended the national meeting in Jackson of the Men's Garden Club of America on Friday and Saturday.

he will be up and out again soon.

Worship together th's Sunday!

From Vicksburg

Messrs. Grayden and T. H. Johnson, Jr. of Vicksburg were business visitors in Lexington on Monday.

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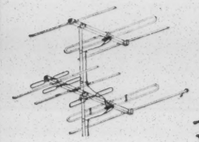

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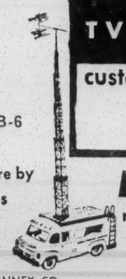

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BACK IN SESSION--
DRIVE SAFELY
Protect Our Children!

FOLLOW THESE RULES FOR SAFE DRIVING

★ Be doubly careful near schools or where children play. Children don't realize the danger and may take chances. That's why you, the driver, must take extra care.

★ Slow down. Speed is dangerous at any time — doubly dangerous when visibility is cut by rain, fog, or darkness.

★ Keep lights and windshield wipers in good condition during rainy or snowy weather. You have to see danger to avoid it.

★ Keep your car in top mechanical condition. Use chains if roads are slippery — or in adverse weather.

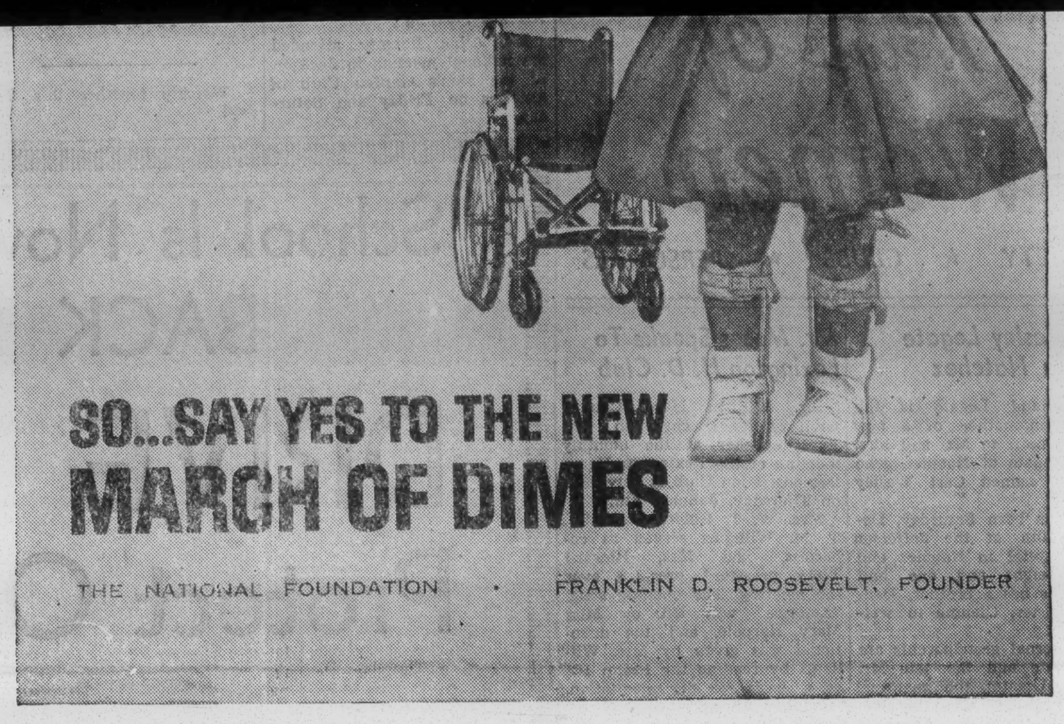
★ Obey traffic laws. Know the traffic laws wherever you travel and don't break them.

★ If you drive, don't drink — if you drink, don't drive. Remember, death takes no holiday.

★ Be a courteous driver. Yield right-of-way, even when it should be yours. It's better to stay alive than to be dead right.

THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

YOUR DIMES WILL DO IT AGAIN!
VACCINE
POLIO
BIRTH DEFECTS
ARTHRITIS
SO...SAY YES TO THE NEW
MARCH OF DIMES
THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION • FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, FOUNDER



January Is

MARCH OF DIMES MONTH

In Holmes County

This is a
Tri-Anniversary
Advertisement

125 YEARS
The Lexington Advertiser
TRI-ANNIVERSARY
EDITOR
HAZEL BRANNON SMITH
125 YEARS
THE DURANT NEWS
100 YEARS

honoring the Editor of
The Lexington Advertiser
and
The Durant News
and paid for
by her friends.

HELP
HOLMES
CHILDREN
Grow Up
With Strong,
Healthy
Bodies

CONQUER

- ★ **Polio**
- ★ **Birth Defects**
- ★ **Arthritis**

Moreland-Wells Vows Exchanged Christmas Eve At Durant Church

Durant Methodist Church was the setting for the lovely candle-light wedding of Miss Alice Harriet Wells, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Heath Wells of Durant, and Lloyd Patrick Moreland, son of Mrs. Earl Hammond Moreland of Lena and the late Mr. Moreland. The Rev. R. E. Wasson officiated.

The church was decorated with holly, ivy, white poinsettias, and tall white candles. A program of music was presented by Miss Margaret McGehee, organist, and Mrs. Billy Binegar who sang three solos.

Mr. Moreland was accompanied to the altar by Robert McDonald as best man. Groomsmen were William Wells, brother of the bride; James Mathis and Jimmy Kelly of Jackson; Joseph Moreland, Jr. of Baton Rouge; and Billy Ward of Lena. The candles were lighted by William Wells and Joseph Moreland, Jr.

Miss Diane Wels, sister of the bride, was maid of honor. Mrs. Jay Hutson of Jackson was matron of honor. Bridesmaids were Miss Frances Briscae of Senatobia, Miss Barbara McGee of Oakland, Miss Jo Edwards of Brandon, and Miss Barbara Sue Thompson of Ackerman. The attendants were gowned identically in street-length dresses of sapphire blue peau de soie, featuring bell skirts. Their headpieces were blue tiaras with short veils. They carried Christmas bouquets of white chrysanthemums.

Leah Binegar, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Billy Binegar of Durant, was flower girl. She wore a white dress with a blue sash.

Ralph Wells, brother of the bride, carried the rings on a white satin pillow.

Mrs. Wells wore an emerald green silk sheath with matching accessories. Mrs. Moreland wore a beige silk sheath with black accessories. Both mothers wore corsages of white carnations.

Lovely Bride

The bride, given in marriage by her father, was lovely in her wedding gown of white peau de soie designed by Cahill. The fitted basque waist had a portrait neckline which was interwoven with Alencon lace. The full skirt with panel front was drawn up to waist line in the back revealing unpressed pleats which ended in a chapel train.

Her veil, of English illusion, fell from a tiara adorned with pearls. Her only jewelry was a diamond and pearl drop necklace, with single pearl earrings, gifts of the bridegroom. She carried a white Bible centered with a white orchid.

Reception Held

Following the wedding, Mr. and Mrs. Wells entertained with a reception in the church fellowship house. Miss Barbara Kennebrew registered guests. Assisting at the tea table were Miss Barbara Moreland of Jackson, niece of the bridegroom; Miss Caroline Brown, Miss Minnie Ola Ammons, and Miss Richie Patrick of Durant. Others assisting with the reception were Mrs. Charles Patrick, Mrs. Jewel Mansfield and Mrs. R. E. Wasson.

After the reception, Mr. and Mrs. Wells served a buffet supper at their home for the wedding guests.

Wedding Trip

For her wedding trip the bride chose a robin's-egg-blue wool suit with a white fur hat and the orchid from her corsage After the trip to New Orleans, Mr. and Mrs. Moreland will be at home at 302 Keener Avenue in Jackson.

MRS. LLOYD PATRICK MORELAND

Mr. And Mrs. Mitchell Parents Of Baby Girl

Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Mitchell of Lexington are the happy parents of their second child, born

Durant Eastern Star Public Installation

Durant chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star will hold a public installation of officers on

Holiday Visitors In Winborn Home

Visitors in the home of Mr. and Mrs. P. H. Winborn during the holidays were:

Durant News

Society Clubs Personals

UDC Luncheon Held December 20th

On December 20th Mrs. Sidney P. Johnson and sister, Miss Alice Murff entertained the Durant Daughters Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy in their home at West.

From the entrance to the den in the rear of the spacious hall and adjoining rooms the home was beautifully decorated for the Christmas season.

Twelve members were present to exchange Christmas wishes and partake of the delicious luncheon of creamed turkey, potato compote, aspic, rolls and parfait with fruit cookies. The places were marked with seasonal emblems in each card Hot coffee was served also

After the luncheon, numbers were drawn and matched with gifts that had been numbered and placed under the sparkling tree.

Mrs. Frank Hollingsworth, new member of the chapter, and Mrs. Lucille Sweaney assisted the hostesses in serving. Such hospitality and such beautiful and tasty food surely prepares one's spirits for the Christmas season.

Attend Meeting

Dr. and Mrs. C. E. Patton, Mr. and Mrs. J. P. Durham and Mr. and Mrs. Sandy King will attend the meeting of the Men's Garden Clubs of America which will be held at the Heidelburg Hotel in Jackson on Friday, January 5th.

On Business

Mr. F. C. Bley was a business visitor in Lexington on Thursday morning.

To Grenada

Mr. Tom Ashley was a business visitor in Grenada on Tuesday.

From Jackson

Miss Gertrude McCune of Jackson spent the holdays here with her mother, Mrs. W. E. McCune

Lions Club Nets $75.00 In Game

The Durant Lions Club netted $75.00 on the Arkansas Travelers-Lions Basketball Game on Saturay night.

A close and exciting game was played before a capacity crowd of approximately 300 spectators, ending in a score of 53-47 in favor of the Travelers.

Proceeds were added to the Lions Swimming Pool Fund.

Durant Stores Begin Half-Day Closing

Beginning Wednesday January 10, Durant merchants will start closing at noon, as has been the custom for a number of years.

The half-day closing will continue until the first of November according to the merchants committee.

Returns To Natchez

Miss Elizabeth Ramsey returned to Natchez on Tuesday to resume school duties in Natchez High School after a pleasant holiday at home.

Visits Daughter

Mrs. Joel H. Gulledge was a welcome guest in the home of her daughter in Lexington, Mrs. Ed Rush and Mr. Rush during the holidays.

Return Home

Mr. and Mrs. Weir Kyle and Weir, II have returned home after a week's visit with relatives in Texas.

To Texas

Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Taylor were called to Dallas, Texas on Tuesday due to the death of her brother-in-law, Mr. H. A Harrold.

Luncheon Guest

Mrs. Zouella Bacon was guest of Mrs. William Holladay of Dallas, Texas in the garden room of Le Fleur's in Jackson

F. C. (Buddy) Bley Is JP Candidate

F. C. (Buddy) Bley is a candidate for Justice of the Peace in Beat 2, Holmes County, to fill the unexpired term of the late E. B. Guess, JP.

The office will be filled in a special election to be held on Tuesday, Feb. 27.

In making his announcement today in The Durant News, Mr. Bley said he wished to solicit the vote and influence of each and every qualified elector in Beat Two. He said he would greatly appreciate the consideration of the voters and for the office, and if elected, will serve to the very best of his ability and faithfully and honestly execute all of the duties and responsibilities thereof.

The Durant News invites the attention of its readers to the announcement of Mr. Bley contained on page three.

The Peoples' Business

(Note: The opinions expressed in this column are not necessarily those of this publication.)

Those seeking new payrolls do a lot of thinking about "business climate," but as yet no one has come up with a concrete definition of such a climate.

Briefly, a good business elimate might be said to be those intangible and tangible things which cause a business or industry to choose one community over another, or when once established in a community, choose to remain there instead of moving elsewhere.

Competition for new industry among states and communities requires more specific answers, however. Mississippi industrial leaders must know some of the specifics of this climate if they expect to continue to bring in new industries.

An organization concerned with locating industry surveyed towns that had been particularly successful and therefore might be said to have the favorable "business climate." Here is some of the "atmosphere" possessed in common by the successful communities:

1. Adequate public facilities such as schools, water, zoning, streets, police, and fire protection. The prospects check these things.

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4. A campaign for new industry that is carefully planned in a business-like fashion, and geared for operation on a reasonable long-term basis.

In short, the communities that are successful have such projects underway as those contained in the Merit Community Program. Any Mississippi community following this Program is automatically improving its

Governor Proclaims January As NMOD Month

Governor Ross R. Barnett of Mississippi has issued a proclamation declaring January as New March of Dimes Month. In his proclamation, the governor urged citizens "to give your services and support to this campaign."

He pointed out that the work of The National Foundation, supported by the New March of Dimes, has already opened the way to victory over polio and "may one day lead to prevention of crippling birth defects and arthritis."

Birth Defects, Governor Barnett noted, is the nation's largest unmet childhood medical problem, while arthritis and related diseases constitute the nation's number one crippler.

"The National Foundation's broad, expanded program, developed through years of experience and achievement as a voluntary health organization, provides real hope of eventual victory over disabling disease," he said.

The 1962 New March of Dimes begins in Mississippi on January 2. Chairman for the state-wide campaign is Dr. A. L. Gray, State Health Officer, Jackson; and Owen Cooper, Yazoo City, is Associate State Chairman.

"Funds are needed to support research which offers real hope of discovering preventives and cures for arthritis and birth defects. Perhaps more important at the moment we must aid those already stricken by these cripplers. Already a network of Special Treatment Centers has been developed by the March of Dimes," Dr. Gray said.

Mr. Cooper commended the county March of Dimes chapters for their role in establishing and supporting the Special Birth Defects Treatment Center at the University Medical Center, Jackson.

Cooper explained that local March of Dimes chapters are now prepared to give aid to all children with birth defects as well as children with rheumatoid arthritis. The National Foundation is continuing to meet its responsibility to aid past and present victims of paralytic polio it was pointed out.

BROOKHAVEN SIGN FIRM TO SUPPLY TWO STATES

Ed Gove, vice president of Hartley Gove's Sons in Brookhaven, announced formation of a subsidiary, H-G-S Engraved Signs, which will provide the Mississippi-Louisiana area with engraved signs and name plates to be marketed to industrial plants, schools and other commercial establishments. Hartley Gove's Sons has been manufacturing thermometers since 1889 with headquarters in Vineland, New Jersey. A branch plant was established in 1957 at Brookhaven. The engraving operation is the first diversification of this company in its 72-year history.

* * * *

FOREST PRACTICES

In forestry, a new record was set in planting tree seedlings. Fire control was extended to more counties and tightened upon all fronts. The number of tree farmers was increased, and more recommended forest practices were carried out by farmers. This all took place in the year 1961.

Rita Jo
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425 Meadowbrook Road
Jackson, Miss.

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The Fall Term
Now Open And
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JOE TINDALL, JR.
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Mr. And Mrs. Mitchell Parents Of Baby Girl

Mr. and Mrs. Jimmy Mitchell of Lexington are the happy parents of their second child, born December 20th at the Holmes County Community Hospital. The little girl has been named Lillian Marie, and she weighed eight pounds and ten ounces at birth.

Jimmy was reared by his grandmother, Mrs. Tom Renacker and Mr. Renacker of Durant and they are Lilian's great grandparents. Mr. and Mrs. Rathell Swinney of Lexington are her maternal great grandparents and she is also a great granddaughter of Mrs. W. F. Bennett of Lexington.

The maternal grandparents are Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Swinney also of Lexington.

Return To Memphis

Mr. and Mrs. Braxton Gandy and sons, Jimmy and Paul of Memphis have returned home after a weekend visit with her mother, Mrs. P. R. Brown.

To Alabama

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Storms and Frank, Jr. spent Christmas holidays in Jasper, Alabama.

Weekend Guests

Weekend guests in the charming country home of Mrs. Mary Alice Walker were her son, Mr. Howard H. Walker, Mrs. Walker and children of Jackson. Mr. Walker is employed with the Rex I Brown generating station, a position he has held since graduating from college.

For COLDS take 666

Durant Eastern Star Public Installation

Durant chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star will hold a public installation of officers on Friday night, January 5th at 7:30 at the Masonic Hall.

Mrs. Blanche Herring will be installed as Worthy Matron.

All members and friends are invited to attend.

Attend Turner Funeral

Out-of-town relatives and friends attending the funeral of Fred Earl Turner at Durant December 30 include:

Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Turner and daughters, Julia, Betty and Catherine, Mrs. J. L. Blackwell and J. L. Blackwell, Jr of Vicksburg; W. L. Turner of Bourbon. W. L. Turner, Jr. of Greenville; H. M. Lentz, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Lentz, Jr, Mr. and Mrs. Bert Frase, Mr. and Mrs. Nick Zollo, Mr. and Mrs. Jim Parnell, Jim Parnell, Jr, and Carolyn Parnell of Memphis; Mrs. W. E. Williams and daughter, Sandra of Mobile; L. L. Owen and T. D. Murphy of Kosciusko; L. G. Algood and Mr. and Mrs. D. F. Chennault, Brandon; Mr. and Mrs. J. R. McKell, Starkville; Mrs. Mary Murphy, Arkabutla; Mr. Bill Campbell, West; Miss Mary McClintock, Sallis; Mrs. Jack Sanderson, Mrs. M. J. Fowlkes, and Miss Hattie Hammond, Grenada.

Will Receive Award

Mrs. Louise Durham will be one of the eight ladies in the state of Mississippi to receive a special plaque awarded by the National Men's Garden Clubs of America. This presentation will be made at the national meeting being held at the Heidelburg Hotel in Jackson this week. The award is a recognition of the aid women have given in organizing Men's Clubs in their home towns.

Holiday Visitors In Winborn Home

Visitors in the home of Mr. and Mrs. P. H. Winborn during the holidays were:

Mr. and Mrs. W. M. Winborn, Jackson; Mr. and Mrs. Jack Winborn, Helen, Jackie and Marsha, Clarksdale; Mr. and Mrs. Joe Chapman, Jr., Lee Ann, Danny and Joe Cass, Corinth; Mrs. D. M. Howard, Ackerman; Mrs. B. F. Ford, Gainsville Florida; Mr. anl Mrs. Ed Yarborough, David and Dale McComb; Mr. and Mrs. H. F. Wadlington, Paradise, California; Joe Wadlington, San Francisco, California; Mrs. Hunter Dogan, Sumner; Mrs. Charlotte Tindall, Millington, Tennessee; Mrs. Charlotte Winborn, Jackson.

To Baptist Hospital

Friends will be interested in learning that Mrs. J. E. Dollahite has been transferred to the Baptist Hospital in Jackson, after several weeks hospitalization in the District II Hospital. Friends wish for her a speedy recovery.

Returns To MSU

Bill Henley left Tuesday for Mississippi State University to resume his studies after spending Christmas Holidays with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Henley.

Mrs. Frank Hollingsworth, new member of the chapter, and Mrs. Lucille Sweaney assisted the hostesses in serving. Such hospitality and such beautiful and tasty food surely prepares one's spirits for the Christmas season.

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To Grenada

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From Jackson

Miss Gertrude McCune of Jackson spent the holidays here with her mother, Mrs. W. E. McCune.

To Sallis

Mrs. Sam Moss was a guest of relatives in Sallis during the holidays.

To Arkansas

Mr. O. B. Williamson of the Sand Hills community accompanied by his mother, Mrs. Helen Williamson visited Mr. J. B. Williamson Jr. at Star City, Arkansas last weekend.

To Jackson

Mrs. Zouella Bacon will attend a luncheon as guest of New York Life Insurance Co. in the Rose Room of the Heidelburg Hotel in Jackson on Monday.

Returns To Natchez

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Visits Daughter

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Luncheon Guest

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Registered Optometrist
Will Be In Durant Every Thursday!
The Office Is Located At
116 West Depot Street. (Dr. Hyde's Old Office)
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Glasses Fitted
Office Hours: 8:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m.
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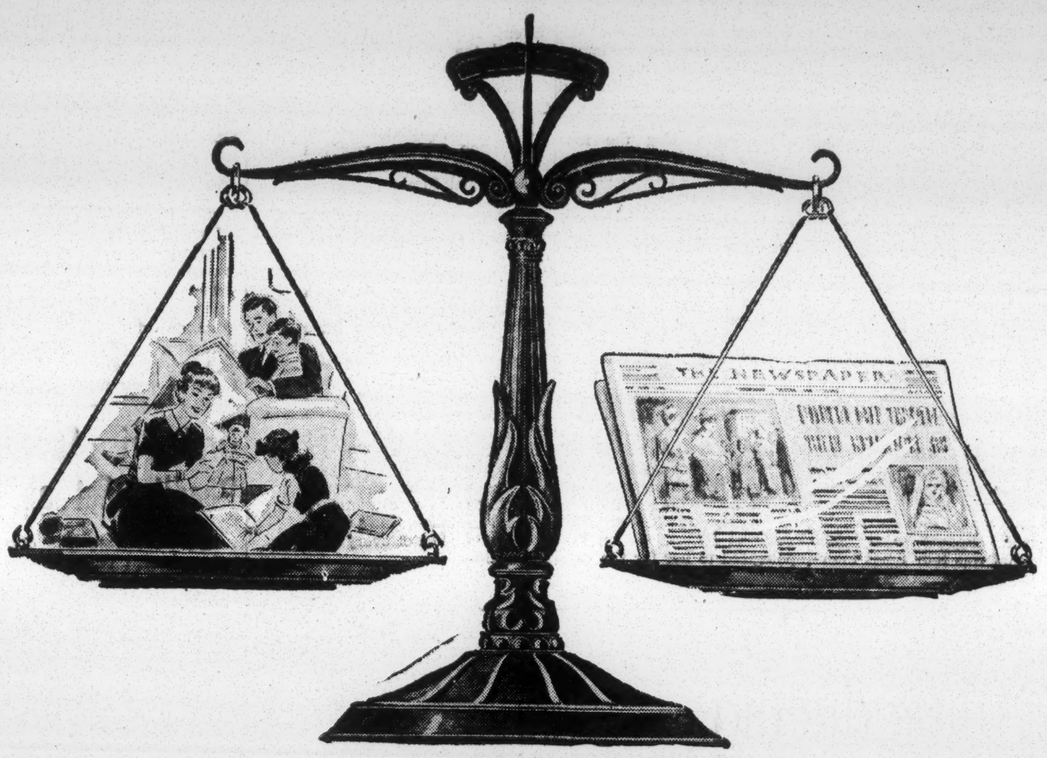


HOW TO JUDGE THE VALUE OF YOUR NEWSPAPER

Have you ever judged the value of your newspaper? What it actually means to you and your family? Then, let's pause a second and analyze its true value.

Right from the very first page to the last, your newspaper is packed with all the latest news about your community, your state, your nation and the whole world. Also, there's market and financial news and sports coverage. For mother, there are features that appeal to her whether it's fashion . . . social events . . . homemaking or a dozen other feminine interests. Too, In all these and many other fields, you'll find this a complete family newspaper . . . a newspaper that becomes a family affair the minute it arrives.

THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

At a time of national crisis two Brazilian leaders, Marshal Henrique Lott (left) and Marshal Juarez Tavora were united after years of political enmity.

Political Foes Unite, Give MRA to Nation

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil — Strong action by Brazilian leaders this Christmas and New Year sent a tidal wave of hope around the world.

Firstly, at a time of national crisis two major political enemies united and gave a powerful call for unity in Brazil and throughout the hemisphere.

They are Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott, 1960 Presidential candidate and Marshal Juarez Tavora, national hero and an earlier Presidential candidate. Lott had placed Tavora under house arrest in 1955, but in December of 1961 through Moral Re-Armament both men were dramatically reconciled and united.

This fact has captured national headlines.

"O Jornal," major Brazilian daily, wrote, "MRA has achieved a significant triumph in unite

rupted by thunderous applause.

He went on, "Moral Re-Armament is based on a simple idea, that man must change himself before taking on the fight to change society. Instead of adopting extreme positions or those based on personal interest, we must make a real effort to take positions based on the examination of our conscience, so that there is complete unity between our actions and our most intimate thoughts.

"There is an old, but always new truth: There cannot be good government when evil men are in control. We might have the most perfect constitution in the world, completely adequate for the needs of the country, but still live in poverty and disorder if this constitution were not honestly lived out by all those who govern and those who are governed.

"We must not forget that and their families carrying

they had organized against her son when he visited Peru three years ago.

They told President Prado how they had changed from Castroism and anti-Americanism to the greater revolution of MRA.

The President replied, "Thank you for the service you are rendering to our country. This is a very great world-wide work. Magnificent, magnificent!"

"O Jornal" stated about the MRA demonstration in Maracana Stadium, "This is not just a simple demonstration but the last chance to save Brazil." In a final Christmas tableau of the Madonna and Christ Child representatives of the nations streamed across the stadium towards the creche. Among them were 200 militant dockers and transport workers

Conservation News

By MARVIN McLELLAN

Once again it's tree planting time in Mississippi. And throughout Holmes County planting crews are at work on the tremendous job of converting more than 2000 acres of idle land to productive forests. Their job involves the planting of more than two million seedlings on some 90 farms scattered throughout the hill section of the county.

This marks the 13th year since the planting of trees to control erosion started in this county. Areas planted during this period of time vary from small woodlots on some farms to hundreds of acres on others. Already timber products are being marketed from some of these earlier plantings and Holmes County farmers are profiting from one of the most effective conservation practices in use today.

Yet much of our land still remain idle! You can travel over almost any section of the county and see literally thousands of acres of land that is producing sedge grass, weeds, or scrub trees. These are the acres we would like to encourage farmers to put into production. Some of this idle land would make good pasture but most of it is rough and badly eroded and can best be used in timber production.

Unfortunately, some of the farmers in our area are of the opinion that when present plantings of pine trees reach market size we will flood the market for timber products. They doubt that a profitable market will be available twenty years from now. However, such assumption is usually based on present per capita consumption and without considering our population increase.

This assumption appears some what misleading when we look at the facts. Presently every man, woman and child in this nation is using annually 436 pounds of paper products alone. And it requires 1500 pounds of wood to produce this amount of paper. Present predictions, based on the record of the past decade, indicate individual consumption of paper products to increase more than 50 per cent during the next twenty years. Also, according to the census bureau, during this same twenty years we will add to our present population between 80 and 100 million people. So you see when we make this same application to the use of lumber, particle boards, insulation boards, hardboard, poles, piling, posts, charcoal, naval stores, and chemical wood conversion the

By HUBERT BRITT

The largest food producing crop in the United States is grass and forage crops. Through animals, we are now consuming forages at the rate of nearly five tons of hay per person each year.

Animal products currently furnish 67 per cent of the protein contained in the United States citizens food supply. Nearly two-thirds of an individual's calcium supply comes from dairy products.

Forages are those plants, mainly the economic grasses and legumes, either grazed or harvested for animal feed. Best estimates show on-the-stem grazings furnish more than half the total feed requirements of all livestock in this country.

Several complementary benefits are derived from forages in addition to their nutritive value for animal production. High quality, productive grass-legume combinations when used properly are one of the best materials available to conserve and improve soil. Experimental results have shown that outside of forest lands, productive forages are the most efficient crop as a protector and stabilizer of soils on sloping fields.

The effectiveness of forage grasses in soil conservation depends on the top growth furnishing the soil cover, and the roots increasing the soil's resistance to movement and its ability to absorb water. The speed of the rain drop falling through space ranges up to 20 miles an hour depending on its size. It has been calculated that the energy from an inch of rain is sufficient to raise a seven-inch acre of soil one foot.

Soil erosion is still a very real and common problem on sloping lands that have little or no cover. The use of close growing, high yielding forages for erosion control makes soil conservation an opportunity instead of a problem.

In this day of intense economic competition forages as a crop must be profitable. Before forages have any commercial value and in order that they may be used on a wide scale for purposes of soil conservation, they must be converted by animals to products for human use.

The farmers of Holmes County are realizing more and more each year the importance of having a sound grazing program. ASC records show that 237 Holmes County farmers requested assistance on establish-

FARMING TODAY...

SKIP-ROW COTTON PLANTING IN 1962

Cotton farmers will be permitted to plant their acreage to suit the adaptation of their equipment. A recent ruling by the Secretary of Agriculture made this practice of skip row planting possible. Go see your local ASC Officer for instructions on how this applies to farms in your county. The Delta Experiment Station obtained increases in cotton wields from four rows skip four plantings ranging from 25 per cent to 125 per cent over planting every row.

* * * *

1962 COTTON ACREAGE ALLOTMENT

Now is the time for farmers, with small cotton acreage allotments, to decide to plant or release unwanted acres in 1962. The 494 pound state average yield of lint cotton an acre in 1961 plus seed sold for $175 to $180. Those farmers who made an average of one and one-half to two bales per acre received higher income per acre. Plan now to plant your cotton acreage in 1962.

* * * *

PROPER PLACEMENT OF FERTILIZER IN 1962

When you plant cotton where do you place your fertilizer? For best results high rates of fertilizer per acre shoulld be placed three to five inches to the side of drill and six to eight inches deep. This placement applies to cotton, corn and soybeans. Do you have equipment on hand to place your fertilizer where you can make the most net profit? Properly used $1 invested in fertilizer in a complete cotton production program returns $6 to $10. Make your plans now — do not wait.

* * * *

QUALITY COTTON PRODUCTION IN 1962

Production of quality cotton lint and seed begins with planning each operation before the cropping season begins. Select fields to plant to cotton. Figure out rotation. Leave out fields needing leveling. Get needed new equipment and parts for repair of old machinery. Place fertilizer correctly. Plan to prepare level uniform seed beds. Plant as early as possible. Hill drop to save chopping. Plant treated seed. Use a soil treating fungicide. Use pre-emergence treatment to reduce hoeing cost. Post oil is a must. Prepare to flame out vines and weeds. Plan for a complete insect control program. Bottom defoliate if needed. Defoliate when needed. Plan now for mechanical harvesting of your 1962 cotton crop. A complete cotton production program means those practices you need on your farm.

Agriculture Dept. Issues Regulations To Help Delta

The Department of Agriculture has inaugurated 1962 with two changed regulations which will greatly benefit Delta agriculture, Rep. Frank Smith reported. One change increases the rice acreage by ten per cent and the other eliminates restrictions on "skip row" cotton planting and cultivation.

"Both of these changes follow recommendations which I have been making to USDA for some time." Rep. Smith reported. "Both will encourage increased and more efficient production of these important crops in our area."

"The increase in rice acreage was based on an estimate of increased export demands for rice in the world market' Smith said, "but it carries a commitment by the Department to expand its world marketing efforts. The increased acreage offers the possibility of further utilization of potential rice acreage in the Mississippi Delta as national production goals are increased from year to year.

Home Agent's Notes

By MARY HARPOLE

EAR TO THE GROUND FOR CIVIL DEFENSE

Is your insurance paid up? Take a quick check — auto, health, fire, theft, and life insurance. When these are paid you are prepared for the disaster they cover even though you really don't want to collect.

But what protection have you, your family, your ocuntry's rural families against nuclear attack? Such insurance is available at relatively low cost through civil defense. President Kennedy has said, nuclear weapons and the possibility of nuclear war are facts of life we cannot ignore today. In this dangerous day we must prepare for all eventualities. The ability to survive coupled with the will to do so are essential to our country.

Homes County Home Demonstration Club Women are aware of the threat to their homes and families and are beginning a series of educational programs on civil defense which will be planned by the civil defense director, Mr. William Moses.

Contrary to what many rural people think, the effects of nuclear explosions are not confined to large cities, industrial areas and military installations. Radioactive fallout is just as likely to fall in rural areas as urban areas. But with proper protection and preparation we can survive.

Farm families have an especially important roll to play in civil defense, as they not only have to plan for protection for themselves and their families but for conserving livestock and crop production for the sake of the entire nation.

Extension workers are being given current educational materials which will be available to the public. Copies of fall out shelter blueprinting will also be available at Civil Defense centers in the county.

Get Your . . . .

POSTED NOTICES

(left) and Marshal Juarez Tavora were united after years of political enmity.

Political Foes Unite, Give MRA to Nation

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil — Strong action by Brazilian leaders this Christmas and New Year sent a tidal wave of hope around the world.

Firstly, at a time of national crisis two major political enemies united and gave a powerful call for unity in Brazil and throughout the hemisphere.

They are Marshal Henrique Teixeira Lott, 1960 Presidential candidate and Marshal Juarez Tavora, national hero and an earlier Presidential candidate. Lott had placed Tavora under house arrest in 1955, but in December of 1961 through Moral Re-Armament both men were dramatically reconciled and united.

This fact has captured national headlines.

"O Jornal," major Brazilian daily, wrote, "MRA has achieved a significant triumph in uniting . . . two long-standing irreconcilable political rivals — the Marshals Teixeira Lott and Juarez Tavora."

National Demonstration

Secondly, on Christmas Eve, Marshal Lott addressed a massive MRA demonstration in Rio de Janeiro's Maracana Stadium and called on Brazil to unite on a basis of MRA and offer the world a third alternative to atomic holocaust and godless tyranny.

Lott's conviction was supported by messages from General Dwight Eisenhower, former Prime Minister Kishi of Japan and Hollywood stars Roy Rogers, Joel McCrea, Robert Young, Robert Stack, Pat Boone, Eve Arden and others. The Brazilian national radio announced that 50,000 attended the demonstration.

Marshal Lott who was for six years Minister of War, called MRA "A powerful and invincible idea . . . a tidal wave of hope extending from man to man and nation to nation. That is why I give my wholehearted support to it." The Marshal was four times interrupted by thunderous applause.

He went on, "Moral Re-Armament is based on a simple idea, that man must change himself before taking on the fight to change society. Instead of adopting extreme positions or those based on personal interest, we must make a real effort to take positions based on the examination of our conscience, so that there is complete unity between our actions and our most intimate thoughts.

"There is an old, but always new truth: There cannot be good government when evil men are in control. We might have the most perfect constitution in the world, completely adequate for the needs of the country, but still live in poverty and disorder if this constitution were not honestly lived out by all those who govern and those who are governed.

"We must not forget that unless there is a moral change in each one of us we are not prepared to meet the challenge of aggressive ideologies which are threatening the world."

Five bands performed as the crowd gathered and the famed Marine Band drew continuous applause as they marched through their intricate maneuvers. Beams of four searchlights representing the four absolute moral standards of MRA, honesty, purity, unselfishness and love, pierced the sky behind the stadium. The MRA international force carrying flags of their nations marched around the field and on to the stage as the crowd applauded. They sang the National Anthem accompanied by the military bands.

Revolutionary Students

Revolutionary student leaders from the University of San Marcos in Peru flew in for the demonstration. They came straight from an interview that day with Peruvian President Manuel Prado in Lima. These are the men who recently met the mother of former Vice President Richard Nixon and apologized to her for the riots they had organized against her son when he visited Peru three years ago.

They told President Prado how they had changed from Castroism and anti-Americanism to the greater revolution of MRA.

The President replied, "Thank you for the service you are rendering to our country. This is a very great world-wide work. Magnificent, magnificent!"

"O Jornal" stated about the MRA demonstration in Maracana Stadium, "This is not just a simple demonstration but the last chance to save Brazil." In a final Christmas tableau of the Madonna and Christ Child representatives of the nations streamed across the stadium towards the creche. Among them were 200 militant dockers and transport workers and their families carrying lighted candles, and 200 Japanese and other nationalities carrying lanterns. The audience sat in hushed silence as the scene climaxed in the carol, "Silent Night, Holy Night," and all the nations gathered around Joseph, Mary and the Child.

Cardinal Greets Force

Dom Jaime, Cardinal Camara, Archbishop of Rio, received the entire Moral Re-Armament international force after celebrating in the open air midnight Mass in the main square of the city. He greeted each one and heard evidence of how MRA is bringing an answer to Communism in Europe, Asia and the Americas. "I am very glad indeed that you have come," he said.

Thirdly, Marshal Lott and Marshal Tavora and General Hugo Bethlem with port workers from Rio de Janeiro gave this message to the world: "This Christmas will launch the greatest ideological offensive the world has ever seen bringing God's dimension, God's domination, God's direction to the heart of every man and nation."

Introducing . . .

DELTA QUEEN

A new high yielding wilt resistant cotton bred in and for the Delta

This cotton is new and it's **different**. DELTA QUEEN combines earliness with extra-high yields — produces a big first pick, then goes on setting fruit and making cotton as the season advances. The bolls open wide and are well-fluffed, but have very good storm resistance. Its strong, erect stalks reduce lodging, keep DELTA QUEEN standing up for the picker. Because it fruits higher off the ground than most other cottons, the picker heads can be set higher; you'll gather less trash and get better grades.

- High yielding.
- High turnout at the gin.
- Good fiber quality.
- Resistant to Fusarium wilt; tolerant to Verticillium wilt (a bred-in bonus!).

BE ONE OF THE FIRST IN YOUR AREA TO PLANT THIS GREAT NEW COTTON. SEE YOUR LOCAL SEEDSMAN FOR DELTA QUEEN PLANTING SEED NOW.

COKER'S PEDIGREED SEED BLOOD WILL TELL

COKER'S PEDIGREED SEED COMPANY
Hartsville, S. C.

ROSE SEED COMPANY
Clarksdale, Miss.

plantings of pine trees reach market size we will flood the market for timber products. They doubt that a profitable market will be available twenty years from now. However, such assumption is usually based on present per capita consumption and without considering our population increase.

This assumption appears some what misleading when we look at the facts. Presently every man, woman and child in this nation is using annually 436 pounds of paper products alone. And it requires 1500 pounds of wood to produce this amount of paper. Present predictions, based on the record of the past decade, indicate individual consumption of paper products to increase more than 50 per cent during the next twenty years. Also, according to the census bureau, during this same twenty years we will add to our present population between 80 and 100 million people. So you see when we make this same application to the use of lumber, particle boards, insulation boards, hardboard, poles, piling, posts, charcoal, naval stores, and chemical wood conversion there appears little likelihood that the demand for timber products will diminish within the foreseeable future.

To provide for the needs of our skyrocketing population wood in its varied forms will be needed in such quantities that it will tax the capacity of existing forests and demand the establishment of forests on millions of acres of additional land. This offers to us in the South, in Mississippi and in Holmes County a rare challenge.

So if you have land on your farm that is not producing any income maybe you would be wise to consider converting it to timber production. Pine seedlings on idle land is excellent insurance, good conservation and we believe it will prove to be a very wise investment.

Grain Price Support Deadline Set Jan. 31

The final date for obtaining price support on most 1961-crop grains will be January 31, 1962, according to Holmes Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service County Office. Loan rates and eligibility standards for 1961-crop commodities in Holmes County are as follows:

BARLEY: $1.00 per bushel for grade No. 2 or better. Discounts for lower grades down to No. 5 or No. 5 garlicky and mixed barley. Producer and farm must be in compliance with 1961 feed grain program.

GRAIN SORGHUM: $2.00 per cwt. for grade No. 2 or better. Discounts for lower grades down to No. 4, No. 4 smutty, No. 4 discolored, or mixed grain sorghums. Producer and farm must be in compliance with 1961 feed grain program.

OATS: 72 cents per bushel for grade No. 3; premium for higher quality; discounts for No. 4 on test weight only, for No. 4 because of being "badly stained or materially weathered," and for garlicky. Producers and farm must be in compliance with 1961 feed grain program.

SOYBEANS: $2.29 per bushel for No. 2 green or yellow soybeans. Premiums for low foreign material content and low moisture; discounts for grade and quality factors down to No. 4 and for the classes black, brown and mixed soybeans. Soybeans containing more than 14 per cent moisture are ineligible.

WHEAT: $1.85 per bushel for grade No. 1. Discounts for lower

tance to movement and its ability to absorb water. The speed of the rain drop falling through space ranges up to 20 miles an hour depending on its size. It has been calculated that the energy from an inch of rain is sufficient to raise a seven-inch acre of soil one foot.

Soil erosion is still a very real and common problem on sloping lands that have little or no cover. The use of close growing, high yielding forages for erosion control makes soil conservation an opportunity instead of a problem.

In this day of intense economic competition forages as a crop must be profitable. Before forages have any commercial value and in order that they may be used on a wide scale for purposes of soil conservation, they must be converted by animals to products for human use.

The farmers of Holmes County are realizing more and more each year the importance of having a sound grazing program. ASC records show that 237 Holmes County farmers requested assistance on establishing over 4,000 acres of new pasture or improving old pasture. Fifteen hundred pounds of Bermuda grass seed and 800 pounds of bahia seed were planted through the Soil Conservation Service for erosion control in pastures.

grades down to "Sample" grade due to total damaged kernels with a test weight of not less than 40 pounds per bushel. Wheat must not be musty, sour, heating or hot. Discount of 20 cents per bushel for specified undesirable varieties.

Invest now in the future of Mississippi — Plant more pine trees today!

To Help Delta

The Department of Agriculture has inaugurated 1962 with two changed regulations which will greatly benefit Delta agriculture, Rep. Frank Smith reported. One change increases the rice acreage by ten per cent and the other eliminates restrictions on "skip row" cotton planting and cultivation.

"Both of these changes follow recommendations which I have been making to USDA for some time," Rep. Smith reported. "Both will encourage increased and more efficient production of these important crops in our area."

"The increase in rice acreage was based on an estimate of increased export demands for rice in the world market' Smith said, "but it carries a commitment by the Department to expand its world marketing efforts. The increased acreage offers the possibility of further utilization of potential rice acreage in the Mississippi Delta as national production goals are increased from year to year.

Rep. Smith said reports he had received from over his district indicated that a large number of cotton farmers would take advantage of the opportunity to use "two and two" split row cultivation methods in 1962.

"Split row cultivation offers a chance for both increased yield and increased quality.

"The USDA is well aware of the increased yield of cotton which will come under this regulation, and I think the approval of this change by the Secretary makes it clear that the Department is adopting a goal of increased cotton production," Smith added.

Try The Classified Ads!

Post oil is a must. Prepare to flame out vines and weeds. Plan for a complete insect control program. Bottom defoliate if needed. Defoliate when needed. Plan now for mechanical harvesting of your 1962 cotton crop. A complete cotton production program means those practices you need on your farm.

but for conserving livestock and crop production for the sake of the entire nation.

Extension workers are being given current educational materials which will be available to the public. Copies of fall out shelter blueprinting will also be available at Civil Defense centers in the county.

Get Your . . . .

POSTED NOTICES

At

The Lexington Advertiser

Who pays for advertising?

Not THE NEWSPAPER Reader, Because He Saves Both Time And Money By Shopping The Wide Selection Of Honest Values Offered Through The Advertising Columns.

Not THE ADVERTISER, Because Advertising Always Returns A Profit When It Is Used Correctly And Consistently.

The merchant who does not advertise

IS THE MAN WHO PAYS For Advertising. He Pays For It In The Volume Of Business He Loses — In The Number Of Customers Who Buy Elsewhere.

If You Are In Business, YOU'RE PAYING For Advertising. Why Not Put Your Name On It, And Get The Benefit From It?

THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

Follow the leader...

worship together this week!

Coxburg

COXBURG METHODIST
Rev. Dennis Johnston, Pastor
Sunday School at 10 a.m., R. S. Richmond, supt. Morning Worship each Second Sunday morning at 11:00, Fourth Sunday morning at 9:30 and Fouth Sunday night at 7:00.

COXBURG MP CHURCH
Morning Worship each First and Third Sundays

HARLANDS CREEK BAPTIST CHURCH
Rev. Jimmy Jackson, Pastor Sunday School, 10:00 a.m. Morning Worship, 11:00 a.m. Training Union 6:00 p. m. Evening Worship 7:00 p. m.
Mid-week prayer meeting each Wednesday at 8:00 p.m.

Cruger

BAPTIST CHURCH
Sunday services:
Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p. m. Training Union at 6:00
The Rev. W. E. Greene, Jr., pastor.

METHODIST CHURCH
Sunday services:
Sunday School at 10 a.m. Worship service is held the first and third Sunday at 11 a.m. and on the second and fourth Sunday at 7:00 p.m.
The Rev. Claude Fleming, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, E. J. Hines, Jr.

Durant

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH
Church School 9:45 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p.m., also Adult and Children Fellowship Groups at 6:00.
The Women's Society of Christian Service meets the first, second and fourth Monday of each month. Weslevan Service Guild on third Monday.
The Rev. R. E. Wasson, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent, Percy Joyce; Organist Mrs. Walter Odom.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Acona

ACONA METHODIST
Sunday School at 10 a.m. each Sunday with worship hour every third Sunday at 11 a.m. and every first Sunday at 7 p.m.
The Rev. J. E. Young, pastor. Sunday School superintendent K. F. Downer.

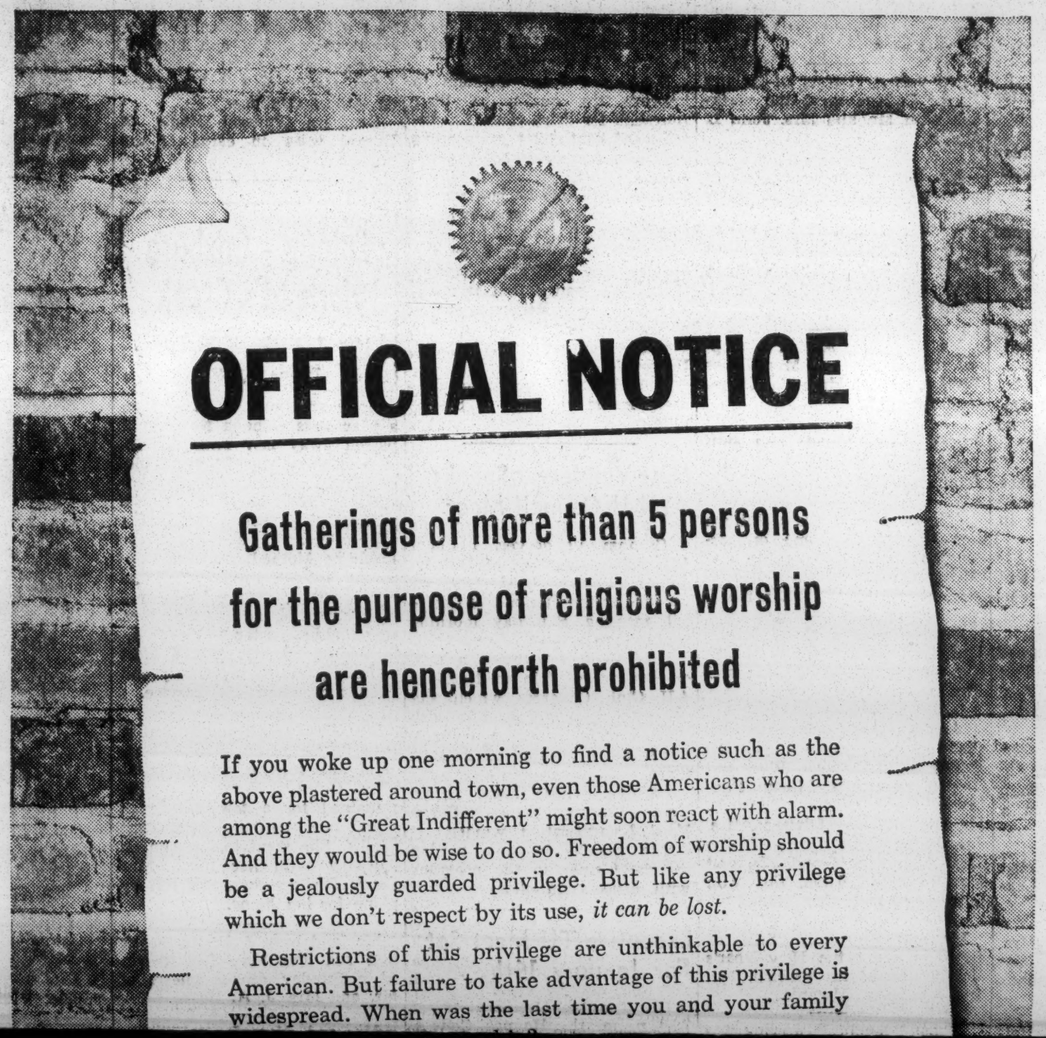
Lexington

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
Church School, 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a. m. and 7:00 p. m. and Baptist Training Union at 6:00. p. m.
Prayer meeting at 7:30 each Wednesday evening, followed by choir practice.
The Rev. P. D. Bragg, pastor; Louie B. Nichols Sunday School Superintendent; Charles Lee Truitt, Training Union director.
Women's Missionary Society, circles one two and three, meet each Monday afternoon at 3.
Business Women's Circle meets second Monday each month 6 p.m. and Sunbeams each Monday at 3.

OAK GROVE BAPTIST
Rev. Donny Clark, Pastor
Sunday School: 10:00 a.m.
Morning Worship: 11:00 a.m.
Training Union: 6:00 p. m.
Evening Worship: 7:00 p. m.
Prayer Meeting Wednesday 7:30 p.m.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Episcopal Church
Services at 7:15 a.m. Church School, 10.00 a.m. Worship hour at 11:00 a.m.
Ladies' Guilds meet first Monday each month.
The Rev. Reynolds Cheney, vicar; Mrs. Doty Porter, choir director and organist; W. E. Thurmond, senior warden; M. K. Ginn, junior warden.

TEMPLE BETH-EL
Monthly services are conducted by Rabbi Perry Nussbaum of Jackson.
Sunday School is held each Sunday at 10:30
Sunday School Superintendent, Herman Flowers
The Julia Lewis Sisterhood meets the first Monday each



OFFICIAL NOTICE

Gatherings of more than 5 persons for the purpose of religious worship are henceforth prohibited

If you woke up one morning to find a notice such as the above plastered around town, even those Americans who are among the "Great Indifferent" might soon react with alarm. And they would be wise to do so. Freedom of worship should be a jealously guarded privilege. But like any privilege which we don't respect by its use, *it can be lost.*

Restrictions of this privilege are unthinkable to every American. But failure to take advantage of this privilege is widespread. When was the last time you and your family

Ebenezer

EBENEZER METHODIST
Sunday School 10 a.m. Worship services are held the first and third Sunday at 11 a. m. and 6:30 p.m. also Methodist Youth Fellowship at 5:30.
The Women's Society of Christian Service meets the first and third Monday at 2:30 p.m.
Rev. Dennis Johnston, pastor Sunday School Superintendent, K. D. Hendry; Organist, Mrs. J. E. Jones and Mrs. Harris Humphrey; and M.Y.F. Directors, Mrs. Gene Greer and Mrs. Effie Brock

EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH
Rev. Larry Zigler, Pastor
Sunday School, 10:00 a. m.
Morning Worship, 11:00 a. m
Training Union, 6:00 p. m.
Evening Worship, 7:00 p. m.

Pickens

METHODIST CHURCH
Sunday services:
Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Methodist Youth Fellowship at 6 p.m.
Prayer meeting each Monday evening at 7:30
Women's Society of Christian Service meets every Monday at 9:30 a.m.
Weslevan Service Guild every third Monday at 7:30 p.m.
The Rev. G. H. Ledbetter, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent, Hoover Maxwell; Training Union director, Jed Pepper

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
Sunday services:
Sunday School at 9:45 a.m Worship hour on second, fourth and fifth Sundays held at 11 a.m and 7 p.m. Young People of the Church meet at 6 p.m.
Prayer meeting at 7:30 each Wednesday.
Women of the Church meet each Monday afternoon.
The Rev. E. Stanley Smathers, pastor, and Sunday School superintendent, Henry McNeese.

BAPTIST CHURCH
Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and Union each Sunday at 6:00 p. m.
Wednesday prayer meeting at 7 p.m.

Worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p. m. Training Union at 6:00

The Rev. W. E. Greene, Jr., pastor.

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. Worship service is held the first and third Sunday at 11 a.m. and on the second and fourth Sunday at 7:00 p.m.

The Rev. Claude Fleming, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, E. J. Hines, Jr.

Durant

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH

Church School 9:45 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p.m., also Adult and Children Fellowship Groups at 6:00.

The Women's Society of Christian Service meets the first, second and fourth Monday of each month. Weslevan Service Guild on third Monday.

The Rev. R. E. Wasson, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent, Percy Joyce; Organist Mrs. Walter Odom.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday School, 9:45 with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m.

Prayer meeting at 7 each Wednesday. Catechism class each Saturday at 10 a.m

The Rev. Robert Glover Shoemaker, pastor;

Sunday School Superintendent, C. H. Blanton, Jr.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

Rev. Durell Makamson, Pastor

9:45 a.m. Sunday School
11:00 a. m. Morning Worship
7:00 p. m. Evening Worship
6:00 p. m. Training Union
7:30 p. m. Prayer Meeting each Wednesday
3:00 p. m. Woman's Missionary Society every Monday

Lindsay O'Rear, Secretary. Sunday School Superintendent, Leon Engelmann.

Training Union Director, R. J. Dorsett; and Choir Director, Lindsay O'Rear.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

Brian Van der Spuy, Minister

Worship service every Sunday
Morning worship at 11:00 a.m.
Evening worship at 7:30 p.m.
Bible School 10.00 a. m.
Bible Study each Wednesday at 7:30 p. m.

EASTSIDE BAPTIST MISSION CHURCH

The Rev. H. C. Ellis, pastor

Sunday School at 10 a. m. with worship hour at 11 a. m. and 7:00 p. m. Baptist Training Union at 6:00 p. m.

Prayer meeting on Wednesday at 7:30.

Choir Director, Miss Edna Townsend.

CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

Rev. Tommy Loving, Pastor

Sunday School 10 a. m. and worship hour, 11 a. m. and 7:30 p. m. The Young Peoples group the NYPS meets each Sunday at 7:00 p. m.

Prayer Meeting at 7:30 p. m. each Wednesday.

Sunday School Superintendent Johnny Toten; Choir Director, Mrs. Marion Bishop;

NYPS Leader, Mrs. Houie Bishop.

Pentecostal Program Set

The reguar program for the Durant United Pentecostal Church has been set as follows: Sunday School at 10 a. m. Morning Worship at 11:00 a. m.; Evening Worship at 7:00 p. m.; Prayer Meeting and Bible Study Thursday at 7:30 p. m.; Young Peoples Service at 7 p.m. Saturday.

day at 8.

OAK GROVE BAPTIST

Rev. Donny Clark, Pastor

Sunday School: 10:00 a.m.
Morning Worship: 11:00 a.m.
Training Union: 6:00 p. m.
Evening Worship: 7:00 p. m.
Prayer Meeting Wednesday 7:30 p.m.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Episcopal Church

Services at 7:15 a.m. Church School, 10.00 a.m. Worship hour at 11:00 a.m.

Ladies' Guilds meet first Monday each month.

The Rev. Reynolds Cheney, vicar; Mrs. Doty Porter, choir director and organist; W. E. Thurmond, senior warden; M. K. Ginn, junior warden.

TEMPLE BETH-EL

Monthly services are conducted by Rabbi Perry Nussbaum of Jackson.

Sunday School is held each Sunday at 10:30

Sunday School Superintendent, Herman Flowers

The Julia Lewis Sisterhood meets the first Monday each month.

MISSIONARY EASTSIDE BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday School, 10:00 a. m. and worship hour, 11:00 a. m. and 7:00 p. m. with Baptist Training Union at 6:00 p. m.

Prayer meeting is held each Wednesday night at 7 p.m. followed by the Women's Missionary Union and the Brotherhood meeting.

The Rev. Charles Cooley, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent and Church Secretary, G. R. Thompson.

ST. THOMAS CATHOLIC

Morning Mass is held each Sunday at alternating hours. Beginning June 26th, Mass will be held at 10:30, and the following Sunday, July 3, at 8:00 and so on throughout the year.

Members of the clergy are Monsignor John F. Clerico and his assistant, Father Clements, both of Greenwood.

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 10:55 a.m. and 7 p.m. Methodist Youth Fellowship at 6 p.m.

Prayer meeting at 7 p.m. each Wednesday, followed by choir practice.

Woman's Society of Christian Service meets each Monday afternoon at 3.

Wesleyan Service Guild meets second and fourth Monday each month at 7:30 p.m.

The Rev. Crawford Ray, pastor; Ben Rathell, Sunday School Superintendent; Woodson Earle Youth Fellowship director.

BEULAH BAPTIST CHURCH

Rev. David Skinner, Pastor

Sunday School, 10:00 a.m.
Morning Worship, 11:00 a.m
Training Union, 6:00 p. m.
Evening Worship, 7:00 p. m.
Prayer Meeting on Wednesday night at 7:30.

LIBERTY CHAPEL METHODIST CHURCH

Rev. Dennis Johnston, Pastor. Worship services are held each First and Third Sunday at 3:00 p.m.

Goodman

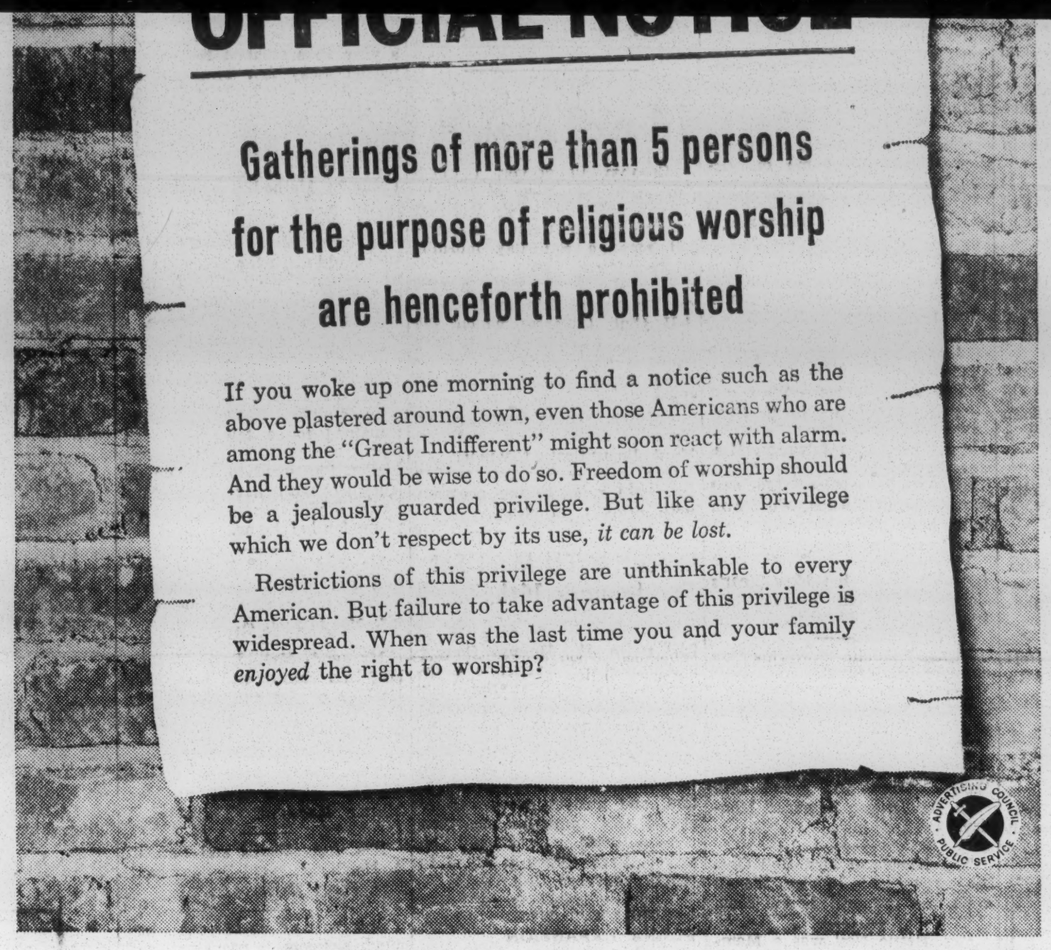
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. each Sunday with worship hour, held only on the third Sunday, at 11 a.m. and 7:30 p.m.

The Women of the Church meet each Monday at 9 a.m.

The Rev. Stanley Smather, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, Paul Hand.



Worship together this week You need not walk alone

Goodman

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:30 p.m. Methodist Youth Fellowship meets at 6:30 p.m. The Wesley Foundation, college students' group, meets also at 6:30

Wednesday night prayer meeting is held at 7.

The Women's Society of Christian Service meets each Monday at 3:30 p.m. The Wesleyan Service Guild meets at 7:30 on the first Monday of each month.

The Rev. B. F. Lee, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, W. W. Griffin, Jr.; church secretary, Mrs. D. K. Gulledge MYF director, Mrs. Nell Branch Wesley Foundation director, Mrs C. W. Lorance

BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:30 p.m. Training Union held at 6:30.

Prayer meeting at 7:00 each Wednesday night.

The Women's Missionary Society meets each Monday at 3 p.m.

The Rev. R. A. Herrington, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, Ry McDaniel, Choir director, William Spell; Training Union director, Mrs. R. A. Harrington.

125 YEARS
The Lexington Advertiser
TRI-ANNIVERSARY
EDITOR HAZEL BRANNON SMITH 125 YEARS
THE DURANT NEWS
100 YEARS

This advertisement in the interest of Religion in American Life as a basis of All Our American Freedoms is presented by The Lexington Advertiser and The Durant News and is a Tri-Anniversary Ad made possible by friends of the editor.

West

MT. PLEASANT BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. each Sunday with worship hour, held the first and third Sunday, at 11:00 a. m. and 7:00 p. m. Training Union each Sunday at 6:00 p. m.

Prayer meeting is held each Thursday at 7 p.m. followed by the Women's Missionary Society, the Brotherhood, the RA and GA meetings.

The Rev. James Sadder, Jr. pastor; Sunday School superintendent, Watt Tate; Training Union director, Bob McCreary; choir director, Jimmy McBride.

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. each Sunday with worship hour, held the first and third Sunday, at 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.

The Women's Society or Christian Service meets each Monday at 2:30.

The Rev. Harold Robertson, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, John David Montgomery.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a. m.

Worship services are held each second and fourth Sunday at 11:00 a. m.

Pastor of the church is Rev. Robert Bullard.

MT. PLEASANT BAPTIST CHURCH

Rev. James Saddler, pastor

Sunday School 10:00 a. m.
Morning Worship 11:00 a. m
Evening Worship 7:00 p. m.
Training Union 6:00 p. m.

Charles Wolfarth, Training Union director.

HEBRON METHODIST CHURCH

Near Lexington

Rev. Dennis Johnston, pastor Worship services are held each Second Sunday night at 7:00 and each Fourth Sunday morning at 11:00.

ship at 6 p.m.

Prayer meeting each Monday evening at 7:30

Women's Society of Christian Service meets every Monday at 7:20 a.m.

Weslevan Service Guild every third Monday at 7:30 p.m.

The Rev. G. H. Ledbetter, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent, Hoover Maxwell; Training Union director, Jed Pepper

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 9:45 a.m Worship hour on second, fourth and fifth Sundays held at 11 a.m and 7 p.m. Young People of the Church meet at 6 p.m.

Prayer meeting at 7:30 each Wednesday.

Women of the Church meet each Monday afternoon.

The Rev. E. Stanley Smathers, pastor, and Sunday School superintendent, Henry McNeese.

BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and Union each Sunday at 6:00 p. m.

Wednesday prayer meeting at 7 p.m.

The Women's Missionary Union meets each Monday at 3:30 p.m. Business Women's Circle at 7 p.m.

The Rev. J. Price Brock, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, John Yarborough; Training Union director, George Wynne choir director, Price Brock, Jr.

Tchula

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Methodist Youth Fellowship at 6 p.m.

Prayer meeting is held at 7 p.m. each Wednesday, followed by choir practice.

The Women's Society of Christian Service meets each Monday at 3 p.m. The Virgie Hines Guild meets each Monday at 4 p.m.

The Rev. Wilson Ray, pastor

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p. m. Training Union is held at 6:00 p. m. and Fellowship for Young People at 8:00 p. m.

Prayer meeting is held each Wednesday at 7:30 p. m.

The Women's Missionary Society meets each Monday at 2:30 p.m.

The Rev Roy Raddin, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, O. C. Scott;

Training Union director, Bill Bole.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour, held on first, second and third Sunday, at 11 a.m.

The Women of the Church meet on first, second and third Monday of each month at 3 p.m

The Rev. J. C. Watson, pastor

West News

By MRS. MABEL BRYANT

Mr. Robert Allen Cade of Greenville who is employed with the I. C. Railroad spent the weekend with his family.

Mr. and Mrs. Billy Holmes of Kosciusko visited Mrs. R. O. McCreary and Mrs. Maude Holmes Sunday afternoon.

Miss Bessie Owen of Belzoni spent the weekend with her sister Mrs. O. W. Thomas.

Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Jackson visited Mrs. W. B. Carter of Carmack Sunday afternoon.

Mr. Louie Deprater of Greenwood visited Skippy Tucker, who is on the sick list Saturday.

Mrs. Melton Powers and children of Jackson spent Sunday with Mrs. Mattie Thomas.

Mrs. Mattie Faye Thomas and Miss Bessie Owens shopped in Kosciusko Saturday.

Mrs. Wirt Shrock of Franklinton, Louisiana and her father Mr. S. J. Browning of Goodman visited relatives recently.

Mr. and Mrs. Carl Campbell Arnold and little daughter, Teresa of Canton visited Mrs. Carl Arnold and Mrs. Nina Holmes over the weekend.

Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Campbell have returned home after a pleasant visit with their children in Birmingham, Alabama.

Mrs. Nell Snavely left Tuesday for Jackson after spending a few days at home.

Mr. Victor Dunn of Greenwood called by for a short visit with Mr. L. B. Tucker Sunday afternoon.

Rev. Victor Shaw of Millsaps College was here over the weekend to fill his appointment at the Methodist Church Sunday at 11 o'clock and at 7 o'clock p. m.

Miss Martha Campbell and Miss Ouida Pate of Jackson spent a few days with Mr. S. C. Campbell and Mr. and Mrs. Ben Weaver.

Mrs. Owen McLellan made a trip to Goodman Tuesday.

Mr. and Mrs. Billy Dunning of Jackson visited Mrs Mary Dunning Saturday night and Sunday.

Mr. Arnold Hammond of Winona was a business visitor Tuesday afernoon.

Mrs. Paul Oliver of Vaiden attended to business Wednesday.

Mrs. Effie Cade returned home Wednesday after a weeks visit with Miss Minnie Armstrong of Carmack.

Mr. J. F. Tucker left Tuesday for Meadsville, Pennsylvania. He will return Friday.

Mr. Carlton Aldridge of Durant attended to business and visited relatives Wednesday.

Mr. and Mrs. Sidney McGehee have returned home after several days with their children in Memphis.

Mr. and Mrs. Ray Autry and children of Durant visited relatives Wednesday afternoon.

Mrs. Wilma Brock returned home Wednesday after spending a month with relatives in Arizona.

Mr. John Norwood and Mr. Earl Maddox are patients in the Lexington Hospital. Their many friends wish for them a speedy recovery.

Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Bicker were business visitors in Lexington Thursday afternoon.

Mrs. A. R. Bicker and Mrs. T. H. Brister called on Miss Minnie Armstrong of Carmack Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Autry and Larry Harvey transacted business in Greenwood Thursday afternoon.

Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Bicker were business visitors to Durant Saturday afternoon.

Mrs. Mae Oakes and son of Hesterville stopped by for a visit with Mrs. Mabel Bryant on their way to Goodman Saturday.

Mr. Arthur Self spent Wednesday and Thursday in Gulfport.

Mr. and Mrs. Melvin Fultz and baby of Birmingham, Alabama spent the weekend with Mr. and Mrs. T. D. Fultz.

Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Brock were supper guests of Mr. and Mrs. I. B. Griffin in Vaiden Monday night.

Mr. Johnny Mason of Holmes Junior College spent the weekend with Mr. and Mrs. John L. Mason.

Mr. Ray Campbell of Durant was a visitor here Thursday afternoon.

Mrs. M. E. Sanders of Durant spent Friday with Mrs. Ruby Self and visited Mrs. A. I. Campbell.

Mr. and Mrs. Marion Thompson visited Mr. and Mrs. James Weeks and children in Cleveland recently.

Mrs. Roy Edwards and children spent Monday with Mrs. John Bruce of Carmack.

Airman Second Class William Lee Edwards is home on furlough with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Denton Edwards. He is stationed in Atlas, Oklahoma.

Airman Second Class Robert Earl Goss of Kansas is spending several weeks with Mr. and Mrs. Delma Goss.

Among those who attended the basketball game in Vaiden Friday night between West and Vaiden were Mrs. Martin Peninger, Mrs. Denton Edwards, Mr. and Mrs. Roy Edwards, Mrs. Joe Rigby, Miss Dorris Rigby, Mrs. Arthur Self and Mr. and Mrs. Tommie Gelston. West won both boys and girls games.

Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Willis of Brandon spent the New Year's Holiday with her parents. Mr. and Mrs. Roy Edwards.

GOVERNMENT SURPLUS SALES

Now anyone can buy Direct from U. S. Government Surplus Depots, by mail for yourself or for resale. Cameras, binoculars, cars, jeeps, trucks, boats, hardware, office machines and equipment, tents, tools, and tens-of-thousands of other items at a fraction of their original cost. Many items brand new. For list of hun-

Former Pickens Man Assistant Agronomist At Miss. State U.

John W. (Bill) McKie, son of Mr. and Mrs. Jim McKie of Pickens has been named assistant agronomist of the Agricultural Extension Service with headquarters at Mississippi State University.

He will advise county Extension agents throughout the state in educational programs with corn, soybeans and 4-H Club agronomy work. He fills a vacancy in the Extension agronomy staff, said W. M. Bost, associate director, and M. S. Shaw, director of Extension.

Mr. McKie entered Extension in February 1957 as associate county agent of Amite County. There he helped to lead outstaning work in Balanced Farm and Home Planning and in Rural Development.

He helped many farmers to improve the quality of their roughage for dairy cows. Chemical weed control for grain crops and pastures was another successful effort.

Since last June he had served as county agent of Lawrence County.

Before joining the Extension Service, Mr. McKie managed a beef cattle and cotton farm in Yazoo County. He is a native of Holmes County and a 1949 graduate of Mississippi State University.

With his wife and two children, he is residing in Starkville.

Miss Vanderver Speaks At 4-H Council Meet

Carolyn Vanderver, national 4-H Club winntr, of Holmes Junior College was featured speaker at the Junior 4-H Council meeting Saturday morning in Lexington.

Miss Vanderver made a talk on her recent trip to National 4-H Club Congress which she attended in Chicago. She also showed slides of Chicago which were made during her stay there.

Carolyn, whose home is in Yazoo County, is a National Yard Beautification winner.

The regular business session was held prior to the program with officers in charge.

Executive TU Meet Set For January 16th

On Tuesday, January 16 at

READ AND USE WANT ADS FOR FAST RESULTS

Graveside Rites Held For Paul T. Jones

Graveside rites for Paul Thurmond Jones, infant son of Mr. and Mrs. Paul C. Jones of Durant were held Friday, December 29th in Mizpah Cemetery with the Rev. R. E. Wasson officiating.

Baby Jones was born and died in the District Two Hospital on December 29th.

In addition to his parents, he leaves his maternal grandparents, Mr. and Mrs Avery Wilson of Durant; paternal grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. William Jones of Goodman; great-grandparents, Mr. and Mrs. S. F. Hodges, Durant; Mr. Jim Jones, Goodman and Mrs. Myrtle Ables, Coxburg.

Southern Funeral Home of Durant was in carge of arrangements.

Eulogy - Coxburg Harland's Creek

Mrs. J. A. Hearn, Reporter

Phone 649-W-1

After an illness of more than a year Miss Ophelia Netherland passed away last Thursday afternoon. She was 83 years old. Of a family of 13 children there remains now only six. Burial services were conducted Friday afternoon at 2 o'clock at the Coxburg Methodist Church adjacent to the cemetery where her parents, two sisters and two brothers are resting. Rev. Roy Raddin, pastor of the Tchula Baptist Church gave a most consoling talk to the family and friends attending the service.

Mrs. C. A. Harthcock from El Paso, Texas came Friday to attend tht funeral of her aunt, Miss Ophelia Netherland. She remained for a few days visit with her mother, Mrs. Ama Wallis. She went to Jackson on Tuesday with her sister, Mrs. Percy Taylor, where she left by plane for her home.

Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Harthcock and Mr. and Mrs. Jeb Reeves were Sunday dinner guests of Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Hearn.

FOR SALE

FOR SALE — Television sets, large stock of new, used and demonstrators at prices tailored to suit your pocketbook. Easy terms, too. Call or visit Jordan's Radio and TV Service in Lexington, phone 40, 107 North Vine.

FOR SALE: Dachshund puppies. Registered AKC. Contact Rev. B. F. Lee, Goodman, Mississippi, Phone 2901. 38-3tnp

FOR SALE — New or used Television sets and Antennas. Will trade. Easy terms can be arranged. Jordan Radio and TV Service, Lexington, phone 40.

FOR SALE — Farmall Cub Tractor with equipment. Phone or see Walter Smith at The Advertiser Office, phone 666 days or residence phone 394, Lexington.

MAC DONALD'S ALMANACS FOR SALE — 1962 Edition now on hand, at The Lexington Advertiser office. 35 cents per copy.

ADMIRAL REFRIGERATORS and FOOD FREEZERS will do the job you need done this summer and for years to come. See our fine stock of both. Jordan's Radio and TV Service, Lexington, phone 40. Easy terms may be arranged.

ABC WASHERS, fully automatic, will lighten your household duties and make summer living more pleasant. See these economical models at Jordan's Radio and TV Service in Lexington. Phone 40. Investigate our Easy Terms.

FOR SALE — RCA Television set. Will trade. Easy terms can be arranged. Jordan Radio and TV Service, Lexington, Phone 40.

FOR RENT

FOR RENT — Two room apartment at 302 North Jackson Street, Durant. Call 141-W after 4 p. m. 31tfnp

FOR RENT: Five (5) room furnished house on 340 Depot St. Write Mrs. Jack Williams, Box 1145, Tupelo, Miss. or call Tupelo, V12-7463. 21-tfnp

NOTICE

NOTICE — Beginning January 1, 1962, the Jackson State Times Sunday paper will be 80 cents per month; the Memphis Press Scimitar Sunday paper will be $1.50 per month; All magazines will be $1.75 per month. Tchula representative, D. Netters, Box 41, Tchula, Mississippi. 40-1t-np

NOTICE — The Charlotte Simmons Seigers house, 414 Carrollton Street, Lexington, Mississippi is not for sale. The will being presented by Doris and Jimmy Anderson is no good. Contact Carrie Simmons Hawkins, 321 Simpson Avenue, Memphis, Tennessee 33tfnp

AGENTS WANTED TO SELL BURIAL INSURANCE. See or call Lindsay's Enterprise Funeral Home, Durant, Miss. Telephone 337. 37-tfnp

NOTICE — To all State Times subscribers:
All payments must be made between the 31st and second day of each month to prevent delay in future deliveries. No credit allowed.
The same rules apply to the Memphis Press-Scimitar subscribers. We will appreciate your cooperation.
D. Netters, representative, Box 41, Tchula 41--2tnp

MAGNIFICENT SPINET PIANO
Will place in responsible hands at modest price or convenient payments. Fully guaranteed. Write before we send truck Joplin Piano Co., Joplin, Missouri. 41- 1tpd

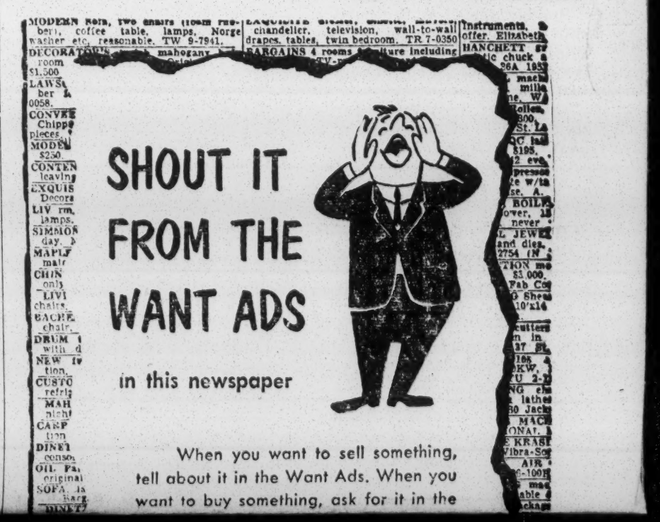
"Business Opportunities"

"EXCEPTIONAL OPPORTUNITY": Reliable man or woman full or part time, to service route of automatic vending machines. No selling or soliciting. $945 to $1890 cash required. Route established locally for operator. Please don't waste our time unless you have the necessary capital. If fully qualified and able to take over at once, write briefly about your background and include phone number for personal interview.
PAK DISTRIBUTING CO., 4150 Central Ave. N. E., Minneapolis 21, Minnesota

It is not "un-American" to disagree with others, regardless of what positions they occupy.

PECANS AND FURS

We Buy Pecans — Top Market Prices—See Us Before You Sell!
LEXINGTON IRON AND METAL COMPANY
Phone 660 Lexington



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Now anyone can buy Direct from U. S. Government Surplus Depots, by mail for yourself or for resale. Cameras, binoculars, cars, jeeps, trucks, boats, hardware, office machines and equipment, tents, tools, and tens-of-thousands of other items at a fraction of their original cost. Many items brand new. For list of hundreds of U. S. Government Surplus Depots, located in every State and overseas with pamphlet "How Government Can Ship Direct To You," plus procedures. How To Buy and how to get Free Surplus, mail $2.00 to Surplus Sales Information Services, P. O. Box No. 1818, Washington 5, D. C.

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Weeks and children in Cleveland recently.

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Mr. and Mrs. J. D. Willis of Brandon spent the New Year's Holiday with her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Roy Edwards.

Mrs. Robert Edwards was guest of her daughter in Durant Monday, Mrs. H. R. Simmons and Mr. Simmons.

Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Frazer of Kosciusko spent the day with their children and grand children, the Denton Edwards' Monday.

The friends of Mrs. Bell Goss are sorry she is so sick. We all hope she can feel better soon.

Mrs. Bettie Neil was a Memphis visitor for the New Year holidays.

Mr. and Mrs. Emmett Bruce and son of Carmack was a visitor Sunday afternoon.

Mrs. Mildred Rigby and children visited Mr. and Mrs. Toby Jenkins of Hesterville recently.

Mrs. A. I. Campbell was a visitor in Vaiden Sunday afternoon.

A "Who's Who' survey of prominent New Yorkers revealed that 87 per cent of the artists have savings accounts, exactly the same percentage as lawyers.

Attend The Church Of Your Choice This Sunday

With his wife and two children, he is residing in Starkville.

Miss Vanderver Speaks At 4-H Council Meet

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Carolyn, whose home is in Yazoo County, is a National Yard Beautification winner.

The regular business session was held prior to the program with officers in charge.

Executive TU Meet Set For January 16th

On Tuesday, January 16 at 7:30 p. m. the Holmes County Training Union Executive Committee will meet at the First Baptist Church in Lexington.

At this time previous plans will be put into action.

All members of the executive committee, training union directors, and pastors are urged to attend this important meeting.

A pot-luck supper will be served. Each person is asked to bring a covered dish.

MISCERAMIC TILE PLANS EXPANSION

Misceramic Tile, Cleveland, announced plans to increase production floor space by approximately one third. Organized in 1958, Misceramic Tile is owned completely by Mississippians. At its recent annual meeting of stockholders, officers of the company reported that the 1960-61 sales were 65 per cent greater than those of its first year (1958-59) and that October- November, 1961 sales were 63 per cent greater than those for the same period in 1960. Misceramic produces a complete line of floor, wall and decorator ceramic tile.

Sell Your Merchandise Through The Pages Of The Lexington Advertiser — You Will Find That It Will Move Much Faster!

Phone 645-W-1

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Mr. and Mrs. Basil Netherland and family and Mrs. Kate Hackler of Jackson visited Mr. and Mrs. Rufus Netherland on Sunday.

Rev. Jimmy Jackson was a Sunday dinner guest of Mrs. Minnie Marshall.

Mrs. Ama Wallis and Mrs. C. A. Harthcock spent Sunday with Mrs. Percy Taylor.

This is the time of year when much sickness is prevalent, and many in our community are victims. Those very ill at present are Mr. J. S. Ables, Mr. Raif Harthcock, Vardaman Ables and Houston Ables. We pray, if it's the Lord's will, they will soon be well.

MONUMENTS

Why pay undertakers and catalog salesmen 40% commission when you can buy direct from a manufacturer.

You will be better satisfied when you select from our display yard.

We will be glad to send our manager, Mr. Harold R. Sides, or answer by mail or telephone.

DAVIDSON MARBLE & GRANITE WORKS
Kosciusko, Miss.

come. See our fine stock of both. Jordan's Radio and TV Service, Lexington, phone 40. Easy terms may be arranged.

ABC WASHERS, fully automatic, will lighten your household duties and make summer living more pleasant. See these economical models at Jordan's Radio and TV Service in Lexington. Phone 40. Investigate our Easy Terms.

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District Two Community Hospital

Mr. Weir Kyle, Durant
Mr. Tom McBride, Durant
Mr. John B. Cummins, Sallis
Miss Sara Melton, HJC
Ricky Burrell, Durant
Mr. A. W. Weeks, West
Mrs. Jeff Browning, Goodman

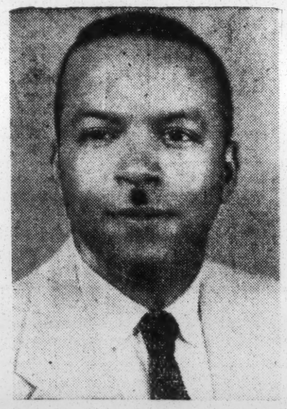
subscribers. We will appreciate your cooperation.
D. Netters, representative,
Box 41, Tchula
41--2tnp

Prices—See Us Before You Sell
LEXINGTON IRON AND METAL COMPANY
Phone 660 Lexington

LINDSAY'S ENTERPRISE FUNERAL HOME, INCORPORATED

Announces

6 PERCENT DIVIDEND



JEROME E. LINDSAY, President

The stockholders of Lindsay's Enterprise Funeral Home, Incorporated as of record December 31, 1961 will receive a Six Per Cent Dividend on their investment. The checks will be placed in the mail on or before February 20, 1962 or credit will be given toward additional shares.

Present stockholders can make additional investments and other interested persons with funds earning less than Six Per Cent are invited to share in the growth and profit of this fast growing enterprise.

We can be contacted through mail at P. O. Box 9, Durant, Mississippi or phone 337 in Durant.

New DELTA QUEEN is a showy cotton with lots of eye appeal!

DELTA QUEEN COTTON for '62

STAPLE LENGTH: 1-1/16" to 1-3/32" under average conditions; longer under more favorable conditions.

LINT PER CENT: 38% to 40% under average to good conditions.

FIBER QUALITY: Excellent fiber and yarn strength, uniform length and desirable micronaire. Mill buyers who have seen it like it!

COKER'S PEDIGREED SEED — BLOOD WILL TELL

See your local seedsman for DELTA QUEEN planting seed

Delta Queen is a brand new cotton bred and developed by Coker's Pedigreed Seed Co. especially for Delta conditions. It's early, a very high yielder, well-suited to both hand and machine picking, and is a cotton with a lot of character. Combines a high degree of resistance to Fusarium wilt with good tolerance to Verticillium wilt—extra protection that's there when you need it. Delta Queen is as good a cotton as you can grow. Plant at least a trial acreage this year!

Twenty Years Ago . . .
A U. S. Savings Bond was a Share of Freedom . . .
It Still Is!

In the dark, uneasy days foreshadowing World War II, United States Savings Bonds became "Defense Bonds". Then Pearl Harbor, and millions of Americans backed the attack with War Bonds. Remember the giant rallies and parades . . . the appeals by top sports figures like the Sultan of Swat, Babe Ruth, and the Manassa Mauler, Jack Dempsey — movie stars like Lucille ("I Love Lucy") Ball, Fred Astaire, James Cagney and Greer Garson? People at home and even our fighting men overseas bought Bonds for victory.

Since the war, the peace we thought would be lasting has been threatened time after time. The need for keeping America strong — strong to keep the peace and the freedoms we cherish — is more urgent than ever.

By buying U. S. Savings Bonds regularly, you share in that job and at the same time you save for your own financial security in the years to come.

Let's mark the 20th Anniversary of Savings Bonds by buying them regularly. They're still shares of freedom!

BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

This advertising is donated by The Advertising Council and this newspaper.

The Lexington Advertiser

THIS IS A REPRODUCTION OF A PAPER BEING PRINTED AT LEXINGTON, MISS., BY MRS. HAZEL BRANNON SMITH, EDITOR OF THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER AND THE DURANT NEWS.

MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS

"The Truth Shall Make You Free"

Volume One — Number Ten | Jackson, Mississippi — Saturday, February 17, 1962 | 10 Cents Per Copy

10th Annual NAACP Regional Conference Set

Martin Luther King Visits Clarksdale

Clarksdale, Miss. — Feb. 10 The days of February 7th and 8th of 1962, will be long remembered by all the citizens of Clarksdale and Coahoma County. These two days witnessed the presence of the Rev. Martin Luther King and three other workers in the Freedom Struggle. Clarksdale and Coahoma County went all out to extend him welcome. That is all except the local editor of the Clarksdale Press Register (editorial and answer enclosed). Even the State Sovereignty Commission was represented among the citizens that witnessed his presence. Rev. King met with students, farmers, housewives, ministers, laymen and all strata of human beings. Even the pool rooms were not off limits. The dyanamic Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker was very much present also. The image of the Rev. King was well known but few had

Jackson State College Receives $19,550.00

Jackson State College recently received two National Science Foundation grants totaling $19,550 according to an announcement by J. L. Reddix, President of the College.

The larger grant, the first to be received, is for $14,300 and is to be used to finance a Summer Science Training Program for Secondary Students. The Jackson State College grant is one of 154 made by the Foundation which will make it possible for approximately six thousand superior secondary students to get special training in the sciences during the summer of 1962. The grants went to institutions in 41 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.

Objectives of the program are as follows: (1) To help identify high ability secondary school students who have excellent potential for becoming scientists;

February 22-25 Masonic Temple

The 10th Annual Southeast Regional Conference of NAACP will convene in Jackson, Mississippi February 22-25. The Ministers Conference, which is scheduled to begin on February 22, will feature such outstanding speakers as Rev. R. L. T. Smith and Rev. Theodore Trammell, candidates for Congress from Mississippi; Father Theodore Gibson, of Miami, and others. The Ministers Banquet is slated for Thursday night at the Farish Street Baptist Church. Ministers and their wives are invited ..

The general conference begins on Friday with Gloster B. Current as the speaker for the opening mass meeting, for Friday night.

There will be workshops all day Saturday and a Freedom Fund Awards Dinner Saturday night with Attorney Wiley Branton of Pine Bluff, Arkansas as the principal speaker.

Sunday at 3:00 o'clock at the

MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS

"The Truth Shall Make You Free"

Volume One — Number Ten | Jackson, Mississippi — Saturday, February 17, 1962 | 10 Cents Per Copy

10th Annual NAACP Regional Conference Set

Martin Luther King Visits Clarksdale

Clarksdale, Miss. — Feb. 10 The days of February 7th and 8th of 1962, will be long remembered by all the citizens of Clarksdale and Coahoma County. These two days witnessed the presence of the Rev. Martin Luther King and three other workers in the Freedom Struggle. Clarksdale and Coahoma County went all out to extend him welcome. That is all except the local editor of the Clarksdale Press Register (editorial and answer enclosed). Even the State Sovereignty Commission was represented among the citizens that witnessed his presence. Rev. King met with students, farmers, housewives, ministers, laymen and all strata of human beings. Even the pool rooms were not off limits. The dyanamic Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker was very much present also. The image of the Rev. King was well known, but few had met the Rev. Walker and he endeared thousands while here. The word is when is that Tall Skinny Preacher coming back. Rev. Walker spoke for the mass meeting of the Coahoma County Federated Council of Organizations on Wednesday night, February 7th. Rev. King spoke at the Trammell for Congress Rally Thursday night, Feb. 8th. Both spoke to capacity audiences. The estimate of the crowds vary from 2000 to 5000. Any way there was a large number of people. Invitations were extended to all citizens of the community but none of our white citizens availed themselves to be present. Apparently they would rather not know the truth concerning the Rev. King. They would rather stand off and criticize in ignorance.

Founders Day Program Celebrated At Campbell February 12 and 14

J. P. Campbell College celebrated a two-day session of the Annual Founders Day Program February 12-13. It was the most sucessful session held for the college.

More money was reported than ever before, which totaled more than $40,000. The Building Fund Committee recommended an extension program to the board of new buildings for the campus.

Bishop F. D. Jordan, chairman of the Board was given a vote of thanks for his fine and outstanding service for the college.

Dr. R. M. Stevens is president of J. P. Campbell College and Miss Ellen M. Wilson is treasurer.

A good look at the family budget reduces the vacation fever.

Jackson State College Receives $19,550.00

Jackson State College recently received two National Science Foundation grants totaling $19,550 according to an announcement by J. L. Reddix, President of the College.

The larger grant, the first to be received, is for $14,300 and is to be used to finance a Summer Science Training Program for Secondary Students. The Jackson State College grant is one of 154 made by the Foundation which will make it possible for approximately six thousand superior secondary students to get special training in the sciences during the summer of 1962. The grants went to institutions in 41 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico.

Objectives of the program are as follows: (1) To help identify high ability secondary school students who have excellent potential for becoming scientists; (2) To help accelerate the scholarly development of these students through providing the opportunity for instruction in scientific content and methods by scientists of recognized stature; and (3) To help develop cooperation between colleges and high schools in increasing the quality of education in the sciences.

A grant of $5,250 was made to the College to support an undergraduate Science Education Program for the year beginning June 1,1962, and ending July 31, 1963. The Jackson State College grant is one of 350 grants made to college, universities, and nonprofit research institutions. The program has as its objective the development of superior students of science in their understanding of research investigative procedures and scientific methods, as well as concepts and materials of science. The program is now in its fourth year.

The program is designed to furnish support for those able undergraduates capable of be coming creative scientists or engineers. The stress in the program is placed upon the need of the student to grow as an independent scholar, through activities characterized by freedom for the student to demonstrate his capacity for creative enterprise with minimal supervision.

Students receive nominal stipends while engaged in the programs, and are chosen on the basis of applications made to the institutions receiving the grants.

Both programs will be directed by Dr. B. H. McLemore, head of the Jackson State College Mathematics Department.

A human worthiness can only be measured by the performance of the individual.

MRS. RUBY HURLEY, Southeast Regional Secretary for NAACP will direct the Tenth Annual Southeast Regional Conference Meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, February 22-25, 1962.

Mrs. Hurley's offices are in Atlanta, Georgia, where she supervises NAACP operations for six Southern States which include: Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Florida.

February 22-25 Masonic Temple

The 10th Annual Southeast Regional Conference of NAACP will convene in Jackson, Mississippi February 22-25. The Ministers Conference, which is scheduled to begin on February 22, will feature such outstanding speakers as Rev. R. L. T. Smith and Rev. Theodore Trammell, candidates for Congress from Mississippi; Father Theodore Gibson, of Miami, and others. The Ministers Banquet is slated for Thursday night at the Farish Street Baptist Church. Ministers and their wives are invited ..

The general conference begins on Friday with Gloster B. Current as the speaker for the opening mass meeting, for Friday night.

There will be workshops all day Saturday and a Freedom Fund Awards Dinner Saturday night with Attorney Wiley Branton of Pine Bluff, Arkansas as the principal speaker.

Sunday at 3:00 o'clock at the Masonic Temple, Jackie Robinson and Floyd Patterson, co-chairmen of the NAACP's Fighting Funds for Freedom, will be joined by comedian Dick Gregory; Light Heavyweight Champion Archie Moore; New York Yankees Catcher Elston Howard and St. Louis Cardinals outfielder Curtis Flood, in a mass meeting.

People are expected to come from all parts of the state of Mississippi as well as many parts of the Southeast for the mammoth meeting.

The public is invited to come early for seats at the Masonic Temple.

NAACP Asks Army To Clarify Stand On Dixie Segregation

New York — Has the United States military establishment adopted a policy of aiding local Mississippi police in compelling uniformed Negro servicemen to comply with illegal Jim Crow customs?

This question has been posed by NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins in a letter to Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of the Department of Defense. dispatched on February 6 and released here last week.

Mr. Wilkins raised this issue with the nations' Defense chief following receipt of an affidavit sworn to by Pvt. Earnest L. McBride who alleges that, after his arrest by local police in the Greyhound bus Station in Jackson, Miss. on Jan. 30, he was warned by Major Wilbur C. Marks of the United States Army to abide by local segregation practices.

Major Marks, according to the affidavit, said that the Provost Marshal at Fort Gordon, Ga., agreed with local police officers in dropping the charges against the serviceman "provided that McBride heed their warning not to again become involved in any violations of state laws while traveling trough any state, particularly Mississippi — as long as Pvt. McBride is in the Military."

Moreover, the affidavit continues, Major Marks offered personally to show McBride "how to use the bus station waiting rooms so as not to get in trouble in Mississippi. He suggested that if Pvt. McBride were in doubt, he should ask before using facilities."

Pvt. McBride swore that in entering the bus station he was under the belief that racial segregation had been abandoned in accordance with recent regulations of the Interstate Commere Commission. He was arrested by Police Captain J. L. Ray on a "breach of the peace" charge after he had been ordered to move out of the waiting room which Jackson police are trying to maintain for "whites only" although all such signs have been removed from the station.

Mr. Wilkins' two-page letter to Secretary McNamara reviewed the incidents in the case, raised sharp questions as to the position and policy of the Defense Department, and concluded with the suggestion that "the developing policy of locating space and missile installations in Mississippi and in nearby states which share her views on separation from the authority of the Constitution may be tantamount to locating these installations in hostile foreign countries which subscribe to a totalitarian, rather than a democratic, governmental system."

The NAACP leader called upon the Secretary of Defense to "clarify at once" the Department's stand on the questions presented by Pvt. McBride's arrest."

Specifically, he asked Secretary McNamara:

"Is it the policy of the Department of Defense to advise Negro men in the service to obey local ordinances and state laws which prescribe racial segregation and other forms of discrimination, even when these have been ruled to be contrary to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

"Does the Department of Defense designate Major Wilbur C. Marks and others to demonstrate to Negro men in uniform how to conform to illegal local laws and customs, even in the face of declarations like that of

(Continued On Page Two)

MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS

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The Mississippi Negro Is Not Satisfied

This editor can not help but be concerned about affairs in this State that affect the lives of most of its citizens. We have a "way of life" here that is comparable to that of the people of South Africa. In Mississippi we are supposed to have a Democratic form of government. The government is supposed to be of the people and for the people. But in Mississippi we have a government of white folks, by white folks, and seemingly for the best interest of white folk. How else can you explain there not being any Negroes in government in Mississippi, except for the informers working for the Sovereignty Commission. The governor has no Negroes in the Executive Branch; there are no Negro Legislators. There are no Negro judges. Can it be worse in Africa? Yet there are people who tell our officials, who tell the world, that the Mississippi Negro is satisfied. How stupid is the Mississippi Negro supposed to be! The disturbing thing is that there are too many people who ought to know better who seem to believe that the Negro IS satisfied. These people point with pride to the progress being made in the Negro Community. The Mayor of Jackson likes to tell about the "Nigra" auditorium and the "Nigra" swimming pool in Jackson. The officials can point out the beautiful Negro homes, the beautiful public schools and the new buildings at Jackson State College. These things are good but is it progress? The Negro still has to ride in the back of the city buses. He still has to drink from a "colored fountain." He still has to attend inferior schools; he still lives in unplanned, segregated communities; he still is the last to be hired and first to be fired. He still is not a judge; he does not serve on the jury—not really. He is not a sheriff of his county. He is not a tax assessor or circuit clerk nor does he hold any other elective office. Yet the Mississippi Negro is supposed to be satisfied. No official seems to want to believe otherwise.

Now this is disturbing to the Mississippi Free Press. We know that the Mississippi Negro is NOT satisfied. We know though there are some strong points to show that he is. For example, there has been some progress of sort. Also the Negro has not raised many shouts of DISSATISFACTION. These are facts. But it is only when these facts are moved out of simple isolation into the texture of life itself that these undisputed facts become part of a much more complex vision of Negro life.

In Mississippi justice is unevenly distributed. Yet we have had a type of peace here. This peace has been at the expense of the Negro. The Negro has shouldered this burden in silence. This silence has been mistaken for satisfaction. This misunderstanding will, if it continues, ruin this State. Mississippi whites are going to be shocked and hurt by what will happen here if they allow our officials to continue to hear none but the loudest noises.

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Letters To The Editor

This is a difficult question and in our present state of uncertain knowledge, no satisfactory answer can be given. We may indicate, however, some of the evidence which is available. We shall start with a critical evaluation of the data concerning the relative equality of the races, using Kroeber's classification as the basis for discussion.

Some of these theorists have attempted to rest their conclusions on the assumption that the various races — Negroid, Mongoloid and Caucasoid represent different stages in the biological evolutionary process. Those furthest advanced in the evolutionary scale are assumed to be biologically superior to the others. The degree of biological advance is supposedly measurable by the degree of divergence from the ape. Thus the Negroid is alleged to be inferior because of his supposedly greater similarity to the anthropoid ape, his prognathous jaw, receding forehead and broad, flat nose being cited as evidence But if one compares the texture of the hair, thickness of lips, or amount of hair on the body, he finds that on the basis of these criteria the caucasoid is more like the ape than is the Negroid.

Intelligence tests have been applied to different races in the course of educational and military procedures. They indicate that for the United States, the Negriod ranks lower, on the average, than the caucasoid. But the range of intelligence in each group is very great; in fact, it has been found that nearly one-half of the Negroes tested have an intelligence rating above the average made by the white people tested. Granting these facts, we must point out that they prove nothing concerning the innate mentality of the races. From current results of mental test there is no basis for dogmatic conclusions concerning the relative mentality of races.

One cannot answer with certainty until he has more facts at his disposal. It may be noted however, that amalgamation is one of the oldest facts of history. The mingling of races have been going on so long and so persistantly that there are few, if any, pure racial types. The Racial Determinists note the facts of racial mixture and the facts of social decline and declare that these groups of facts are related, but their procedure is far from being scientific, for the evidence available is meager and inconclusive and mostly of a negative character. It does not warrent a dogmatic conclusion.

All References:
Floyd N. House, George A. Hedger, Adolph Hitler, Madison Grant and Kroeber.

Some students of culture have gone so far as to declare that all cultural development is the result of contacts of peoples. While such position is probably extreme, we are forced to admit that in most historic instances, the hypothesis that culture changes result from contacts of people is more tenable than the hypothesis of racial or geographic determinations.

Consider the usual attitude of Caucasoid toward the Negro. The commonly accepted idea of his intrinsic inferiority is not based upon any adequate proof of inferiority for there is no adequate proof but rather upon the basis of the practice segregations, discrimination and the low-caste status to which we assign him in our social system. That is to say, it is his historic background—the ideas, beliefs, and attitudes associated with him rather than an establisehd inferiority, that gives him his low-caste position. It is this social concept of the Negro that commonly determines our behavior toward him, rather than authenic biological data; and the same principles hold true for our racial biases generally.

In looking for a "pure type" one might turn to isolated Africa, but Kroeber will not permit even this to be considered an exception. The direct comparison between whites and Negroes will always remain a doubtful procedure because of the impossibility of controlling the various factors which may influence the results.

Clinton C. Collins, Sr
The Parents Association

Dear Editor:

"Special Recommendation Of Students Who Participated In The Race Relations Conference Of The Woodrow Wilson School, Fall 1961, Thursday Section:"

Although this Conference believes that Princeton University does not intentionally discriminate in considering the applications of American Negroes, we believe that many qualified Negro students are not aware of the fair consideration which their applications would find here. Therefore the Conference hereby recommends that the Director of Admissions of Princeton University embark upon an energetic program of recruiting qualified American Negro students for the Class of 1967. We feel that if at least two per cent of the class are American Negroes, that this would represent a significant first step in this effort. It is further recommended that a copy of this resolution be sent to the relevant Negro scholarship agencies in order that they may assist the University in finding qualified Negro students. Nothing in this recommendation should be construed as suggesting that this Conference believes that Princeton University actively discriminates against Negro applicants."

"Unfortunately, people have tended to ignore the basic point of the resolution (Princeton has almost no American Negro students — so there is either discrimination somewhere along the line, or there is left standing such a myth), and even quite prominent people have attacked it by trying to maintain that it proposed a quota. (Having a per cent of any kind mentioned was unfortunate, but this resolution clearly just says that if about 20 Negroes were to be in the class of 1967, then that would certainly represent a constructive change. Princeton now averages less than one Negro per class.) Let us hope that Northern students can rally to the real problems of hypocrisy and prejudice in the North. We certainly have an inspiring example to follow in the Southern Negro student. Wouldn't it be great if such realities and prospects signaled the beginning of progress in the total sphere of American Politics!

R. Hunter Morey

NAACP Asks—

(Continued from Page One)

Capt. J. L. Ray of Jackson that 'no segregation matter was involved' in the arrest of Pvt. McBride?

"If in truth no segregation matter was invoved, for what purpose was Major Marks offering his services as a demonstrator?

Is the Department of Defense officially teaming up with the State of Mississippi in that state's policy of unconstitutionally and indecently humiliating United States Citizens of color?"

Dear Editor:

A local paper recently ran an article by the citizens council leader warning against black supremecy. He called it a "nightmarish dream." Nightmares certainly can destroy a persons reason. Only the wild brain dictator type like facists and communists have those kind of unAmerican dreams. If we could just forget the "power control dream," trust the true processes of democracy and let the voluntary voice of the individual rule through the ballot those nightmares wouldn't bother us. When reason is destroyed by the super-phobia disease it is impossible for the afflicted individual to have any understanding of American Democracy.

Mr. Simmons says, "The power of Negro Mass Organizations and white moderates has brought us to this pass." That is a figment of the dream. The truth is the power of the immoderates mass organization has inflamed and encouraged the wilder element and brought us to this sorry pass when our state is famous for the primitive traditional beatings and race killings. If the fanatical supertarian will shake the dream out of his feverish brow and look at the light he will see that the injustice of white supremecy is a reality worse than the nightmare that plagues his imagination. The truth is the almighty didn't endow any of us with qualifications to act supreme over other people. He kept that position for Himself. Mr. Simmons intimates that the law suits against the gullying monster Jim Crow are an assault on the very foundations of society. Another figment of the nightmare. Those suits are a patriotic assault on the termites in the foundation. The bacteria that breeds the mind twisting disease "supremecy" which destroys mens power to distinguish right from wrong. Then from the depths of the nightmarish dream he comes up with some more wild eyed imagination that is far out of the American scene. He says, "Another phase of the same war is the appearance in Mississippi of the first Negro candidates for Congress since reconstructions." How far off of the beam can the supertarian fever take a man? Is it supposed to be a "Breach of the Peace" for a citizen to run for office just because he isn't a member of the supertarian clan? Does he forget that this is America as well as Mississippi or has his suffering imagination wandered off to Russia? He winds up with a warning to the franchise bandits to be on guard by saying the Negro Bloc Vote can get dangerous. This is another blind spot produced by the class culture disease. The afflicted mind can not see that the white vote has been acting as a bloc to tyrannize the Nergo for seventy-five years. The effects of the disease have so marred the brain tissues and warped the viewpoint that such wrong things actually look right to the afflicted mind.

Yours truly,
White Jacksonian

A single isolated incident of rank race injustice could be construed as being the wild-eyed fury of a mind stragely distorted and poisoned by the un-American disease of caste culture, but such cases are usually approved of and supported by the multitude, indicating this reason-destroying disease to be of epidemic proportions.

Attend The Church Of Your Choice This Sunday!

'Y' To Sponsor 'Teen Time Twist'

Farish Street Branch YMCA will sponsor a mammoth social affair for teen-agers on Tuesday night, February 27th, at the the Masonic Temple on Lynch St. On hand, as emcee for the occasion, will be the famous Jobie Martin, dynamic, personality-plus, high powered radio personality. He will do the honors as entertainer for the night.

The highlighting feature of the dance will be a "Twist" contest to be held in three intervals across the evening. Three to five judges will be selected to determine the winner. The affair is designed to attract the cream of the teen age group from all sections of the city.

The YMCA Teen Council is spearheading the promotion of this dance which is being given in behalf of the re-election campaign now being waged by the encumbent Mayor of Bronzeville the Honorable Henry E. Briggs.

Chaperones for the dance will be adult members of several of the organizations of the YMCA.

Attend Church Sunday!

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TOUGALOO NEWS

By LARRY HUDSON

SUMMER SCIENCE TRAINING PROGRAM FOR HS STUDENT

Opportunities to obtain intensive experience in science and mathematics will be provided for approximately 7,500 high ability secondary students during the summer of 1962 by 151 colleges, universities and research organizations with the support of the National Science Foundation. By giving science oriented high school students an introduction to science at the college level the Foundation experts to accelerate their scholarly development and to encourage the further development of similar programs with other sources of support.

President A. D. Beittel of Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, has announced that one of these science training programs for high ability secondary school students will be held on the campus of Tougaloo Southern Christian College. The program will include 50 carefully selected high school students who are completing the eleventh and twelfth grades. Courses will be offered in Biology, Physics and Chemistry under competent instructors. Each student will be expected to take two courses from the above mentioned three. The Summer Science Training Program will last for six weeks from June 11 to July 20.

Substantial financial aid is provided for the students who attend, by the National Science Foundation. Top ranking high school students in five states—Louisiana, Arkansas, Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi will be invited to attend.

Qualified high school students interested in this an unusual opportunity to improve their scientific training and insights may write for further information to Dean A. A. Branch, Tougaloo Southern Christian College, Tougaloo, Mississippi, who will be director of the program.

Successful citizens is the practice of good relationship between and among people or citizens.

Rust College News

By E. W. Davis

THE WARM WEATHER SMILE OF "RUST"

The soft smile of Miss Marian Swancy is typical of the ones worn by the entire student body at Rust College when the astonishing sudden trend of warm weather began. Just like Miss Swancy illustrates, the usual scene of bulky-coat wearing students is substituted by light sweaters and shirts. The most distinguishing notation is the bright sunlight reinforced by the impeccant smile.

NAACP Seeks More Power For Proposed FEPC Committee

Washington, D. C. — The NAACP has asked for more authority for the commission that will administer the proposed Federal Equal Employment Act, on which hearings have been held before the House Special Subcommittee on Labor.

The bill seeks the elimination of employment discrimination because of race, color, religion or national origin.

Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, this week took his organization's argument for inclusion of enforcement powers in the measure directly to members of the House Committee on Education and Labor.

This powerful body is chaired by Congressman Adam Clayton Powell of New York City.

In identical letters to all committee members under date of February 1, Mr. Mitchell urged the Congressmen to sponsor an amendment giving the commission the right to conduct hearings, make findings and enforce a policy of non-discrimination under its own authority.

Under provisions of the bill at present the commission would "merely be an investigatory body," Mr. Mitchell said.

"The NAACP has consistently taken the position," he continued, "that any fair employment legislation, in order to be effective, must create a commission with strong enforcement powers."

The NAACP spokesman took issue with a portion of the pro-

(Continued on Back Page)

I See Men Not Free

I hear men cry for freedom,
But where my eyes can see—
I see men in chains,
I see men not free.

I see the ebonies,
I see the blacks—
Yea, where my eyes can see,
I see the men not free.

I hear them plead for justice,
But where my eyes can see—
I see men unjust,
I see men not free.

I hear them pray for mercy,
But where my eyes can see—
There is no mercy,
I see men not free.

I hear the ebonies shout for freedom,
Yet where my eyes can see—
I see the blacks, I see the men,
I see men, I see men, not free!

By Soloman S. Rudolph, student

In Rebellion

I was not asked to be born—
To live, to die,
To watch a million scenes go by.
I did not ask to be given a soul,
To have sympathy, to care
To have my very being offended
But I rebel,
My being to be defended.

I did not ask to be called black
To have a heart,
To sigh, to smile.
Now I rebel that the fates
Have compelled my life
To live, to love,
And die in strife.

I rebel against the very
Ground I tread.
Against my comrades,
Their deceitful talk,
The very sound I dread.
I rebel till in death
My soul shall find Peace
In either heaven or hell.

— Solomon S. Rudolph —

LAUREL NEWS

By JAMES N. BROWN

The Laurel Youth Council of the NAACP presented a Talent Program Sunday, February 4 at 3:00 p. m., at the St. Elmo Baptist Church.

An enthusiastic group was presented to witness vocals and instrumentals, readings and recitations which were thoroughly enjoyed by all.

The Laurel Youth Council Chorus was present to lend choral support to the program.

We are very greatful to all who helped this program to be a success, and to the pastor, Rev R. D. Holloway, the energetic pastor of St. Elmo Baptist Church. We also thank the officers and members for the priviledge of having our program at this friendly church.

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CORE Attacks Racial Segregation In Chicago, Illinois

The non-violent struggle for freedom as seen in the Southern sit-ins is presently occuring in other areas of the country. In the Windy City, the Congress of Racial Equality has opened an attack upon racial segregation practices of the University of Chicago and the closely associated University City Realty Corporation.

For a number of years the University of Chicago, the second largest land holder in Chicago, has maintained a policy of "controlled" integration, i. e., enough Negro people have been permitted to live in Hyde Park to give the appearance of an interracial community, and no more. At the same time the political ambitions of the University trustees have required that the segregation be concealed.

Chancellor Beadle of the University of Chicago stated that the goal of the University's off-campus housing program is to achieve a "stable integration" in the community. He further stated that the integration process must not be so rapid as to frighten whites into fleeing from Hyde Park area. In other words, the University maintains this policy of segregation in order to prevent too rapid an influx of Negroes.

Opposing this viewpoint, Bruce Rappaport, chairman of the University of Chicago CORE stated in the school newspaper: "the University cannot justify or sustain a policy whose net result is the denial of equal opportunity to the Negro race." University of Chicago CORE feels that an integrated neighborhood cannot be acheived by a secret and privately controlled policy of segregation.

In the beginning of January the Southside unit of CORE in conjunction with University of Chicago CORE conducted a number of test cases at the University City Realty Corporation which handles most of the University's real estate holdings. In each case, Negroes, even if they were University of Chicago students, were refused apartments which were offered to whites.

On January 22 representatives of the University of Chicago CORE presented the University with a set of demands asking that the University: state publicly that they will not discriminate on the basis of race or creed in the administration of their property; refrain from supporting any other realtor who discriminates on this establishing an official board with equal representation from the administration, faculty, and student body, and delegate to that board the full power to make binding decisions on all cases brought before it.

When no agreement could be reached with the University by Tuesday, January 23, a rally was held by University of Chicago CORE and forty students began a sit-in outside Chancellor Beadle's office. They remained there in day and night shifts for a number of days, while Chancellor Beadle appropriately took a trip to California. The University then had the students arrested; they were not sentenced by the court, but the University put them on thirty days probation during which time any more sit-ins would merit expulsion. This is not likely to deter a large demonstration planned for later this week.

At the same time, the Southside unit of CORE, after being told by manager Kendall Cady of University Realty that the company would not talk with the group or reveal any part of their business procedures to outsiders, began sit-ins there.

On Wednesday, January 24, a team of 13 demonstrators led by Miss Jo Adler sat blocking the entrance of the real estate firm. At closing time the office had them arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. These individuals remained in jail overnight; on Thursday the charges against them were dismissed by Judge Harry Comerford, who stated, "I understand the motives for this protest and am in favor of them. However, you should try not to inconvenience others."

Sit-ins at University Realty were resumed on Friday, again resulting in the arrest of the participants. This time they remained in jail over the weekend. At the trial they were each found guilty of trespassing by another judge, and given a suspended fine of ten dollars.

This week a third group of nine demonstrators, led by Rev. Hugo Lemming sat-in and was arrested. According to Milton Davis, chairman of Southside CORE, the sit-ins will continue at the University of Chicago and at University Realty until workable negotiations are accomplished.

Invest now in the future of Mississippi — Plant more pine trees today!

State Senate Introduce Bill To Appropriate $1,500,000 To State Public Junior Colleges

Further aid to public junior colleges should not reinforce already existing inequalities.

I read in the Clarion Ledger on Tuesday, Feb. 6, that a bill which would appropriate $1,500,000.00 to state public junior colleges for instituting and developing special vocational and vocational technical education was introduced in the state senate recently.

The bill is described as "the second step" of Governor Ross Barnett's industrial program and provides for the State Board of Education and the Junior College Commission to make a thorough study of vocational and technical courses now being offered at several junior colleges and — to analyze the industrial and economic needs for skilled, semi-skilled and technical manpower requirements of the state and the particular areas in which the junior colleges are located.

I have pointed out before, that Mississippi, more than any other state, suffers from the dual problem of an excess of unskilled and a shortage of skilled workers, that this problem is very closely connected with the large percentage of Negro citizens in this state, that Negroes, throughout the entire nation, are denied access to apprenticeship programs and vocational technical training programs, that they are, even properly trained, denied access to skilled and semi-skilled jobs.

The present inequalities in the state program for public junior colleges bear witness to these terrible injustices:

Mississippi has fourteen public junior colleges serving white students and only three serving Negro students.

In the school year 1958-59, the state allocated $1,522,484.64 to educate 11,228 students in the colleges serving whites and only $147,923.17 to educate 1,631 students in the colleges serving Negroes. This was roughly in the ratio of $1.00 per Negro student for $10.00 per white student.

We all know that these inequalities in the field of educatiton compound with the years so the situation is much worse than the statistics indicate, bad as they are.

No program for preparing Mississippi for future industrialization will be in any way effective until it comes to grip with this more fundamental problems: How is Mississippi to train and utilize all the human resources at its command, including the Negro!

R. L. T. Smith,
Candidate For Congress

Question And Answers Of Interest To Veterans

Q—My father, no longer living, had a total of 30 days of military service, all during World War I, and he had no service-connected disability. My mother has no income of her own. Is she eligible for a pension from the VA?

A—No, thirty days of service is not long enough to meet the requirment for such a pension.

* * * *

Q—Can wives and children of veterans be treated in VA hospitals?

A—Not unless they are also veterans in their own right. However, VA hospitals may furnish emergency treatment to anyone, to save a life, but payment must be made to cover the cost of the care.

NAACP Seeks More—

(continued from page three)

posed bill that would require the commission to seek court action on every case of bias that it found.

This would result in "procedural strangulation and inordinate delay," Mr. Mitchell said.

Unless amended, he concluded, "it is difficult to see how organizations interested in civil rights could call this an acceptable bill."

Worship together this Sunday!

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THE BAPTIST OBSERVER

Official Organ Of The General M. B. Convention Of Mississippi

Volume III | MARCH EDITION — 1962 | Number 1

Natchez College Founder's Day Observed March 7

Belzoni's Green Grove Church Will Host Extra Session Of Sunday School-BTU

Congress Convenes On March 15-16; Pre-Convention Program Wed.

Green Grove Missionary Baptist Church of Belzoni will host the Extra Session of the Baptist State Sunday School and Training Union Congress in a two-day meeting on March 15-16.

Dr. J. W. Gayden of Greenwood is president of the Congress and the Rev. J. D. Thurmond is pastor of the host church.

A pre-convention program will open the session on Wednesday night at which time talks will be made by officers and a period of singing enjoyed.

Program Given

The Thursday morning session will begin with a song service at 9:00 a. m., followed by a devotional period by the Rev. G. H. Hines. At 9:30 a Bible period will be held with the Rev. F. D. Mathews as leader. Enrolling will be held at 9:45 followed by remarks by President Gayden.

Beginning at 10:15 a. m. until 11:30 a. m. fifteen-minute talks will be given

Seminar will be conducted with the Rev. J. D. Thurmond, leader and the Rev. P. F. Parker, instructor. Fifteen-minute talks will again be held in the afternoon beginning at 4:00 and continuing through 4:45 by Layman Otha Smith, the Rev. C. C. Coleman, the Rev. S. Leon Whitney, and the various auxiliaries in charge.

At 5:30 Dr. R. W. West, president of the General M. B. State Convention of Mississippi will give his address followed by the evening offering.

Professor A. P. Johnson will give a talk on Visual Aid in Christian Education at 6:30.

At 7:00 p. m. a song service will precede the evening message which begins at 8:30 with the Rev. C. L. Clark doing the preaching.

Friday Session

The Friday session will get underway at 9:00 a. m. with a song service, and devotional period followed by Rev G. H. Hines. A reading of the first day's activities will be held followed by lectures by the Rev. D. Matthews, the Rev. S. L. Bowman, the Rev. S. Leon Whitney, the Rev. C. F. Jordan and a solo by

President Of Convention Is A Busy Man

Dr. R. W. West Pastors Four Hinds Churches

One of the busiest men in the General Missionary Baptist State Convention is its distinguished president, the Rev. Dr. R. W. West — and his friends far and wide marvel at his ability to hold down so many responsibilities.

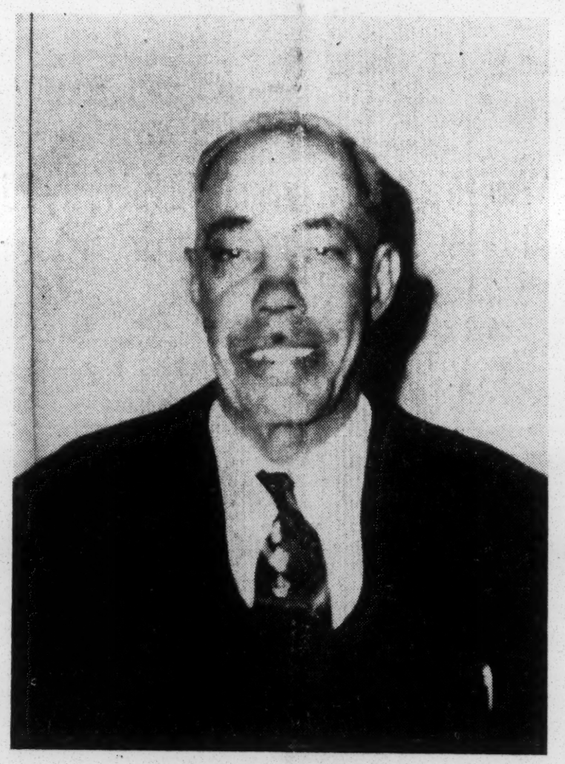
Dr. West and Mrs. West reside on an attractive farm in Hinds County where he was born and lived all his life.

In addition to operating the cattle farm he pastors four churches preaching eight sermons every month.

He has been pastor at St. Thomas Church, Clinton, for forty years and at Mt. Zion, Raymond, since 1934. His church at Learned, Morning Star, is observing his 25th or Silver Anniversary as pastor and El Bethel at Bolton is enjoying its twenty-second year under Dr. West's leadership.

But running a farm full-time and pastoring four churches does not by any means describe fully the work and responsibilities of Dr. West.

For 38 years he has been secretary of the First Baptist



DR. R. W. WEST

voted father and mother.

Mrs. Alminnie West Hardaway, a daughter, resides at Marks and a son, Sergeant Robert Lee West, is in the service of his country and where her husband is principal. Mrs. Berdia Stine West Allen teaches in the Detroit schools and Barnes M. West of Jackson teaches at Meridian.

a member of its Board of Trustees. He is also a trustee of the Baptist Seminary and on the Board of Directors of the National Baptist Convention of the U. S., Inc.

Expresses Thanks

Dr. West said he wishes to express his gratitude for "the very fine way" in which the Convention has stood by him since he assumed the office of president. He said members have given "very loyal support" to the Convention and wants to express his appreciation for their consideration and interest.

"I feel especially grateful for the work that is being done by and through the Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress led by Dr. J. W. Gayden, and the fine work being done by the women under the direction of Dr. Elnora D. McGowan," he said.

Special Drive

In a special Founder's Day appeal issued in February by Dr. West, all members of the convention and leaders are being asked to support the drive for $10,000 in funds for the use of Natchez Junior College.

Dr. West is looking forward with anticipation to Founder's Day and hoping and praying that the fine cooperation of the Convention, which has been notable in

77th Anniversary Of School Will Attract Throng Of State Visitors

Baptists from all over Mississippi will join in the celebration of Founder's Day at Natchez Junior College on Wednesday, March 7th, the 77th birthday of this educational institution sponsored by The General Missionary Baptist State Convention of Mississippi. On Founder's Day it is hoped $10,000.00 can be raised by members of the Convention for the benefit of the school.

Convention President Dr. R. W. West of Bolton has contacted by letter all pastors, moderators and presidents of all Auxiliaries in the State Convention asking their presence at the Founder's Day celebration on the College campus and their support in the financial drive.

President of Natchez Junior College, Dr. J. R. Buck, has also sent out letters to friends and supporters of the college asking that they attend.

Dr. Buck is in charge of the program of Founder's Day which will be highlighted with the anniversary sermon by the Rev. W. C. Mazique, moderator of the A.M.B. Association of Adams County and treasurer of the State Convention.

A serious drama will be presented by members of the College Dramatics Club at the morning session and the College Choir will be presented in a concert at 2:30 in the afternoon.

Rev. W. C. Mazique Preaches Sermon

REV. MAZIQUE

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Beginning at 10:15 a. m. until 11:30 a. m. fifteen-minute talks will be given by the Rev. D. Matthews, the Rev. S. L. Bowman the Rev. S. Leon Whitney, the Rev. C. F. Jordan and the Rev. L. R. Chandler in that order. At 11:30 the introductory sermon will be given by the Rev. S. A. Allen of Marks, Moderator of the Quitman County Association, followed by announcements and recess for lunch.

The Thursday afternoon session will convene at 2:00 p. m. at which time a reassemble forum will be conducted by the Deans and Directors using the subject Home Department, Stewardship and Departmental Problems.

At 3:00 o'clock a Minister's Otha Smith, the Rev. C. C. Coleman, the Rev. S. Leon Whitney, and the various auxiliaries in charge.

At 5:30 Dr. R. W. West, president of the General M. B. State Convention of Mississippi will give his address followed by the evening offering.

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Special music will be furnished by the Natchez College Rally at 12:00 noon followed by a sermon by the Rev. E. D. Ward.

The afternoon session will reassemble at 2:00 beginning with a song service followed by reports from the auxiliaries.

Friday night's activities will be climaxed with a talent program at 6:00 p. m. with M. C. Hills, State Field Secretary in charge.

All Sunday School and BTU members are asked to support the convention by their presence and in any way possible.

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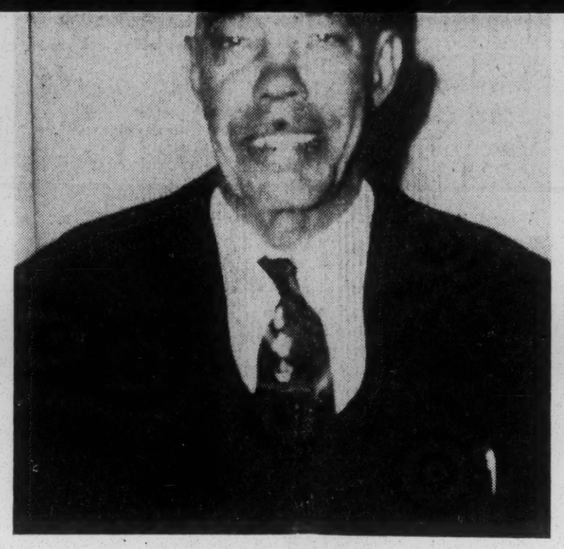
But running a farm full-time and pastoring four churches does not by any means describe fully the work and responsibilities of Dr. West.

For 38 years he has been secretary of the First Baptist Union of Hinds County and has served as moderator of the Hinds County Baptist Association for 25 years. In the latter post he followed the late Rev. Frank Davis as both moderator of the Hinds Association and as pastor of the Morning Star Church.

Dr. West has been president of the General M. B. State Convention since 1958, succeeding the late Rev. H. H. Humes of Greenville, who died January 1, 1958.

The West family is a closely knit one though the children are scattered and their present vocations show the result and influence of the fine Christian home in which they were reared by a devoted father and mother.



DR. R. W. WEST

Mrs. Alminnie West Hardaway, a daughter, resides at Marks and a son, Sergeant Robert Lee West, is in the service of his country and now stationed at Fort Benning, Georgia.

Other children: Mrs. Countess West Pickett teaches at the new school in Greenwood where her husband is principal. Mrs. Berdia Stine West Allen teaches in the Detroit schools and Barnes M. West of Jackson teaches at Mercenhall.

Dr. West, whose interest in Christian education is well known by all his associates is an enthusiastic supporter of Natchez Junior College and

Convention has stood by him since he assumed the office of president. He said members have given "very loyal support" to the Convention and wants to express his appreciation for their consideration and interest.

"I feel especially grateful for the work that is being done by and through the Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress led by Dr. J. W. Gayden, and the fine work being done by the women under the direction of Dr. Elnora D. McGowan," he said.

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Dr. West is looking forward with anticipation to Founder's Day and hoping and praying that the fine cooperation of the Convention, which has been notable in the past, will continue to and through Founder's Day in the hopes that this ambitious program may be successful.

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$10,000 Goal

To raise the $10,000 which is "desperately needed" by the College, according to President West, every member in the convention is asked to bring or send through his pastor or otherwise the sum of seventy-seven cents, (77c), one penny for each year of Natchez College's existence.

Each pastor is asked to give ten cents for each of the college's 77 years, or a total of $7.70 per church; each layman Executive Board member and each ordained minister not pastoring is being asked for $3.77 and each County Association for $77.00.

The Woman's Auxiliary State Convention, headed by Dr. Elnora D. McGowan, president, is asked to donate $577.00 and the State Sunday

(continued on page two)

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The Rev. Mazique is treasurer of the State Convention and moderator of the A.M.B. Association.

A splendid Christian, members of the Convention are looking forward to a wonderful message on Founder's Day from the Rev. Mazique.

Baptist Observer Plans To Expand; Cooperation Asked

Monthly Hopes To Become Weekly In Near Future

Pending selection of an Editorial Board plans will be explored at an early date to convert the monthly Baptist Observer into a weekly publication — and to extend its news coverage throughout the state.

The action will be taken in accordance with a Resolution adopted by the extended session of the Convention in Jackson on November 21, 1961 presented by Dr. W. L. Terrell, editor of the Baptist Observer and chairman of a Special Committee of the State Sunday School and BTU Congress which sponsored the Resolution for convention approval.

Dr. J. W. Gayden, president of the SS and BTU Congress, initiated the original action to expand The Observer at the Congress in Grenada in October and appointed a special committee to work on it at that time.

The resolution drawn up by the special committee which met at Greenwood on November 1st and later read by Dr. Terrell, chairman, for the Convention's adoption November 21st at St. Luther's, is as follows:

Resolution Given

Greenwood, Miss.
November 1, 1961

We recommend that the General Missionary Baptist State Convention of Mississippi in extended session on November 21, 1961, approved the conversion of The Baptist Observer, a monthly, to a weekly publication immediately, or as soon as feasible; That its size be enlarged to full newspaper size, and that the scope of its service

(continued on page two)

"The Baptist Student In Orbit" Will Be Theme Of BSU Retreat March 30-April 1

BSU Event Planned At Baptist Center

"The Baptist Student In Orbit" will be the theme of the Baptist Student Union Retreat which will convene on March 30 through April 1 in Jackson. This event will be held at the Baptist Center, beginning at 5:00 p. m. on Friday.

The Retreat is sponsored by the Mississippi Baptist Convention Board, Dr. Chester L. Quarles, executive secretary - treasurer; Department of Work with National Baptists of the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention, Mr. Guy Bellamy, secretary; Mississippi Baptist Seminary, Dr. William P. Davis, president and director of Baptist Student Work with National Baptist in Mississippi; and Department of National Baptist Student Union, S. E. Grinstead, director.

The Retreat will use as its theme on Friday night, "All that will live Godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." II Timothy 3:12.

Registration will be from 5:00 to 6:00 p. m. on Friday, followed by a program at 7. A fellowship period will close Friday evening's activities.

The convention will open again at 7:30 Saturday morning with "Morning Watch" held by the Natchez College BSU. Following breakfast at 8:00 the program will get underway using the theme. "But watch thou in all things." II Timothy 4:5

Lunch will be served at the noon hour.

The Saturday afternoon session will be based on the scripture, "Keep that which is committed to thy trust." I Timothy 6:20. The Saturday evening session will be highlighted with a banquet at 7 with Mr. Fred McDowell as toastmaster. Mr. Paul Purdy will be the speaker.

Sunday morning's activities will begin with breakfast at 8:00 and close with worship services at which time Dr. S.

(continued on page two)

Women's Auxiliary Is Active...

Mrs. McGowan Heads Women With 36 Years Service

A most important part of the work since 1910 of the General Missionary Baptist State Convention is performed by the Women's Auxiliary whose members give the utmost in zeal and devotion to everything they undertake

And the work of the Women's Auxiliary is inspired by consecration to God and their love and respect for the lady who has headed the Women's Auxiliary since July of 1926 — Mrs. Elnora D. McGowan, who has given thirty-six years of service over and above what is normally expected in Christian witnessing.

MRS. ELNORA McGOWAN

Dr. McGowan, a retired school teacher, lives in Edwards in solitary comfort in her attractive home — but her seven devoted children, all living in Illinois, and the ladies of her Women's Auxiliary, keep her active and interested in everything going on in the world.

Dr. McGowan taught school for forty years at Edwards, where she is well loved and respected by the people of her community. Her husband, Charlie McGowan, died in 1945. She has been retired as a teacher for nineteen years.

Six of her seven children live in Chicago where her three daughters all teach school and three sons are in business for themselves. The girls are Mrs. Aleda M. Jones, Mrs. Mildred M. Weems and Mrs. Delois M. Porter. The sons are John McGowan, in the bond business and Vernon and A. B. McGowan, both in the restaurant business.

A seventh child, Mrs. Emma M. Lathon, who has taught at Corinth, Mississippi for fourteen years, is now studying Counseling and Guidance at the University

(continued on page three)

Rev. Gayden Heads SS-BTU

Venerable Leader Is Much Loved In Convention

One of the most venerable men in the General Missionary Baptist State Convention is the Rev. J. W. Gayden, of Greenwood.

It is not for his eighty-five years alone that we honor a beloved man who has served the Master for more than sixty years in preaching the story that has brought men to Christ.

No more faithful or valuable member of the State Convention could be named and The Baptist Observer believes we should recognize and honor the great men and women of the convention while they are still with us, let them know we recognize their great value and service while they are still living, not waiting until they are gone to give them flowers.

On June 7th, last, Dr. Gayden celebrated his 85th birthday. A fine birthday celebration was held at the home of his son, Fred Gayden, in Chicago as this well known Christian leader was returning from Buffalo, New York, where he had attended the National Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress of which he is Vice President and a Board member.

This happy celebration was to be the last reunion with his son who passed in January at a time when Dr. Gayden was ill and unable to attend the rites.

Another son, the Rev. R. B. Gayden, is teaching in a ministerial school in Detroit. There are eight grandchildren, four in each of his son's families.

Their mother was the late Kaytie Gayden of Belzoni, who passed in 1931, after many happy years together.

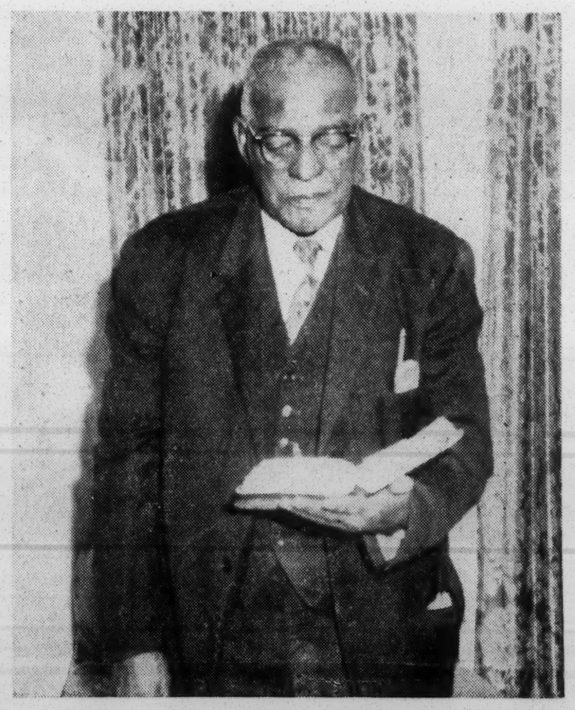
The present Mrs. Gayden (Lela Bernice), to whom he has been married for 29 years, shares his interests and is a wonderful helpmate and companion.

And what interests they are!

One wonders at the rigorous schedule followed by Dr. Gayden, one that would extend many much younger men to follow successfully.

Dr. Gayden in November,

(continued on page three)



DR. J. W. GAYDEN

Editor's Corner . . . .

I HAVE BEEN THINKING ABOUT THE LEADERS OF TOMORROW.

The greatest challenge that faces our youth, our leaders of tomorrow, is the challenge to create a world dedicated to peace. In these days of world conflict, to which there seems to be no end, human hearts, young and old alike, long for peace. These three things are necessary for peace. They challenge us, and they will challenge our youth tomorrow.

Dr. Terrell

Humanity must reach the first Mile Post.

The first mile post of peace is the longest step in man's journey toward God.

We must be united with God.

We live in a divided world, commercially, politically, socially and spiritually.

We must take the highway Jesus trod. His highway of mercy, love and peace leading homeward to God.

We live in a world so dominated by tension and fear that we find the news of war overshadowing the news of the hungry and homeless. Everywhere men's hearts search for peace. The craving for peace and contentment is expressed in almost every though and deed of our leaders as well as our people.

HUMANITY MUST REACH THE FIRST MILE POST.

Since the days of creation and in man's thousands of years of existence upon earth, he has not reached the first mile post. The mile post of peace. This seems to be the longest step in man's journey toward God. He desires to be a Child of God, but he has difficulty in reaching the mile post of peace with God, with himself, and with his fellowmen.

This teaching of Jesus "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called children of God," places the condition of peace and contentment and the solution to our hunger for peace

Christ knew this need and His words, as recorded by St. John, touch the very heart of the problem of both inner and outward peace." Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you; not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it afread."

Christ understood the hunger in men's hearts for peace, and these words spoken as He was going away, strike a responsive chord in hearts of millions today.

We must be United with God.

The Carpenter of Nazareth understood construction and reconstruction. He understood the building of a soul. He understood a broken and divided soul. He sought to mend broken souls. All of us are familiar with the inner conflicts within our souls. Jesus understood this also.

There can be no peace in a divided soul.

Christ as a young leader wanted peace, just as our young people want peace.

He could have kept the peace He loved so much by preaching in the Gallilee and village, healing the sick and preaching His message of love and comfort but he set His face toward Jerusalem where the Cross and His Sacrifice to reconcile men to God awaited Him.

WE MUST TAKE THE HIGHWAY JESUS TROD.

The path to peace lies along that broad highway which the Master trod. A highway as wide as God's love. A highway as broad as God's mercy. A highway as forgiving as the depths of God's infinite grace. Along this pathway humanity will reach the first milestone of peace within himself.

Along this highway which the Master trod, man will find the second mile stone, peace with others. Along this highway which Jesus walked, man will find the third mile stone, peace with God.

Our young leaders of tomorrow must face this holy challenge and strive to bring Christ's peace to a hun-

Methodist Church Leads Top Ten In U. S.; National Baptists USA Have Five Million

The 1962 Yearbook of American Churches indicates that about 90 per cent of all Protestant church members in America are found in 22 denominational groups or families. Relative strengths of family groups are quite stable.

In 1960 there were 28 Baptist bodies with an inclusive membership of 21,148,862.

Next were Methodists (21 bodies) with 12,424,623; Lutherans (15 bodies) with 8,080,867, and Presbyterians (10 bodies) with 4,333,249.

A comparison of the 1960 figures with those of 1959 shows that the Methodist Church is still the largest among Protestant denominations in America.

The Protestant Episcopal Church pushed the United Presbyterian Church out of fourth place while the Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod climbed into seventh place ahead of the United Luthern Church of America.

The newly-organized American Lutheran Church appeared in the listing for the first time.

The top ten U. S. denominations are:

Methodist Church	9,893,094
Southern Baptist Convention	9,731,591
National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.	5,000,000
Protestant Episcopal Church	3,444,265
United Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.	3,259,011
National Baptist Convention of America	2,668,799
Lutheran Church — Missouri Synod	2,391,195
American Lutheran Church	2,242,259
United Church of Christ	2,241,134

The Baptist Observer Wants To Serve You

This edition of The Baptist Observer is being prepared on request of the Official Board of the Convention voted at the meeting held at Farish Street Church early this year.

A number of features for the edition had been planned which did not materialize simply because the material could not be secured although extensive efforts were made to get it. Perhaps they can be carried later.

We had hoped also that a number of pastors would send in news items relating to their churches and auxiliaries, building programs, improvements, increase in membership, or anything along that line in which their fellow pastors and other members throughout the Convention would be interested. As the paper is published more regularly it is hoped that pastors will send in their news each week or month.

The Baptist Observer can be enlarged and made into a paper that will be of great service to every church and pastor in the state. In can help to enlist more members and inspire the ones we have to do a better job in their churches, communities and the Convention. It can be of tremendous assistance in carrying the Lord's work forward in a great way in the Convention and the state.

All of these things CAN be done if each and every person interested will make some effort by sending in news and suitable material to be used in future issues.

If you are wondering what kind of material to send, just think about it in this way, ask this question: "Will this news or material be of interest to other people in the Convention like myself?"

If the answer is "Yes" then send it in to Dr. W. L. Terrell, editor, The Baptist Observer, P. O. Box 205, Greenwood, Miss.

The Observer covets your prayers and your interest, as well as your cooperation in sending in news.

As our paper grows and develops, the Lord willing, we hope to see it one day as a welcome visitor in the home of every Baptist family in the State of Mississippi.

Woman's Day Program Held February 25 At Greater Clark Street Church, Jackson

Miss Doris Wilson Speaks On Uniting Forces To Improve Christian Education

A capacity audience was in attendance at Greater Clark Street Missionary Baptist Church in Jackson on Sunday, February 25, and witnessed a very befitting and timely WOMAN'S DAY PROGRAM which was filled with inspiration throughout its duration, including the Sunday Church school which the women also conducted.

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the results.

This was the "starter", the next is being planned to be a "record-breaker" for this year, in finance, at least.

May each member look forward to that end.

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Natchez College—

(continued from page one)

School and BTU Congress, of which Dr. J. W. Gayden is president is being asked to give $177.00.

The State Ushers, headed by Mr. W. L. Glenn, has been asked for $107.70, and the State Laymen, formerly headed by the late H. D. Adams, are expected to donate $57.70.

Those unable to attend the Founder's Day in person at Natchez are urged to send their donations on or before in care of the College.

CORRECTIONS NOTED

In scanning the Personal Enrollment list published in the last issue, several names were omitted and they are as follows:

Dr. Fred B. Black, $125.00; Dr. J. M. McEwen, $130.00; Dr. J. M. Kimble, $125.00; Dr. J. D. Thurmon, $75.10; Prof. T. J. Huddleston $75.00.

By the
Executive Secretary

RESOLUTION OF RESPECT

Resolved, That the Executive Board of the General Missionary Baptist State Convention of Mississippi and the membership of the entire Convention learn with very deep regret of the death of Mr. B. L. Hooks, who was one of the Board's active members until he was physically incapacitated; serving as Chief Usher at the general sessions of the Convention for many years and meeting the requirements of a Board member whose devotion was an inspiration to all members; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the offiial organ of the Convention for publication as well as a copy to the immediate family of the deceased.

Rev. R. W. West, President
C. L. West, Executive Sec.

This 6th day of February, 1962.

H. D. Adams, of Estell, State President of Laymen and assistant Director of Bap

Baptist Observer—

(continued from page one)

be extended to state-wide news coverage for Baptists in Mississippi; We further recommend that an editorial board be selected by this body to be empowered with the authority or task of getting the enlarged publication underway — and that said editorial board will be given full responsibility to attend to all matters relevant to the publication; also, that the editorial board be further empowered to designate additional members on the board as the need may arise.

SUNDAY SCHOOL and
BTU CONGRESS

Signed:
Dr. J. W. Gayden,
President

Committee:
Rev. C. C. Coleman
Rev. S. A. Allen
Rev. W. L. Terrell, Chmn.
Rev. L. C. Wilcher
Rev. P. F. Parker

We live in a world so dominated by tension and fear that we find the news of war overshadowing the news of the hungry and homeless. Everywhere men's hearts search for peace. The craving for peace and contentment is expressed in almost every though and deed of our leaders as well as our people.

HUMANITY MUST REACH THE FIRST MILE POST.

Since the days of creation and in man's thousands of years of existence upon earth, he has not reached the first mile post. The mile post of peace. This seems to be the longest step in man's journey toward God. He desires to be a Child of God, but he has difficulty in reaching the mile post of peace with God, with himself, and with his fellowmen.

This teaching of Jesus "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called children of God," places the condition of peace and contentment and the solution to our hunger for peace directly upon ourselves.

lived so much by preaching in the Gallilee and village, healing the sick and preaching His message of love and comfort but he set His face toward Jerusalem where the Cross and His Sacrifice to reconcile men to God awaited Him.

WE MUST TAKE THE HIGHWAY JESUS TROD.

The path to peace lies along that broad highway which the Master trod. A highway as wide as God's love. A highway as broad as God's mercy. A highway as forgiving as the depths of God's infinite grace. Along this pathway humanity will reach the first milestone of peace within himself.

Along this highway which the Master trod, man will find the second mile stone, peace with others. Along this highway which Jesus walked, man will find the third mile stone, peace with God.

Our young leaders of tomorrow must face this holy challenge and strive to bring Christ's peace to a hungry world.

Founder's Day

Seventy-Seven Years Of Service At Natchez

This edition of The Observer honors the school of which we are all so proud, Natchez Junior College, its administrative staff and faculty, and its students.

The General Missionary Baptist State Convention is pleased that it can play a part in supporting and sponsoring this fine institution which is accredited by the Junior College Accrediting Commission of the State of Mississippi and the Mississippi State Department of Education.

A continuous program of Christian education has been maintained at Natchez Junior College since it was founded in 1885 — seventy-seven years of offering young people a liberal education within the framework of Christion principles.

In the words of the college, Natchez College "seeks to provide for its students an opportunity for intelligent and creative participation in contemporary living and to develop and maintain in its faculty and student body standards of excellence in scholarship, character, and self-expression which will better assure continuous adjustment to life's situations. Achievement of these broad objectives is sought through a general, yet functional curriculum of junior college instruction, and through an enriched program of co-curricular activities."

Members of this Convention are proud of the fine records made by so many boys and girls who have received their training at Natchez Junior College. We hope the number will be multiplied in the days and years ahead.

The world is in desperate need of leadership, not of the common or ordinary variety, but of the excellent or extraordinary kind — the kind of leadership that is best nurtured, we believe, in a liberal arts school with emphasis on Christian principles and ethics.

The world and our country need excellence of character and mind in its citizens in order to reach its highest destiny as a nation.

It is our hope and prayer that Natchez Junior College will continue in the future, as in the past, to do its share toward turning out the highest type of responsible citizens, ready to take their place in tomorrow's world, well-equipped and unafraid.

The Baptist—

(Continued from Page One)

Leon Whitney will bring the message.

Program Personnel

Mr. Fred McDowell, State BSU President, Jackson State College; Miss Beverly Bowers, student, Jackson State College; Miss Barbara Horton, student, Jackson State College; Dr. William P. Davis, President, Mississippi Baptist Seminary, president and director of Baptist Student Work with National Baptists in Mississippi; Dr. Parks McKittrick, pastor, Nineteenth Avenue Baptist Church, Hattiesburg; Mr. Joseph Lloyd, State BSU, vice president, Alcorn A & M College; Mr. S. E. Grinstead, director, National Baptist Student Department, Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Charlie Wheeler, student, Coahoma Junior College; Mr. Bennie Gooden, director, BSU, Coahoma Junior College; Mr. Henry Purnell, director BSU and Professor, Alcorn A & M College; Mr. Frank Horton, director, BSU, Mississippi State University; Dr. Earl Kelly, pastor, First Baptist Church Holly Springs Dr. S. Leon Whitney, vice president Mississippi Baptist Seminary, pastor Farish St. Baptist Church, Jackson.

State BSU Officers

Mr. Fred McDowell, president; Mr. Joseph Lloyd, vice president; Miss Elizabeth Towner, recording secretary; Miss Yvonne Moore, associate secretary; Miss Ella W. Williams, stewardship chairman; Miss Emma Butler, music chairman; Miss Mary Swington, social chairman.

Form a combination for good — Attend Church regularly. Every man, woman and child needs the influence of the Church.

At Greater Clark Street Church, Jackson

Miss Doris Wilson Speaks On Uniting Forces To Improve Christian Education

A capacity audience was in attendance at Greater Clark Street Missionary Baptist Church in Jackson on Sunday, February 25, and witnessed a very befitting and timely WOMAN'S DAY PROGRAM which was filled with inspiration throughout its duration, including the Sunday Church school which the women also conducted.

At the regular morning service hour, invited guests from the following churches were present: New Strangers Home — Mrs. Eulice Williams; Anderson Chapel (donation) White's Chapel (donation); Pearl Street — Mrs. Selena Butler; Farish Street — Mrs. Cleo Mason; New Hope, Roach Street — Mrs. L. C. Pickens; Sweet Rest — Mrs. Elizabeth Jenkins; St. James — Mrs. Bessie Hicks; Pleasant Hill, Bolton — Mrs. James B. Smith, Sr.; New Hope, Whitfield Mills Road — Mrs. Leona Anderson; and Friendship, Edwards — Mrs. C. L. West.

The New Hope Church Choir, Roach Street, rendered a song, "I'm Going Through, Jesus", which was uplifting.

The choir for the occasion sang very beautifully the songs selected, accompanied with Miss Rosena Robinson at the organ and Mrs. Bolton of New Hope, Roach Street, at the piano.

Others appearing on program were Mrs. Cora Taylor — Scripture; Mrs. Emma Coleman, Prayer; Mrs. Carrie Slater, Meditation; Mrs. Pearlie Stewart, The Occasion; Mrs. Dora Stewart, Welcome; Mrs. Ella Michael, Solo; Mrs. Mary J. Mosley, Introduction of Guest Speaker; and Mrs. Corinne Guynes, Recognition of Visitors.

The climax of the program was the magnificent address delivered by Miss Doris Wilson, Librarian of Jackson City Schools and an ardent member of Pearl Street A.M.E. Church of the City, based on the theme: "Uniting Forces to Improve Christian Education."

With poise, dignity and impressiveness of speech, this dedicated church lady and civic worker captivated the attentive audience with a challenging address to women. May the inspiration she brought to all, be an encouragement to those who were benefitted thereby, and awaken others to a rededication of their lives to nobler purposes.

With this day's receipts to be used as a part of the church's general operational fund, the membership rallied to the cause in a very gratifying way, amounting to $530 for the day.

Many thanks are due all of the members for responding to the program in such a fine way; to the committee with Mrs. Minnie L. Harris, Chairman and Mrs. Clara Torrey, Co-Chirman, in having received the cooperation of all, as demonstrated by the results.

This was the "starter", the next is being planned to be a "record-breaker" for this year, in finance, at least.

May each member look forward to that end.

April 15 Deadline For SS Coverage

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If a minister files a waiver certificate by April 15, 1962, he will receive coverage for 1960 and 1961 providing he has at least $400 net earnings from his profession. There is no coverage for those who have less than $400 net earnings.

Ask Internal Revenue Service for form 2031 (waiver certificate to elect social security coverage for use by ministers, certain members of religious orders, and Christian Science Practitioners).

This form must be filed with the Director of Internal Revenue.

For further information contact your local social security office.

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The State Ushers, headed by Mr. W. L. Glenn, has been asked for $107.70, and the State Laymen, formerly headed by the late H. D. Adams, are expected to donate $57.70.

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By the
Executive Secretary

Be Sure And Attend The Church Of Your This Sunday And Every Sunday!

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Rev. R. W. West, President
C. L. West, Executive Sec.

This 6th day of February, 1962.

H. D. Adams, of Estell, State President of Laymen and assistant Director of Baptist SS and BTU Congress and a member of the official Board of the state convention died in early February. Rites were held in Hollandale on February 18th.

be extended to state-wide news coverage for Baptists in Mississippi; We further recommend that an editorial board be selected by this body to be empowered with the authority or task of getting the enlarged publication underway — and that said editorial board will be given full responsibility to attend to all matters relevant to the publication; also, that the editorial board be further empowered to designate additional members on the board as the need may arise.

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Committee:
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Rev. P. F. Parker
Prof. A. P. Johnson
Prof. P. M. Smith
Prof. H. D. Adams
Prof. M. D. Upchurch
Rev. C. L. Clark
Rev. O. W. Ingram

THE BAPTIST OBSERVER
REV. W. L. TERRELL, Editor
The Official Journal of the General Missionary Baptist Convention of Mississippi published monthly at Greenwood, Mississippi. Address all Correspondence to Rev. W. L. Terrell, P. O. Box 205, Greenwood, Miss.

an arm up the hill..

when the going's been hard.

when a loved one is ill and you must carry on...

when a trusted friend has let you down...

when the problems you must meet
seem more than you yourself can handle...

when your very soul cries out for strength and comfort...

take the arm that is yours for the grasping, lean on Him
for the strength you need to see you up the hill.

Worship with your family this week
at your church

He restoreth your soul...
Worship together this week

4000 Attend '61 Convention In Gulfport; 1962 Session To Be In Grenada July 17-19

THE ANNUAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL MISSIONARY BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION OF MISSISSIPPI was held July 18-20 in Gulfport with the churches of that Coast City playing host for the first time in convention history.

Nearly 4,000 members attended from throughout the entire state and enjoyed a fine, inspirational program.

See tables on this page and on page four for enrollment at that session.

The 1962 session of the Convention will be held in Grenada July 17-18-19 with all the churches serving as hosts.

The Rev. C. C. Coleman, pastor of the New Hope No. 1 Baptist Church, convention headquarters, will serve as host pastor.

All member churches are urged to be represented at the 1962 session.

Extended Session Held In Jackson

THE GENERAL MISSIONARY BAPTIST STATE CONVENTION OF MISSISSIPPI held its extended session at St. Luther M. B. Church with Rev. F. B. Black, pastor, Thursday, November 23, 1961.

The meeting opened at 10:15 a. m. with President R. W. West, in the chair.

The session was well attended and proved to be the best ever held.

The churches of Jackson joined St. Luther Baptist Church in providing food for all free.

Money raised was $6,200.00.

One of the actions taken at the extended session of the Convention in Jackson was voting approval of a Resolution offered by the Rev. Dr. W. L. Terrell, editor of The Baptist Observer and chairman of a special Committee on Publications from the State Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress.

Dr. Terrell, on behalf of the Special Committee, read the Resolution which asked that the extended session of the Convention approve the move of making The Baptist Observer, a monthly publication, into a weekly and convert it to full newspaper size. The resolution asked that an Editorial Board be elected by the Convention to serve in an advisory capacity to help get the new, enlarged publication underway immediately, or as soon as possible.

The extended session voted approval but President R. W. West deferred selection of the Editorial Board until the Official Board meeting early this year at Farish Street Baptist Church.

At the official board meeting held at Farish Street Church on selection of the Editorial Board no action was taken due to the fact the Secretary did not have in his files the Resolution which had been adopted by the Convention in November. The resolution is printed elsewhere in this issue in a story about The Baptist Observer.

Woman's Auxiliary—

(continued from page one)

of Illinois in Urbana. Eight children have gone to their reward.

Nathez College at a cost of about $1700.00. Previously it had bought a stove and refrigerator for the school and seats for the auditorium.

In a very real sense the Women's Auxiliary has con-

Rev. C. L. West Is Convention Secretary

REV. C. L. WEST

The Rev. C. L. West, well known Hinds County pastor and secretary of the State Convention, is one of the hardest working officials in the Convention. The Rev. West is in charge of enrollment at each State Convention and to him falls the responsibility for keeping important records of everything that transpires. The Convention could not get along without the work of its Secretary.

Rev. Gayden—

(continued from page one)

will mark his 50th year, or Golden Anniversary, as pastor of the Mt. Pisgah M. B. Church at Sidon, where he holds two services every third Sunday.

He is also pastor at Silent Grove M. B. Church at Marks which is sixty miles away from his home in Greenwood. But he preaches twice daily at the Marks Church every second and fourth Sunday and has for the past ten years.

On the first Sunday he visits at churches all over the state where he speaks on behalf of the National BTU (formerly B.Y.P.U.) Board of which he is serving as chairman. This also makes him a member of the National Baptist Convention Board.

The fifth Sunday of each month will usually find Dr. Gayden attending a rally or

Enrollment At The State Convention....

ANTIOCH M. B. ASSOCIATION — ADAMS COUNTY

Church And Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Antioch, Natchez	R. J. Johnson, Natchez	$ 25.00
Beulah, Natchez	W. L. Logan, Natchez	160.00
Bright Star, Natchez	A. F. Williams, Ferriday, La.	100.00
China Grove, Natchez	W. S. Scott Natchez	12.85
Clearmon, Natchez	J. A. Franklin, Ferriday, La.	15.00
Daughter of Zion, Natchez	W. S. Scott, Natchez	12.50
Ebenezer, Natchez	C. Ellis, Natchez	10.00
Greater Macedonia, Natchez	Rubin Logan, Natchez	75.00
Greater New Zion, Natchez	J. A. Franklin, Ferriday, La.	100.00
Greater St. James, Natchez	W. E. Smith, Natchez	28.75
Jerusalem, Natchez	A. F. Williams, Ferriday, La.	75.00
King Solomon, Natchez	W. S. Scott, Natchez	100.00
LaGrange, Natchez	J. A. Banks, Natchez	25.00
Mercy Seat, Sibley	E. Lewis, Lake St. John, La	50.00
Milford, Pine Ridge	W. C. Mazique, Natchez	140.00
Mourning Pilgrim, Natchez	W. H. James, Pine Ridge	30.00
Mt. Bethay, Natchez	Wm. Haro, Natchez	50.00
Mt. Ollie, Sibley	W. L. Logan, Natchez	30.00
Mt. Zion, Natchez	A. F. Williams, Ferriday, La.	100.00
Pilgrim, Natchez	W. Green, Natchez	50.00
Robinson Chapel, Fenwick	W. L. Logan, Natchez	40.00
Rose Hill, Natchez	L. Bolden, Roxie	160.00
Shiloh, Natchez	W. E. Smith, Natchez	50.00
Sinai, Sibley	W. L. Logan, Natchez	50.00
St. Paul, Washington	J. A. Banks, Natchez	50.00
St. Peter, Natchez	L. L. Miller, Natchez	100.00
St. Peter Rock, Leesdale	G. A. Brannon, Natchez	50.00
Sun Flower, Ford	H. Russell, Natchez	35.00
Tates Magnolia, Crainfield	E. W. Rhone, Natchez	17.00
Union, Natchez	W. C. Mazique, Natchez	160.00
United, Morgantown	Dishmer, Ferriday, La.	15.00
Wilderness, Pine Ridge	E. V.Petaway, Ferriday, La.	7.00
Windy Hill, Janette	F. Green, Ferriday, La.	40.00
Zion Flower, Anna	A. L. Butler, Natchez	25.00
Association — Special Representaion		250.00
B. J. Clark, Missionary		10.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$2200.10

REV. W. C. MAZIQUE, Moderator
REV. E. W. RHONE, Secretary
REV. B. J. CLARK, Missionary

A. M. B. ASSOCIATION — WILKINSON COUNTY

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Angola, Woodville	D. V. Harden, Woodville	$ 10.00
Bay Ridge, Woodville	E. D. Ward, Woodville	75.00
Beach Grove, Woodville	R. J. Tyson, Centreville	15.00
Breakhouse, Woodville	B. J. Jackson, Woodville	15.00
Embrew, Woodville	S. Hiles, Woodville	15.00
Free Spring, Woodville	L. A. Sloan, Woodville	50.00
Friendship, Woodville	David Wells, Lessley	5.00
Kingford, Woodville	A. Scott, Woodville	60.00
King Emanuel, Woodville	A. L. Butler, Natchez	37.50
King Solomon, Pinkneyville	A. Scott, Woodville	60.00
Macedonia, Lessley	R. E. Palmer, Woodville	10.00
Magnolia, Lessley	E. D. Reynolds, Woodville	15.00
Midway, Woodville	E. D. Ward, Woodville	30.00
Mt. Olive, Woodville	A. Scott, Woodville	30.00
Mt. Pleasant, Centreville	R. J. Tyson, Centreville	20.00
Oak Grove, Crosby	J. E. Rucker, Meadville	10.00

BRESHER CREEK AND NEW HOPE ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Bresher Creek, Georgetown	W. H. Hines, Jackson	$ 25.00
Egypt Hill, Crystal Springs	O. S. Ellis, Jackson	25.00
Galilee, Rockport	J. B. Jones, Hazlehurst	20.00
Lillie Mae, Georgetown	G. C. Morris, Georgtown	20.00
New Hope, Georgetown	D. D. Smith, Crystal Springs	25.00
Redbone, Hazlehurst	J. F. Davis, Utica	20.00
Zion Hill, Florence	J. P. Johnson, Jackson	15.00
Association — Special Representation		25.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$175.00

REV. D. D. SMITH, Moderator
BRO. D. L. LOVELADY, Secretary

CLAIBORNE COUNTY M. B. ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Ashland, Port Gibson	J. N. Dorsey, Port Gibson	$ 50.00
Beechland, Port Gibson	O. S. Burks, Lorman	50.00
Campbell Chapel, Willow	I. K. Fuller, Vicksburg	10.00
China Grove, Russum	M. J. Gilbert, Vicksburg	70.00
First, Hermanville	J. E. Turiett, Pattison	55.00
First, Port Gibson	B. L. Thomas, Vicksburg	135.00
Freedom Hall, Hermanville	C. P. Curtis, Hermanville	25.00
Holly Grove, Hermanville	J. E. Turiett, Vicksburg	35.00
Jerusalem, Port Gibson	Frank James, Newellton, La.	15.00
Magnolia, Port Gibson	J. N. Dorsey, Port Gibson	100.00
Mercy Seat, Port Gibson	E. E. Spencer, Lorman	135.00
Montrose Grove, Hermanville	M. L. James, Natchez	25.00
Mt. Burnon, Pattison	Evans Doss, Port Gibson	15.00
Mt. Olive, Alcorn		110.00
Mt. Zion, Port Gibson	R. F. Vernon, Vicksburg	25.00
Pleasant Hill, Port Gibson	R. F. Vernon, Vicksburg	10.00
Rising Sun, Port Gibson	C. C. Claiborne, Tallulah, La.	135.00
Second, Port Gibson	M. J. Gilbert, Vicksburg	135.00
Second Union, Utica	E. E. Spencer, Lorman	110.00
Spring Hill, Port Gibson	G. A. Brannon, Natchez	13.00
St. Mark, Port Gibson	W. C. Mazique, Natchez	135.00
St. Peter, Pattison	J. E. Turiett, Pattison	45.00
Welcome, Port Gibson	C. P.Curtis, Hermanville	40.00
White Hall, Pattison	C. H. Hudson, Vicksburg	35.00
Claiborne County S. S. Association — D. J. Teemer, President		150.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$1773.00

REV. E. E. SPENCER, Moderator
REV. O. S. BURKS, Secretary
REV. R. S. WATTS, Missionary

COAHOMA COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Chapel Hill, Clarksdale	S. E. Wiles, Greenville	$ 50.00
First, Clarksdale	W. M. Walton, Clarksdale	100.00
Metropolitan, Clarksdale	S. H. Jones, Clarksdale	50.00
Mt. Pisgah, Stovall	S. M. Quinn, Tutwiler	10.00
Oak Ridge, Stovall	R. H. Hedrick, Clarksdale	30.00
Sunshine, Clarksdale	G. W. Strong, Clarksdale	15.00
Zion Traveler, Farrell	R. H. Hedrick, Clarksdale	35.00

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Woman's Auxiliary—

(continued from page one)

of Illinois in Urbana. Eight children have gone to their reward.

Mother McGowan is rightfully pleased at the splendid records of their children who are making such fine contributions to society themselves — something to be expected from children who have been brought up in the Christian traditions upheld by their parents.

There are many accomplishments of which the Women's Auxiliary could boast, since it was founded in Brookhaven, its tremendous increase in membership, the wonderful program of Christian witnessing so faithfully followed, aid and comfort to many people in distress, sickness and sorrow, the financial contributions to worthy causes and its financial support of the Convention, too.

But their modest President is loath to describe these things, feeling that boasting is not in the Christian way of doing God's work.

But she is proud of what the Women's Auxiliary has done to take the program forward on all fronts, in the churches and communities, in the Convention and Auxiliary, at Natchez College and other ways.

In 1961 the Women's Auxiliary bought twelve typewriters, tables and chairs for Nathez College at a cost of about $1700.00. Previously it had bought a stove and refrigerator for the school and seats for the auditorium.

In a very real sense the Women's Auxiliary has contributed to the Christian education program at Natchez College.

A large representation of the Women's Auxiliary will be present for Founder's Day in Natchez — and Dr. McGowan will be there with them to head the list.

Work with the young people has expanded from the Women's Auxiliary, making certain that trained leaders will be available to take up the torch of leadership when needed.

The Young Peoples Department was organized in 1925 and some outstanding young people have been trained in this work in the Y.W.A., the J.M.A. and the Juveniles.

Dr. McGowan emphasizes to the women in the Auxiliary that "to teach one must know Christ, associate with Him, live with Him, and catch His very spirit and be dominated by His purpose."

She believes the teaching ministry is both important and urgent and that teachers, like preachers, should be armed with exhortation based on positive information to be effective teachers for the Master.

And this great lady practices what she teaches.

Rev. Gayden—

(continued from page one)

will mark his 50th year, or Golden Anniversary, as pastor of the Mt. Pisgah M. B. Church at Sidon, where he holds two services every third Sunday.

He is also pastor at Silent Grove M. B. Church at Marks which is sixty miles away from his home in Greenwood. But he preaches twice daily at the Marks Church every second and fourth Sunday and has for the past ten years.

On the first Sunday he visits at churches all over the state where he speaks on behalf of the Nationa BTU (formerly B.Y.P.U.) Board of which he is serving as chairman. This also makes him a member of the National Baptist Convention Board.

The fifth Sunday of each month will usually find Dr. Gayden attending a rally or educational program at some of the churches in the state.

In addition to serving as president of the present State Sunday School and BTU Congress since 1932, Dr. Gayden had been president of the old B.Y.P.U. State Convention since 1913. The increased responsibility for the enlarged office fell on his shoulders when the two were combined at a meeting held in Rosedale.

He also serves as moderator of the Lebanon District Association, composed of Holmes and Leflore Counties, as chairman of the Joint Trustee Board of Central Mississippi College at Kosciusko, a church-owned school which has 101 students; and a member of the Convention Official Board.

Dr. Gayden is interested in the education and training of young people as our leaders of tomorrow and as a trustee of Natchez College has done everything possible to further the work at the College.

Young and old alike are inspired by the precepts and example of this great man of God.

May you have many more years of happy service, Dr. Gayden! That is the wish of your thousands of friends.

WASHINGTON COUNTY GENERAL M. B. ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
First, Hollandale	T. R. Clay, Hollandale	$ 50.00
King Solomon, Arcola	F. P. Short, Vicksburg	15.00
Little Rock, Hollandale	F. P. Short, Vicksburg	25.00
Mt. Ararat, Greenville	A. W. Williams, Greenville	25.00
Mt. Bethel, Greenville	E. S. Hicks, Vicksburg	100.00
Mt. Carmel, Greenville	B. B. Bryant, Leland	50.00
Mt. Horeb, Greenville	Fred D. Matthews, Itta Bena	100.00
Mt. Horeb, Hollandale	C. H. Moreland, Belzoni	100.00
Mt. Zion, Percy	E. C. Williams, Greenville	15.00
Mt. Zion, Wilmot	E. L. Johnson, Greenville	25.00
New Foundation, Hollandale	S. E. Wiles, Greenville	15.00
New Hope First, Greenville	J. M. Kimble, Indianola	100.00
New White Stone, Greenville	B. B. Bryant, Leland	35.00
New Zion, Leland	B. B. Bryant, Leland	100.00
St. Matthew, Leland	B. B. Bryant, Leland	25.00
St. Peter, Greenville	E. C. Williams, Greenville	50.00
St. Peter, Leland	R. T. Strong, Greenville	30.00
Star Bethel, Greenville	J. F. Redmon, Greenville	100.00
Sunrise, Trail Lake	E. C. Williams, Greenville	15.00
Zion Baptist, Greenville	S. E. Wiles, Greenville	25.00
Special Association Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$1100.00

REV. B. B. BRYANT, Moderator
REV. C. H. MORELAND, Secretary
REV. J. C. DAVIS, Missionary

Windy Hill, Janette	F. Green, Ferriday, La.	40.00
Zion Flower, Anna	A. L. Butler, Natchez	25.00
Association — Special Representaion		250.00
B. J. Clark, Missionary		10.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$2200.10

REV. W. C. MAZIQUE, Moderator
REV. E. W. RHONE, Secretary
REV. B. J. CLARK, Missionary

A. M. B. ASSOCIATION — WILKINSON COUNTY

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Angola, Woodville	D. V. Harden, Woodville	$ 10.00
Bay Ridge, Woodville	E. D. Ward, Woodville	75.00
Beach Grove, Woodville	R. J. Tyson, Centreville	15.00
Breakhouse, Woodville	B. J. Jackson, Woodville	15.00
Embrew, Woodville	S. Hiles, Woodville	15.00
Free Spring, Woodville	L. A. Sloan, Woodville	50.00
Friendship, Woodville	David Wells, Lessley	5.00
Kingford, Woodville	A. Scott, Woodville	60.00
King Emanuel, Woodville	A. L. Butler, Natchez	37.50
King Solomon, Pinkneyville	A. Scott, Woodville	60.00
Macedonia, Lessley	R. E. Palmer, Woodville	10.00
Magnolia, Lessley	E. D. Reynolds, Woodville	15.00
Midway, Woodville	E. D. Ward, Woodville	30.00
Mt. Olive, Woodville	A. Scott, Woodville	30.00
Mt. Pleasant, Centreville	R. J. Tyson, Centreville	20.00
Oak Grove, Crosby	J. E. Rucker, Meadville	10.00
Pleasant Green, Woodville	E. D. Ward, Woodville	100.00
Pleasant Grove, Centreville	L. A. Sloan, Woodville	25.00
St. Mark, Woodville	J. E. Rucker, Meadville	25.00
Union, Crosby	R. J. Cannon, Tallulah, La.	20.00
Univester, Woodville	R. J. Cannon, Tallulah, La.	18.00
Zion Hill, Woodville	D. V. Harden, Woodville	20.00
Zion Hill, Woodville	A. Scott, Woodville	30.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$800.50

REV. ALLEN SCOTT, Moderator
REV. S. C. JACKSON, Secretary and Missionary

BETHLEHEM BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Antioch, McBride	F. M. Pullen, Fayette	$40.00
Fellowship, Lorman	W. C. Mazique, Natchez	125.00
First, Fayette	M. J. Irvin, Cannonsburg	75.00
Forest Grove, Fayette	Evans Doss, Port Gibson	9.00
Greenleaf, Harriston	J. J. Johnson, Fayette	75.00
Hollywood, Fayette	M. J. Irven, Cannonsburg	100.00
Jessamine Ridge, Lorman	J. P. Lewis, Fayette	100.00
Locust Grove, Fayette	L. D. Woodley, Washington	100.00
Mercy Seat, Church Hill	L. D. Woodley, Washington	100.00
Morning Star, Lorman	L. D. Woodley, Washington	100.00
Mt. Israel, Fayette	L. L. Miller, Natchez	50.00
Mt. Moriah,		25.00
Mt. Olive, Red Lick	E. E. Spencer, Lorman	125.00
New Zion, Ashland	F. M. Pullen, Fayette	40.00
Pine Grove, McNair	Freddy Williams, Vidalia, La.	23.00
Richland, Fayette	W. C. Mazique, Natchez	125.00
Rose Hill, Fayette	Robert Thompson, Fayette	50.00
Rose Hill, McNair	J. J. Butler, Natchez	20.00
St. Mark, Fayette	J. J. Johnson, Fayette	6.00
Taylor Chapel, Fayette	G. A. Brannon, Natchez	15.00
Wall Hill,		19.00
Waterloo, Lorman	J. N. Dorsey, Lorman	100.00
Bethlehem S. S. Association —	A. G. Williams, Moderator	200.00
Woman's Auxiliary Association	Mrs. T. G. Foster, President	25.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$1762.50

REV. J. P. LEWIS, Moderator
BRO. E. M. MURPHY, Secretary
REV. F. M. PULLEN, Missionary

BOLIVAR COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Calvary, Renova	I. J. James, Shaw	$ 25.00
First, Mound Bayou	L. J. Jordan, Jr., Greenville	100.00
Gospel Temple, Rosedale	L. J. Jordan, Jr., Greenville	100.00
Macedonia, Shelby	W. L. Lewis, Shelby	12.50
Mt. Moriah		25.00
Mt. Zion, Choctaw	H. A. Armstrong, Greenville	20.00
Spangle Banner, Shaw	S. L. A. Jones, Clarksdale	12.50
Springfield, Scott	J. L. Johnson, Greenville	10.00
St. Paul, Cleveland	John Matthews, Indianola	100.00
St. Philip, Cleveland	L. R. Skipper, Clarksdale	25.00
Wanderer's Home, Mound Bayou	C. H. Moreland, Belzoni	25.00
Zion Grove, Shelby	C. H. Moreland, Belzoni	50.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$605.00

REV. H. C. CHERRY, Moderator
REV. C. C. JIRDAN, Secretary
REV. S. L. A. JONES, Missionary

Mt. Olive, Alcorn		110.00
Mt. Zion, Port Gibson	R. F. Vernon, Vicksburg	25.00
Pleasant Hill, Port Gibson	R. F. Vernon, Vicksburg	10.00
Rising Sun, Port Gibson	C. C. Claiborne, Tallulah, La.	135.00
Second, Port Gibson	M. J. Gilbert, Vicksburg	135.00
Second Union, Utica	E. E. Spencer, Lorman	110.00
Spring Hill, Port Gibson	G. A. Brannon, Natchez	13.00
St. Mark, Port Gibson	W. C. Mazique, Natchez	135.00
St. Peter, Pattison	J. E. Turiett, Pattison	45.00
Welcome, Port Gibson	C. P.Curtis, Hermanville	40.00
White Hall, Pattison	C. H. Hudson, Vicksburg	35.00
Claiborne County S. S. Association —	D. J. Teemer, President	150.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$1773.00

REV. E. E. SPENCER, Moderator
REV. O. S. BURKS, Secretary
REV. R. S. WATTS, Missionary

COAHOMA COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Chapel Hill, Clarksdale	S. E. Wiles, Greenville	$ 50.00
First, Clarksdale	W. M. Walton, Clarksdale	100.00
Metropolitan, Clarksdale	S. H. Jones, Clarksdale	50.00
Mt. Pisgah, Stovall	S. M. Quinn, Tutwiler	10.00
Oak Ridge, Stovall	R. H. Hedrick, Clarksdale	30.00
Sunshine, Clarksdale	G. W. Strong, Clarksdale	15.00
Zion Traveler, Farrell	R. H. Hedrick, Clarksdale	35.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$390.00

REV. L. R. SKIPPER, Moderator
REV. R. H. HEDRICK, Secretary

COAHOMA COUNTY EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Mt. Eagle, Dublin	N. H. Hedrick, Clarksdale	$ 20.00
Silent Grove, Clarksdale	R. L. Butler, Greenville	100.00
Association — Special Representation		50.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$170.00

COPIAH COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Chapel Hill, Carpenter	E. D. Morris, Tallulah, La.	$ 8.50
Clear Creek, Hazlehurst	E. G. Robinson, Crystal Springs	10.00
Hall's Hill, Hazlehurst	W. M. Walker, Hermanville	12.00
Jerusalem, Crystal Springs	E. G. Robinson, Crystal Springs	6.00
Morning Star, Utica	J. A. Anderson, Jackson	10.00
Mt. Carmel, Hazlehurst	Timothy Wilson, Hazlehurst	8.50
Mt. Olive, Hazlehurst	J. B. Jones, Hazlehurst	12.00
New Pisgah, Hazlehurst	P. J. Hopkins, Jackson	5.00
New Salem, Hazlehurst	C. H. Lowe, Jackson	10.00
Sardis, Wesson	W. R. Griffin, Terry	8.00
Springfield, Carpenter	R. L. Pickens, Jackson	10.00
Spring Ridge, Hazlehurst	R. E. Flowers, Jackson	8.00
St. James, Hazlehurst	C. H. Harper, Hazlehurst	7.00
Association — Special Representation		48.90
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$164.00

REV. J. B. JONES, Moderator
BRO. B. F. ALEXANDER, Secretary
REV. K. WASHINGTON, Missionary

GULF COAST M. B. ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
First, Bay St. Louis	S. T. Peters, Slidell, La.	$ 25.00
First, Biloxi	C. M. Holloway, Biloxi	100.00
First, Handsboro	E. L. Fox, Gulfport	30.00
First, Moss Point	N. H. Smith, Moss Point	30.00
First, Pass Ghristian	N. Walker, Gulfport	20.00
Little Rock, Gulfport	F. McElhaney, Gulfport	100.00
Morning Star, Gulfport	F. McElhaney, Gulfport	100.00
Mt. Bethel, Gulfport	W. T. Guice, Gulfport	100.00
Mt. Pisgah, Long Beach	J. L. Trotter, Gulfport	25.00
Union, Pascagoula	G. J. Martin, Pascagoula	30.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$660.00

REV. E. L. FOX, Moderator
BRO. J. E. KING, Secretary
REV. C. HENDRICKS, Missionary

ROSE HILL M. B. ASSOCIATION

Association — Special Representation		$100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$100.00

REV. W. C. CLAY, Moderator
BRO. R. A. COOPER, Secretary
REV. J. T. JOHNSON, Missionary

Enrollment At The State Convention....

GRENADA DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Bell Flower, Grenada	F. L. Barnes, Jackson	$ 50.00
Locust Grove, Greenwood	G. H. Hankins, Hollandale	50.00
McKinney Chapel, Greenwood	J. M. Kimble, Indianola	125.00
New Hope, Grenada	C. C. Coleman, Tupelo	100.00
New Hope, Grenada	B. T. McSwine, Greenwood	25.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$450.00

REV. B. T. McSWINE, Moderator
BRO. R. L. HEMPHILL, Secretary
REV. L. E. SMITH, Missionary

HINDS COUNTY M. B. ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Bear Ridge, Edwards	W. R. Griffin, Terry	$ 38.00
Belmont, Raymond	J. A. Brown, Vicksburg	15.00
Belmont, Utica	W. M. Curley, Vicksburg	25.00
Bethlehem, Edwards	O. H. Hunter, Vicksburg	10.00
Canaan, Edwards	Walter Jones, Vicksburg	5.00
Champion Hill, Bolton	J. L. Brown, Utica	25.00
Chapel Hill, Bolton	W. H. Hines, Jackson	50.00
Cherry Grove, Edwards	A. M. Peterson, Jackson	75.00
County Line, Pocahontas	E. D. Jackson, Vicksburg	10.00
Elbethel, Bolton	R. W. West, Bolton	100.00
Friendship, Edwards	C. L. West, Bolton	105.00
Gallilee, Raymond	L. W. Jenkins, Edwards	25.00
Greater Clark Street, Jackson	C. L. West, Bolton	105.00
Green Grove, Edwards	Elijah Stamps, Edwards	10.00
Hamilton Grove, Raymond	J. H. Hardy, Jackson	10.00
Hopewell, Raymond	John White, Raymond	60.00
Little Rock, Utica	J. F. Davis, Utica	10.00
Little Zion, Edwards	C. A. Greer, Jackson	60.00
Morning Star, Learned	R. W. West, Bolton	100.00
Mt. Olive, Bolton	John White, Raymond	50.00
Mt. Ollie, Jackson	J. L. Brown, Utica	20.00
Mt. Shiloh, Edwards	Walter Jones, Vicksburg	5.00
Mt. Zion, Raymond	R. W. West, Bolton	100.00
New Hope, Raymond	L. W. Jenkins, Edwards	50.00
New Mt. Zion, Raymond	E. B. Nelson, Jackson	50.00
New Salem,, Utica	John White, Raymond	25.00
Orange Hill, Bolton	J. L. Brown, Utica	20.00
Pilgrim Rest, Clinton	W. M. Curley, Vicksburg	50.00
Pilgrim Rest, Edwards	L. C. Carter, Edwards	25.00
Pleasant Hill, Bolton	C. L. West, Bolton	25.00
Rohelia Utica, Utica	L. C. Collins, Jackson	25.00
Seven Star, Utica	Otis Ellis, Jackson	3.00
Shearer Grove, Raymond	L. W. Jenkins, Edwards	25.00
Spring Ridge, Edwards	E. W. Cornelius, Jackson	37.50
St. Luther , Jackson	Fred B. Black, Jackson	100.00
St. Mark, Clinton	Wroten McQuirter, Clinton	15.00
St. Mark, Edwards	P. J. Hopkins, Jackson	15.00
St. Paul, Edwards	Elijah Stamps, Edwards	15.00
St. Peter, Utica	E. E. Spencer, Lorman	100.00
St. Thomas, Bolton	R. W. West, Bolton	125.00
Welcome, Utica	John White, Raymond	50.00
First Baptist Union, John White, President		40.00
Hinds County Singing Convention — Elijah Stamps, President		15.00
Hinds County S. S. Convention — Elijah Stamps, President		25.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$2034.00

PROGRESSIVE M. B. ASSOCIATION — ADAMS COUNTY

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Forest Aid, Natchez	J. H. McField, Natchez	$ 40.00
Greater Fatherland, Natchez	L. L. Miller, Natchez	25.00
Mt. Sinai, Natchez	J. H. Williams, Vicksburg	75.00
New St. Peter Rock, Natchez	E. W. Rhone, Natchez	20.00
Pleasant Green, Natchez	F. Green, Ferriday, La.	100.00
South Woodloyd, Natchez	S. Fletcher, Natchez	15.00
St. Mark, Natchez	L. L. Miller, Natchez	100.00
St. Mary, Natchez	J. J. Butler, Natchez	40.00
Zion Hill, Natchez	L. L. Miller, Natchez	50.00
Zion Watch, Natchez	Andrew Butler, Natchez	5.00
P. M. B. S. S. Association —	P. K. Pendleton, Moderator	80.00
Association — Special Representation		75.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$625.00

REV. L. L. MILLER, Moderator
BRO. P. K. PENDLETON, Secretary
REV. F. BRUCE, Missionary

QUITMAN COUNTY ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Silent Grove, Marks	J. W. Gayden, Greenwood	$250.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$350.00

REV. S. A. ALLEN, Moderator
BRO. P. H. PHIPPS, Secretary
REV. R. L. LEE, Missionary

SARDIS EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Pleasant Green, Water Valley	P. L. Morgan, Winona	$ 10.00
Spring Hill, Pope	P. L. Morgan, Winona	$ 10.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$120.00

REV. P. L. MORGAN, Moderator
BRO. C. J. WILLIAMS, Secretary
PROF. C. GRAHAM, Missionary

SARDIS EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Concord, Batesville	J. A. Woods, Hernando	$ 15.00
Pilgrim Rest, Batesville	J. M. Rudd, Batesville	10.00
West Camp, Batesville	D. J. Ferguson, Clarksdale	10.00
Special Convention Representation		50.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$ 85.00

REV. J. A. WOODS, President
BRO. W. T. HENDERSON, Secretary
BRO. C. GRAHAM, Missionary

TALLAHATCHIE SECOND DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
New Bethel, Crowder	T. R. Dobbins, Clarksdale	$ 10.00
Oak Grove, Crowder	T. R. Dobbins, Clarksdale	10.00
St. John, Drew	R. H. Hedrick, Clarksdale	10.00
Special Association Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$130.00

REV. R. H. HEDRICK, Moderator
REV. T. R. DOBBINS, Secretary
REV. R. M. GAYTOR, Missionary

TUNICA COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Christian Springs, Robinsonville	N. H. Hedrick, Clarksdale	$ 10.00
Fredonia, Tunica	J. D. Smith, Clarksdale	20.00
Mt. Zebo, Tunica	R. H. Hedrick, Clarksdale	10.00
Mt. Zion, Clayton	S. M. Quinn, Tutwiler	10.00
Special Association Representation		50.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$100.00

REV. A. G. BAKER, Moderator
BRO. R. J. GRANT, Secretary

WARREN COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Bethlehem, Vicksburg	C. R. Redden, Tallulah, La.	$ 50.00
Bright Morning Star, Vicksburg	S. S. Imes, Hollandale	50.00
China Grove, Vicksburg	T. R. Ray, Vicksburg	10.00
First Baptist, Vicksburg	J. H. Williams, Vicksburg	50.00
Gospel Temple, Vicksburg	T. R. Ray, Vicksburg	10.00
Greater Mt. Lebanon, Vicksburg	C. C. Claiborne, Tallulah, La.	25.00
Hopewell, Vicksburg	S. Slaughter, Vicksburg	10.00
Jackson Street, Vicksburg	A. W. Wilson, Vicksburg	50.00
King David, Vicksburg	J. A. Miller, Vicksburg	15.00
King Solomon, Vicksburg	B. L. Thomas, Vicksburg	100.00
Mt. Calvary, Vicksburg	E. S. Hicks, Vicksburg	50.00
Mt. Carmel, Vicksburg	W. L. Lassiter, Vicksburg	25.00
Mt. Heroden, Vicksburg	LeVander Kinds, Vicksburg	100.00
Mt. Olive, Vicksburg	W. M. Lacy, Vicksburg	25.00
Mt. Olive, Vicksburg	M. J. Gilbert, Vicksburg	35.00
Mt. Zion, Ball Ground	C. C. Bolden, Vicksburg	45.00
Mt. Zion, Vicksburg	J. A. Miller, Vicksburg	15.00
Mt. Zion, Vicksburg	B. T. McSwine, Greenwood	15.00
Mt. Zion, Vicksburg	J. M. Rivers, Vicksburg	25.00
New Hope, Bovina	W. B. Barnes, Vicksburg	15.00
Pleasant Green, Vicksburg	L. R. Chandler, Inverness	75.00
Pleasant Valley, Vicksburg	E. D. Straughter, Vicksburg	25.00
Rock of Ages, Vicksburg	E. S. Hicks, Vicksburg	50.00
St. James, Vicksburg	A. W. Bell, Valley Park	10.00
St. Mark, Vicksburg	W. M. Randle, Vicksburg	25.00
St. Peter, Vicksburg	S. Slaughter, Vicksburg	10.00
Travelers Rest, Vicksburg	J. H. Williams, Vicksburg	75.00
Triumph, Vicksburg	C. C. Bolden, Vicksburg	50.00
West Harper, Vicksburg	W. M. Curley, Vicksburg	10.00
Zion Traveler Vicksburg	W. M. Curley, Vicksburg	20.00
TOTAL REPRESENTATION		$1205.00

Hamilton Grove, Raymond	J. H. Hardy, Jackson	10.00
Hopewell, Raymond	John White, Raymond	60.00
Little Rock, Utica	J. F. Davis, Utica	10.00
Little Zion, Edwards	C. A. Greer, Jackson	60.00
Morning Star, Learned	R. W. West, Bolton	100.00
Mt. Olive, Bolton	John White, Raymond	50.00
Mt. Ollie, Jackson	J. L. Brown, Utica	20.00
Mt. Shiloh, Edwards	Walter Jones, Vicksburg	5.00
Mt. Zion, Raymond	R. W. West, Bolton	100.00
New Hope, Raymond	L. W. Jenkins, Edwards	50.00
New Mt. Zion, Raymond	E. B. Nelson, Jackson	50.00
New Salem,, Utica	John White, Raymond	25.00
Orange Hill, Bolton	J. L. Brown, Utica	20.00
Pilgrim Rest, Clinton	W. M. Curley, Vicksburg	50.00
Pilgrim Rest, Edwards	L. C. Carter, Edwards	25.00
Pleasant Hill, Bolton	C. L. West, Bolton	25.00
Rohelia Utica, Utica	L. C. Collins, Jackson	25.00
Seven Star, Utica	Otis Ellis, Jackson	3.00
Shearer Grove, Raymond	L. W. Jenkins, Edwards	25.00
Spring Ridge, Edwards	E. W. Cornelius, Jackson	37.50
St. Luther , Jackson	Fred B. Black, Jackson	100.00
St. Mark, Clinton	Wroten McQuirter, Clinton	15.00
St. Mark, Edwards	P. J. Hopkins, Jackson	15.00
St. Paul, Edwards	Elijah Stamps, Edwards	15.00
St. Peter, Utica	E. E. Spencer, Lorman	100.00
St. Thomas, Bolton	R. W. West, Bolton	125.00
Welcome, Utica	John White, Raymond	50.00
First Baptist Union, John White, President		40.00
Hinds County Singing Convention — Elijah Stamps, President		15.00
Hinds County S. S. Convention — Elijah Stamps, President		25.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$2034.00

REV. R. W. WEST, Moderator
BRO. JOHN BOYD, Secretary
REV. E. D. JACKSON, Missionary

HOLMES COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Belmount, Durant	Rev. Nelson	$ 15.00
Good Hope, Tchula	J. L. Johnson, Greenville	25.00
Nazaree, Tchula	R. L. Luckett, Madison	25.00
Poplar Springs, Lexington	R. J. Joiner, Isola	8.00
Promised Land, Thornton		5.00
Sweet Canaan, Tchula	C. R. Rush, Belzoni	12.00
Zion City, Tchula	C. R. Rush, Belzoni	10.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$ 100.00

REV. C. L. CLARK, Moderator
BRO. W. W. ADAMS, Secretary
REV. R. L. WALKER, Missionary

HUMPHREYS COUNTY M. B. ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Belzoni Chapel, Belzoni	L. R. Chandler, Inverness	$75.00
Calvary, Midnight	L. W. Williams, Greenville	25.00
Christian Valley, Silver City	E. L. Williams, Belzoni	50.00
Day Break Chapel, Belzoni	C. T. Thornton, Leland	15.00
Green Grove, Belzoni	J. D. Thurmon, Belzoni	100.00
Holiday Chapel, Louise	J. H. Johnson, Belzoni	25.00
Jerusalem, Murphy	M. L. Reed, Louise	30.00
Jones Chapel, Tchula	M. C. Valentine, Greenwood	10.00
Love Feast, Midnight	E. S. Hicks, Vicksburg	50.00
Macedonia, Belzoni	A. Cotten, Belzoni	10.00
Mt. Carmel, Belzoni	E. L. Williams, Belzoni	45.00
Mt. Zion, Louise	G. H. Hankins, Hollandale	25.00
Mt. Zion, Midnight	J. E. Birt, Belzoni	13.00
Pilgrim Rest, Isola	R. J. Joiner, Isola	15.00
Pleasant Hill, Louise	J. W. Williams, Greenville	25.00
Refuge Chapel, Tchula	C. H. Gamble, Yazoo City	10.00
Shiloh, Belzoni	C. R. Rush, Belzoni	12.00
Shiloh, Silver City	C. T. Thornton, Leland	20.00
Sure Hope, Silver City	W. M. Harper, Silver City	15.00
Wasp Lake Chapel, Belzoni	I. K. Fuller, Vicksburg	15.00
Weeping Mary, Isola	P. S. Shelton, Greenwood	30.00
White Star, Belzoni	E. L. Williams, Belzoni	60.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$ 545.00

REV. R. J. JOINER, Moderator
REV. C. E. WOODARD, Secretary
REV. A. G. WILLIAMS, Missionary

ISSAQUENA COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Christian Home, Fitler	A. R. Brown, Vicksburg	$ 12.00
Mt. Tabor, Fitler	R. J. Jointer, Cary	10.00
St. Matthew, Fitler	J. C. Clay, Cary	10.00
Association — Special Representation		50.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$ 82.00

REV. R. J. JOINTER, Moderator
BRO. H. S. SIAS, Secretary
REV. H. Y. JOHNSON, Missionary

SARDIS EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Pleasant Green, Water Valley	P. L. Morgan, Winona	$ 10.00
Spring Hill, Pope	P. L. Morgan, Winona	$ 10.00
Association — Special Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$120.00

REV. P. L. MORGAN, Moderator
BRO. C. J. WILLIAMS, Secretary
PROF. C. GRAHAM, Missionary

SARDIS EDUCATIONAL CONVENTION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Concord, Batesville	J. A. Woods, Hernando	$ 15.00
Pilgrim Rest, Batesville	J. M. Rudd, Batesville	10.00
West Camp, Batesville	D. J. Ferguson, Clarksdale	10.00
Special Convention Representation		50.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$ 85.00

REV. J. A. WOODS, President
BRO. W. T. HENDERSON, Secretary
BRO. C. GRAHAM, Missionary

ST. JOHN DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Mt. Carmel, Itta Bena	L. J. Martin, Yazoo City	$ 25.00
New Bethel, Itta Bena	Fred D. Matthews, Itta Bena	40.00
Newton Chapel, Sidon	A. M. Chandler, Greenwood	15.00
Providence, Greenwood	W. L. Terrell, Greenwood	100.00
Strangers Home, Greenwood	David Matthews, Indianola	225.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$405.00

REV. W. L. TERRELL, Moderator
REV. M. C. TARDY, Secretary
REV. P. B. BARNES, Missionary

SUNFLOWER COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Bell Grove, Indianola	David Matthews, Indianola	$125.00
King Solomon, Indianola	W. M. Porter, Indianola	30.00
Mt. Ararat, Moorhead	David Matthews, Indianola	125.00
Mt. Beulah, Indianola	E. E. Evans, Greenville	100.00
New Hope, Blaine	I. J. James, Shaw	15.00
Oak Grove, Inverness	A. M. Chandler, Greenwood	10.00
Pleasant Valley, Inverness	L. R. Chandler, Inverness	50.00
Shady Grove, Inverness	J. H. Johnson, Belzoni	10.00
Swan Lake, Moorhead	W. M. Porter, Indianola	20.00
Union Grove, Sunflower	R. L. Jenkins, Greenville	15.00
Special Association Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$575.00

REV. L. R. CHANDLER, Moderator
REV. JOHN MATTHEWS, Secretary
REV. L. D. FIELDS, Missionary

SUNFLOWER COUNTY GENERAL ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Mt. Galilee, Ruleville	R. W. Ford, Ruleville	$ 25.00
Mt. Zion, Doddsville	C. H. Fleming, Indianola	10.00
Mt. Zion, Indianola	J. E. Birt, Belzoni	15.00
New Jerusalem, Ruleville	A. J. Robinson, Ruleville	25.00
Special Association Representation		150.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$ 225.00

REV. R. W. FORD, Moderator
REV. J. C. BROWN, Secretary

SWANLAKE ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Green Hill, Marks	C. J. Carson, Marks	$ 30.00
New Hope, Jonestown	L. R. Skipper, Clarksdale	25.00
Valley Queen, Marks	L. H. Hill, Marks	50.00
Special Association Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$ 205.00

REV. L. H. HILL, Moderator
BRO. G. C. BROWN, Secretary

Hope Springs Association	$202.00
TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$202.00

REV. A. M. PETERSON, Moderator
REV. J. C. MATTHEWS, Secretary
REV. S. P. JOHNSON, Missionary

Bright Morning Star, Vicksburg	S. S. Imes, Hollandale	50.00
China Grove, Vicksburg	T. R. Ray, Vicksburg	10.00
First Baptist, Vicksburg	J. H. Williams, Vicksburg	50.00
Gospel Temple, Vicksburg	T. R. Ray, Vicksburg	10.00
Greater Mt. Lebanon, Vicksburg	C. C. Claiborne, Tallulah, La.	25.00
Hopewell, Vicksburg	S. Slaughter, Vicksburg	10.00
Jackson Street, Vicksburg	A. W. Wilson, Vicksburg	50.00
King David, Vicksburg	J. A. Miller, Vicksburg	15.00
King Solomon, Vicksburg	B. L. Thomas, Vicksburg	100.00
Mt. Calvary, Vicksburg	E. S. Hicks, Vicksburg	50.00
Mt. Carmel, Vicksburg	W. L. Lassiter, Vicksburg	25.00
Mt. Heroden, Vicksburg	LeVander Kinds, Vicksburg	100.00
Mt. Olive, Vicksburg	W. M. Lacy, Vicksburg	25.00
Mt. Olive, Vicksburg	M. J. Gilbert, Vicksburg	35.00
Mt. Zion, Ball Ground	C. C. Bolden, Vicksburg	45.00
Mt. Zion, Vicksburg	J. A. Miller, Vicksburg	15.00
Mt. Zion, Vicksburg	B. T. McSwine, Greenwood	15.00
Mt. Zion, Vicksburg	J. M. Rivers, Vicksburg	25.00
New Hope, Bovina	W. B. Barnes, Vicksburg	15.00
Pleasant Green, Vicksburg	L. R. Chandler, Inverness	75.00
Pleasant Valley, Vicksburg	E. D. Straughter, Vicksburg	25.00
Rock of Ages, Vicksburg	E. S. Hicks, Vicksburg	50.00
St. James, Vicksburg	A. W. Bell, Valley Park	10.00
St. Mark, Vicksburg	W. M. Randle, Vicksburg	25.00
St. Peter, Vicksburg	S. Slaughter, Vicksburg	10.00
Travelers Rest, Vicksburg	J. H. Williams, Vicksburg	75.00
Triumph, Vicksburg	C. C. Bolden, Vicksburg	50.00
West Harper, Vicksburg	W. M. Curley, Vicksburg	10.00
Zion Traveler Vicksburg	W. M. Curley, Vicksburg	20.00
TOTAL REPRESENTATION		$1205.00

REV. B. L. THOMAS, Moderator
REV. W. M. CURLEY, Secretary
REV. T. H. CHAVIS, Missionary

WARREN COUNTY DISTRICT ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Grove Street, Vicksburg	W. C. Porter, Vicksburg	$ 10.00
Locust Grove, Vicksburg	James Williams, Vicksburg	10.00
Morning Star, Vicksburg	W. C. Porter, Vicksburg	10.00
Mt. Pilgrim, Vicksburg	W. C. Porter, Vicksburg	10.00
Porter Chapel, Vicksburg	C. E. Hudson, Vicksburg	10.00
Stanfield, Vicksburg	C. E. Hudson, Vicksburg	10.00
Special Association Representation		15.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$75.00

REV. W. C. PORTER, Moderator
REV. J. R. JOHNSON, Secretary
REV. C. JOHNSON, Missionary

YAZOO COUNTY BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

Church and Address	Pastor and Address	Representation
Bethel, Carter	J. D. Thurman, Belzoni	$ 25.00
Chapel Hill, Yazoo City	E. L. Williams, Belzoni	100.00
Concord, Bentonia	L. C. Cowan (mssgr) Bentonia	30.00
Galilee, Yazoo City	G. D. Daniels, Yazoo City	10.00
Holly Green, Yazoo City	H. C. Collier, Yazoo City	20.00
King Solomon, Yazoo City	G. H. Hankins, Hollandale	100.00
Liberty, Bentonia	W. C. Davis, Jackson	25.00
Morning Star, Eden	C. R. Rush, Belzoni	10.00
Mt. Nebo, Benton	L. C. Crook, Greenville	15.00
Mt. Olive, Bentonia	S. L. Bowman, Jackson	15.00
Mt. Ollie, Yazoo City	B. T. Miles, Yazoo City	30.00
Mt. Sinai, Yazoo City	E. D. Coleman, Yazoo City	15.00
Mt. Vernon, Yazoo City	John Matthews, Indianola	100.00
New Concord, Bentonia	N. B. Jackson, Canton	35.00
New Foundation, Yazoo City	S. M. Myles, Yazoo City	10.00
New Hope, Satartia	E. D. Hogan, Jackson	15.00
New Hope, Yazoo City	W. H. Carter, Yazoo City	8.00
New King Solomon, Yazoo City	J. W. Williams, Greenville	25.00
New Liberty, Bentonia	J. D. Collins, Greenwood	20.00
New Paradise, Yazoo City	M. L. Reed, Louise	15.00
New Pleasant Grove, Bentonia	R. C. Cox, Memphis, Tenn.	10.00
New Zion, Yazoo City	M. L. Reed, Louise	15.00
Ogden, Bentonia	M. L. Reed, Louise	13.50
Old Pleasant Grove, Bentonia	P. E. Lott, Jackson	20.00
Piney Springs, Lexington	W. H. Carter, Yazoo City	8.00
Rose Hill, Satartia	S. L. Robinson, Yazoo City	15.00
Shady Grove, Valley	H. C. Collier, Yazoo City	15.00
Silver Mound, Yazoo City	S. M. Myles, Yazoo City	9.00
St. Emanuel, Yazoo City	W. L. Terrell, Greenwood	20.00
St. John, Yazoo City	M. S. Grant, Yazoo City	30.00
St. Peter, Yazoo City	J. H. Parker, Leland	100.00
Tokeba, Yazoo City	C. H. Jones, Itta Bena	10.00
Travelers Rest, Satartia	H. C. Collier, Yazoo City	20.00
Triune, Yazoo City	B. T. Miles, Yazoo City	30.00
Tulane, Yazoo City	G. D. Daniels, Yazoo City	100.00
Union, Holly Bluff	G. D. Daniels, Yazoo City	20.00
Bro. Carter Anderson		10.00
Special Association Representation		100.00
	TOTAL REPRESENTATION	$892.00

REV. B. T. MILES, Moderator
REV. S. L. BOWMAN, Secretary
REV. C. H. GAMBLE, Missionary

COMMERCIAL APPEAL

MEMPHIS, TENN., FRIDAY MORNING, APRIL 27, 1962

Durant Newspaper May Lose Contract

Publisher Is Known Critic Of Citizens Council

JACKSON, Miss., April 26. — (UPI)—Hazel Brannon Smith's Durant newspaper could be denied the job of printing Durant's town proceedings under a bill which received a favorable report Wednesday from the House Municipalities Commitee.

Mrs. Smith, a critic of the Citizens' Councils, publishes weekly newspapers in two Holmes County towns, Durant and Lexington. A third weekly is published in Lexington.

The bill, as approved by the Senate, would allow any town which has only one newspaper but is located in a county which has another newspaper to publish its proceedings outside the municipality. Present law requires publication of a town's proceedings in a newspaper in the town.

The municipalities committee amended the bill to apply only to Holmes County.

Its chairman, Representative Bedford Waddell of Copiah County, said he understood the bill "concerned a woman editor who has been writing things which don't go along with the feelings in the community."

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL, MEMPHIS, SUNDAY MORNING, APRIL 29, 1962

Editors Told Reprisal Bill Is Dangerous

From The Commercial Appeal
Jackson, Miss. Bureau

JACKSON, Miss., April 28. — A state legislator Saturday warned Mississippi editors that a pending House bill "aimed at economic reprisal against one editor could affect the rights of all editors."

Representative Karl Wiesenburg of Jackson County said the Senate bill dealing with publication of municipal proceedings in other than a newspaper in the city involved has been amended by a House committee to affect only one newspaper. He said it is aimed at Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith, editor of the Durant News.

"If the Legislature can enact laws to encourage economic reprisal against one newspaper because of its views or editorial policy, your newspaper may very well be the next subject of legislative attack," Mr. Wiesenburg wrote Mississippi editors.

"The tragedy of this is that authors claim to be staunch advocates of state's rights and constitutional government, but this bill strikes a direct blow at the very foundation of constitutional government."

"The House committee action makes me more firmly convinced that it is imperative that the 'right to know' bill be enacted."

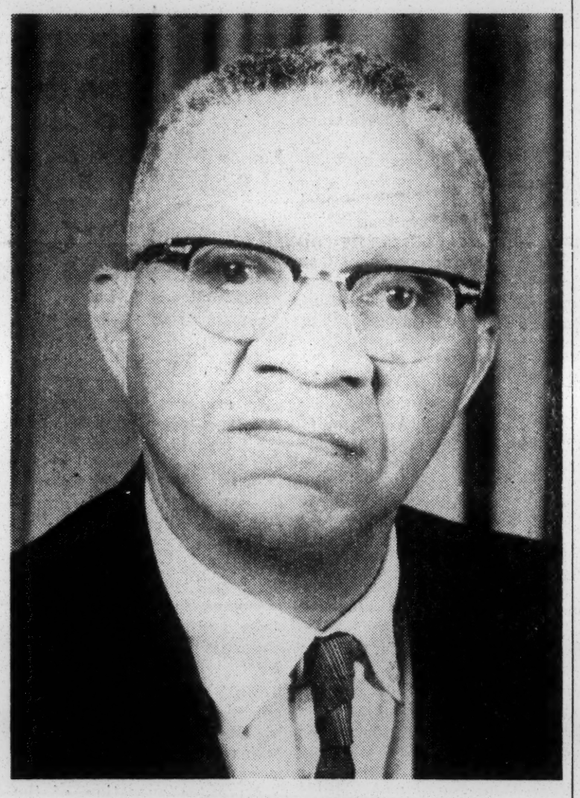
THE BAPTIST OBSERVER

Official Organ Of The General M. B. Convention Of Mississippi

VOLUME III, NUMBER TWO | APRIL EDITION — 1962 | 20c PER COPY

Ex. Secretary Has Many Duties

Rev. C. L. West Is Hard Worker In Gen. Convention



REV. C. L. WEST

The Rev. C. L. West of Bolton, Executive Secretary of the General Missionary Baptist Convention, is one of the hardest-working officers and leaders in the Convention.

For the past eight years he has served the Convention faithfully in this position and in countless ways. He always responds cheerfully when called upon for extra work and obligations.

As Executive Secretary Dr. West is responsible for keeping records of all cenventions held, extended sessions, board meetings and the like. He compiles the official minutes and assists the Convention President and other officers in every way possible.

Together with the president Dr. R. W. West (who happens to be his uncle) and the Rev. W. C. Mazique, Convention treasurer, he is a member of the Executive Committee of the Convention which meets at Natchez College on call.

The Bolton pastor is Vice Moderator of Hinds County Baptist Association and Director General of the Hinds County Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress, as well as corresponding secretary of the First Baptist Union of Hinds County.

He is also Corresponding Secretary of the Education Board of the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

In his convention office, Dr. West must attend each session and extended session of the Convention in July and

Woman's Day Program Held In Edwards At Friendship M. B. Church March 18th

Splendid Program Attracts Group; $154.69 Raised

Quite a period before 2:30

tionals, Deaconesses Cremolia Jones and Elizabeth Smith Song, the host church; Greetings, Mrs. Willette Young; Response, Mrs. Lula Clinton, Mt. Moriah; Solo, Mrs. Maude Smith; "The Occasion", Mrs.

CMC Meeting Set May 2nd

Rev. McSwine Heard On Radio And TV

The Rev. B. T. McSwine, Moderator of the Grenada District Baptist Association, is heard regularly over a Greenwood radio and television station.

Rev. McSwine is heard each Sunday at 8:00 a. m. over WABG Radio Station and seen each first Sunday night at 10:30 on TV Station WABG.

He is the pastor of Union Grove Baptist Church, Greenwood; New Hope Church, Minter City; New Hope Church No. 2, Grenada; and Mt. Zion No. 2, Vicksburg.

The Rev. McSwine is also a Board Member of the General Missionary Baptist State Convention of Mississippi; manager of the Victor Burial Association; manager of the Union Grove Book Store; and president of the Palo Alto Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress.

Rev. B. T. McSwine

The public is invited to listen to his messages each Sunday morning and to view his program each month.

Annual Retreat Held At Baptist Center; Nine State Colleges Are Represented

McDowell Presides; National President Speaks At Banquet

Nine Negro colleges in Mississippi were represented at the Mississippi Baptist Student Union Retreat held at the Baptist Center in Jackson during the last week in

Nineteenth Avenue Baptist Church, Hattiesburg; S. E. Grinstead, director National Baptist Student Department, Nashville, Tenn.; and Dr. Earl Kelly, pastor First Baptist Church, Holly Springs.

Dr. S. Leon Whitney, pastor of the Farish St. Baptist Church in Jackson, led the closing worship service Sunday morning.

Dr. Gayden Asks $1,500 From Ass'n. For Central MC

We take this method to notify the trustees and churches and pastors of Central Missippi College that by order of the president, Mrs. C. A. Garland, that the school will close on the 2nd day of May, 1962. According to the Charter the joint trustee Board will also meet at this time.

The President and teachers have done a fine job of which we all should feel proud. And to pay teachers and other bills of the school for the two last months we must raise $1500.00. If this can be done we all will feel happy having run the whole term with teachers and all bills paid up. But to do this every Association with its Auxiliaries must bring to this board $250.00 each.

Trustees are asked to enroll with $10 each and every pastor is asked to enroll with $8.00 each. Let us not fail at this time. If so we will come out in the red. And if this happens we cannot say that we love our College. We must show ourselves men and women who have the ability to run a college in order to educate our boys and girls that they may go forth in the world helping to make the world better for all people to live and give God glory.

Rev. Grey, chairman of the Executive Board has wrought well with what he had to work with. The teachers were willing to work these last two months, believing that the joint board would pay them at the end. Let us not fail them.

The program will open at 10:00 a. m. The joint board will open at 1:00 p. m. on May the 2nd which is Wednesday after the 5th Sunday.

President Garland will soon have her program in our hands. I say to every member of the board, and to every pastor you cannot afford to miss this great board at this time, at Central Mississppi College at Kosciusko. I feel it will be easy for the Association and its Auxiliaries together to bring $250.00. The cause is great and demanding, and this is the order of the day.

Rev. J. W. Gayden, Box 840, Greenwood, Chairman

Mrs. Mary E. Carr, 144 Allen St., Kosciusko, is Secretary of the Joint Trustee Board.

Wife Of National Convention President Speaks April 15 At Farish Street Church

Women Of Church In Charge Of

special program.

Guest Director Princess B. Jones will be in charge of the choir and Guest Soloist

Seminary President Brings Message At Warren Co. Center

Certificates Are Awarded To Four Seminary Grads

Dr. William P. Davis, president of the Mississippi Baptist Seminary, brought the inspirational address at the fifth term closing service of the Warren County Seminary Center. This program was held at Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church, Cedar Grove, on March 16, at 7:30 p. m.

Four graduates were awarded certificates from the Rev. Compere, Dean of Seminary. Those graduating were Rev. Hosie Phillip, Rev. Wright Lassister, Mrs. Rosie Straughter and Mrs. M. L. Spate, all of Vicksburg.

The program opened with devotional music by the combined choirs, scripture and invocation by the Rev. B. L. Thomas and the devotional address by the Rev. R. G. Burns.

A presentation of special music was given by the Rosa Temple Glee Club preceding remarks and presenting of awards and certificates by Compere.

The Rev. A. W. Wilson served as master of ceremonies.

Closing the program with the benediction was the Rev. Roy Myers.

As Executive Secretary Dr. West is responsible for keeping records of all cenventions held, extended sessions, board meetings and the like. He compiles the official minutes and assists the Convention President and other officers in every way possible.

Together with the president Dr. R. W. West (who happens to be his uncle) and the Rev. W. C. Mazique, Convention treasurer, he is a member of the Executive Committee of the Convention which meets at Natchez College on call.

The Bolton pastor is Vice Moderator of Hinds County Baptist Association and Director General of the Hinds County Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress, as well as corresponding secretary of the First Baptist Union of Hinds County.

He is also Corresponding Secretary of the Education Board of the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc.

In his convention office, Dr. West must attend each session and extended session of the Convention in July and November and the regular board meetings in January and May. In between these meetings he must compile the records, keeping up with the Convention business and be subject to call any time.

One would think this would occupy almost all of his time — but such is not the case.

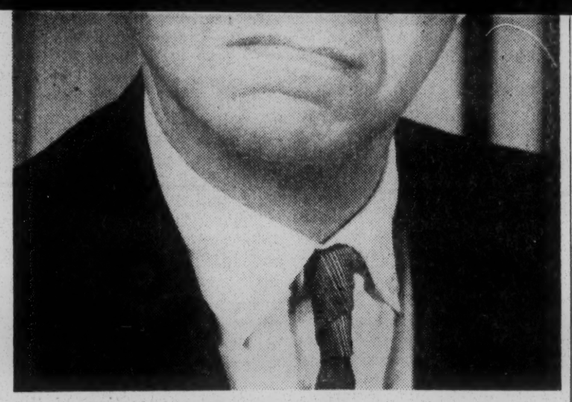
He is pastor of three churches, all of which have full-time programs in Sunday School, BTU and the Women's Auxiliaries.

His own home church, which he has pastored for 33 years, is Pleasant Hill at Bolton. There he holds services each Second Sunday Afternoon.

The Greater Clark Street Baptist Church in Jackson, of which he is also pastor, has about 400 members and two services are held each month. This church he has served for eighteen years.

Dr. West's third church is Friendship Baptist at Edwards where services are held each First and Third

(Continued On Page Two)



REV. C. L. WEST

Woman's Day Program Held In Edwards At Friendship M. B. Church March 18th

Splendid Program Attracts Group; $154.69 Raised

Quite a period before 2:30 p. m., March 18, last, the invited guest-churches and a number of loyal and generous friends of Friendship Missionary Baptist Church met at Edwards.

The Rev. C. L. West, pastor, had made their arrival and were desirously awaiting the time for the WOMAN'S DAY PROGRAM. It was a very beautiful and pleasant afternoon, corresponding exactly with the occasion. The program was well-composed and was directed by Mrs. Nerissa Gray Smith very promptly and graciously.

The churches invited brought greetings and donations as follows: St James (donation); Mt. Moriah, Mrs. Alex Singleton; Orange Hill, Mrs. Jonnie D. Atkison; Kingly Chapel M. E., Miss Lois Flagg; Green Grove, (donation); Greater Clark Street, Jackson (one of the pastors's other churches Deaconess Nannie Edwards. Other numbers on program were: Opening Songs, The Women's Chorus of the host church; Devotionals, Deaconesses Cremolia Jones and Elizabeth Smith Song, the host church; Greetings, Mrs. Willette Young; Response, Mrs. Lula Clinton, Mt. Moriah; Solo, Mrs. Maude Smith; "The Occasion", Mrs. H. C. Hubbard; Song, The Woman's Chorus; "Better Schools and Stronger Churches", Mrs. Emma Jordan, St Mark; Selection, The Womens Chorus from St. Mark; Introduction of Guest Speaker, Mrs. Lottie Dorsey; Guest Speaker, Mrs. Cedella Dozier of Morning Star, Smith Station; Solo, Miss Josephine Wells. "Amazing Grace" was jubilantly sung by the choir and Gospel chorus of the host church. Then came the address from the guest speaker, subject: "Wonderfulness of Womanhood." It was a challenging address, reminding the "fairer sex" of the great influence they wield in the decisions of the destiny of mankind. It was delivered with earnestness and sincerity and with impressiveness. May her tribe be forever on the increase.

The Finance Committee, Mrs. Mary West, Mrs. Lillian C. Marshall, Mrs. Mamie Dargerfield, Miss Annie G.

(Continued On Page Two)

He is the pastor of Union Grove Baptist Church, Greenwood; New Hope Church, Minter City; New Hope Church No. 2, Grenada; and Mt. Zion No. 2, Vicksburg.

The Rev. McSwine is also a Board Member of the General Missionary Baptist State Convention of Mississippi; manager of the Victor Burial Association; manager of the Union Grove Book Store; and president of the Palo Alto Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress.

Rev. B. T. McSwine

The public is invited to listen to his messages each Sunday morning and to view his program each month.

Annual Retreat Held At Baptist Center; Nine State Colleges Are Represented

McDowell Presides; National President Speaks At Banquet

Nine Negro colleges in Mississippi were represented at the Mississippi Baptist Student Union Retreat held at the Baptist Center in Jackson during the last week in March.

"The Baptist Student In Orbit" was the theme of the annual session which was presided over by Fred Mc Dowell, state president, assisted by others. Mr. McDowell is a student at Jackson State College.

The president of the National Baptist Student Union Paul Purdy, was speaker at the banquet. He is also a student at Jackson State.

Principal speakers included Dr. Parks McKittrick, pastor Nineteenth Avenue Baptist Church, Hattiesburg; S. E. Grinstead, director National Baptist Student Department, Nashville, Tenn.; and Dr. Earl Kelly, pastor First Baptist Church, Holly Springs.

Dr. S. Leon Whitney, pastor of the Farish St. Baptist Church in Jackson, led the closing worship service Sunday morning.

Other state Baptist Student Union officers include Joseph Lloyd, Alcorn A & M College, Lorman, vice-president; Elizabeth Towner, Natchez College, Natchez, recording secretary; Yvonne Moore, Prentiss Institute, Prentiss, associate secretary; Ella W. Williams, M. V. C., Itta Bena, stewardship chairman; Emma Butler, Coahoma Junior College, Clarksdale, music chairman; Mary Swington, Coahoma Junior College, Clarksdale, social chairman.

Joining the state Convention Seminary in sponsoring the Retreat were the Department of Work with National Baptists of the Southern Baptists of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board, Atlanta, and the Department of National Baptist Student Union, Nashville.

Deadline for news in May Observer is April 26th. Mail yours today.

Schedule Of Coming Events

April

FIFTH SUNDAY:

Lebanon District S.S. and BTU Congress, one-day session at Lebanon M. B. Church, Lexington, 10:00 a.m. Rev. C. L. Clark, Lexington, is in charge of the program.

May

WEDNESDAY, MAY 2

Meeting at Central Mississippi College in Kosciusko at 10:00 a. m. Joint Trustee Board at 1:00 p. m.

Notice to pastors, church clerks, officers in churches and the convention: Mail The Baptist Observer a notice of your association meetings, revivals, and all other activities of your church and Association so that it will appear in this column every month. Give name, place, date, day and time of meeting.

The May edition of The Observer will be printed on Monday, April 30th. Mail your news for it **TODAY**.

Mail notices to appear in the May issue to the editor, Rev. W. L. Terrell, P. O. Box 205, Greenwood, Miss. by April 25th.

Of interest to all members of churches in the General Missionary Baptist Convention is the report of activities in the foreign mission fields supported by the Southern Baptist Convention. This work is of interest and importance to every Christian. The report appears on page Two.

of the joint trustee Board will also meet at this time.

The President and teachers have done a fine job of which we all should feel proud. And to pay teachers and other bills of the school for the two last months we must raise $1500.00. If this can be done we all will feel happy having run the whole term with teachers and all bills paid up. But to do this every Association with its Auxiliaries must bring to this board $250.00 each.

Trustees are asked to enroll with $10 each and every pastor is asked to enroll with $8.00 each. Let us not fail at this time. If so we will come out in the red. And if this happens we cannot say that we love our College. We must show ourselves men and wo-

10:00 a. m. The joint board will open at 1:00 p. m. on May the 2nd which is Wednesday after the 5th Sunday.

President Garland will soon have her program in our hands. I say to every member of the board, and to every pastor you cannot afford to miss this great board at this time, at Central Mississppi College at Kosciusko. I feel it will be easy for the Association and its Auxiliaries together to bring $250.00. The cause is great and demanding, and this is the order of the day.

Rev. J. W. Gayden, Box 840, Greenwood, Chairman

Mrs. Mary E. Carr, 144 Allen St., Kosciusko, is Secretary of the Joint Trustee Board.

Wife Of National Convention President Speaks April 15 At Farish Street Church

Women Of Church In Charge Of Day's Program

Sunday, April 15, will be a great day in the lives of the members of the Farish Street Baptist Church in Jackson, especially the women members.

Mrs. Maude A. Jackson, wife of the distinguished president of the National Baptist Convention, Dr. Joseph Jackson, will visit the Farish Street Church and be guest speaker for the day's program which will be in charge of the women of the church.

Dr. and Mrs. Jackson have just returned from a trip to India and she is expected to comment on their trip in her address.

Women of the church will serve in all capacities in every department of work in the day's program, according to the Rev. S. Leon Whitney, pastor.

The pastor and all of the church members extend a cordial invitation to everyone to join with them in Sunday's special program.

Guest Director Princess B. Jones will be in charge of the choir and Guest Soloist Ernestine Stutts will sing "The Crucifixion."

Representatives of churches from all over the state are expected to attend.

Pastorial Day Held At Tchula Church

Sunday was regular Pastorial Day at Rosehill Baptist Church, Tchula, Mississippi. In the midst of much rain, both Sunday School and regular worship service were very largely attended. The pastor chose for his morning message Acts 5:3, subject, "Lying Church Members" the pastor emphasized on the tragedy of a lie. After the benediction, the pastor and his guests, Mrs. C. E. Cantrell and Mrs. Hattie Mae Mattlock, Rosehill's pianist, were invited guests for dinner in the home of Bro. and Sister William Wade, where they were elaborately served and royally entertained.

Rev. C. E. Cantrell, Pastor
Mrs. Mae W. Williams, Reporter

tist Seminary, brought the inspirational address at the fifth term closing service of the Warren County Seminary Center. This program was held at Mt. Lebanon Baptist Church, Cedar Grove, on March 16, at 7:30 p. m.

Four graduates were awarded certificates from the Rev. Compere, Dean of Seminary. Those graduating were Rev. Hosie Phillip, Rev. Wright Lassister, Mrs. Rosie Straughter and Mrs. M. L. Spate, all of Vicksburg.

The program opened with devotional music by the combined choirs, scripture and invocation by the Rev. B. L. Thomas and the devotional address by the Rev. R. G. Burns.

A presentation of special music was given by the Rosa Temple Glee Club preceding remarks and presenting of awards and certificates by Compere.

The Rev. A. W. Wilson served as master of ceremonies.

Closing the program with the benediction was the Rev. Roy Myers.

Rev. J. W. Wheeler Rites Held March 21

Funeral services for Rev. J. W. Wheeler of Lexington were held March 21, at 1:00 o'clock from the New Zion M. B. Church in Carroll County.

The Rev. W. M. Saffold officiated.

He was a member of Asia M. B. Church. Surviving are his widow, Mrs. Minnie Wheeler, four daughters, one son, and a host of grandchildren, great grandchildren, and other relatives.

Pallbearers were ministers.

Rev. G. H. Hines, Jr., pastor of Asia M. B. Church of Lexington, was master of ceremonies.

Editorial Board Of The Baptist Observer

Seated: Dr. J. W. Gayden, Greenwood, chairman of the Editorial Advisory Board; Rev. E. E. Spencer, Route 2, Box 54, Lorman, vice chairman; Rev. L. C. Wilcher, Jackson, secretary.

Standing: Rev. W. L. Terrell, Greenwood, editor and treasurer; Rev. L. D. Woodley, Washington; Rev. P. F. Parker, Canton.

Natchez Founders' Day Is Success

Dr. Buck Welcomes Large Audience; Rev. Mazique Brings Great Message

On March 7th all roads in Mississippi led to Natchez where Baptists from throughout the domain of General Missionary Baptist State Convention journeyed to the Bluff City to witness the Seventy-Seventh Birthday celebration of Natchez Junior College Founders' Day.

This annual event equaled, if not surpassed, any of previous years, with high compliments to the president of the college, Dr. J. R. Buck, and his associates for an array of features commensurate to the occasion.

Appreciative and attentive audience virtually filled the large auditorium.

On the morning side, the dean of religion, Dr. C. B. Lewis, supervised the devotional period which was very impressive. Following this, the Dramatics Club presented "Kindom of One", Mrs. Jean C. Wilson, director; member of the faculty. The persons were characterized by: "Amy Bethune", Miss Georgia Collins; "Tommy Bethune", Benjamin Dunbar; "Mr. Potts", James Ivory; "Mrs. Grovw", Miss Annie Bland; "Annabelle Baker", Miss Willie M. Williams; Music, Natchez Jr. College Choir. Each character performed with dexterity; receiving applause from the congregation.

President Buck made expletive comments, then presented the President of the State Convention, Dr. R. W. West. He also commended the course of procedure and emphasized upon the vast needs of more financial support for the college, with a good report to be made at this time

Mrs. Dr. Elnora D. McGowan, president of the Woman's Auxiliary Convention, was then graciously presented. As usual, her expressions were interesting and challenging; exhibited by the respect she was given and the reaction in return. May all three of the presidents be sustained in their endeavors to promote the respective interests devolved upon them, with honor and dignity.

The afternoon was delightfully and inspiringly employed in listening to a magnificent Musical Concert presented by Natchez Junior College Choir under the manipulative directorship of the Rev. Prof. LeVander Kinds, director of music at the college; and adept in that field. The renditions comprised the entire religious field of music.

Then Dr. J. W. Gayder, president of the State SS and BTU Congress, was presented for remarks which are always enlivening and seasoned with wisdom and philosophical inductions.

The climaxing of the occasion was the evening session when, after timely and appropriate devotionals, President West reminded us of the pressing responsibilities we face and of returning to our homes with a determination of going to Grenada in July to report the $60,000 voted by the Executive Board, Jan. 31, this year. He then, in well-selected terms, presented Dr. W. C. Mazique, treasurer of the State Convention, for the sermon of the hour.

In princely decorum, after preliminaries, a text was named from 1 Cor. 3:11 and Matt. 6:33; subject, "The Great Results of Spiritual and Intellectual Inspiration." The minister, first related some historical data pertaining to the groundwork of the school then began his discourse. As he advanced, the capacity-filled chapel went along with him, giving vent to their approval by foot-patting, hand-clapping and sonorous "Amens".

Rev. Mazique is a great pastor of four strong churches, Moderator of A. M. B. Association of Adams County, a recognized member of the National Baptist Convention, U. S. A., Inc., and one who has a warm heart toward all. The effect of his message was evidenced by an offering of $151.56. Total receipts for the occasion was $3,665.12. The Convention is now looking forward to the annual session which will be held in Grenada, Miss., July 17, 18, 19, this year, THE LORD WILLING.

See back page for enrollment at Founder's Day.

Editor's Corner . . . .

JUNIOR COLLEGE TRENDS — The problems of the private junior colleges are often monetary. The older private junior colleges often have little or no endowment. To attract endowment and justify high tuition and campus living costs, the private junior college must, like Stephens, Junior College of Missouri, offer an outstanding often expensive and unique program.

Rev. Terrell

The late Dr. J. R. Wood, of Stephens, used to boast that over ninety per cent of his girls were happily married within two years of graduation. His waggish but envious competitors began asking him what kind of a spouse trap he was running. The boast changed but the college policies continued.

He was a brilliant and wise educator.

The big problem for all junior colleges is the teacher shortage. They are caught between the high schools and high degree grant colleges and universities. But this may soon improve. When a scholarly-minded high school teacher contemplates a change for further professional advancement, he instinctively looks toward the university level colleges offering baccalaureate degrees.

If he has a master's degree in his academic field, is reasonably articulate, has some remote promise of a doctorate and no menacing cloud on his record, he experiences little or no difficulty in getting a probationary appointment in a college or university as instructor with future permanence contingent upon the upgrading of his credentials.

But this is often a tough choice for the ambitious teacher. If he is married, has a growing family, and approaching 40 he may well ask if the future increase in earning power is worth the cost.

* * * *

This situation, within the next few years, may work materially to the advantage of the junior colleges. At present, between the faculty recruitment policies of the secondary schools and the university level colleges, the two-year institutions are being overlooked and by-passed.

But a trend is detectable that is favorable to those junior colleges that have budgets somewhere close to their responsibilities. It stems from the fact that the junior colleges are not under the hammer for such high level credentials for faculty members as are the four-year colleges.

Recent statistics reveal that less than seven per cent of the faculties of the junior colleges in the United States have doctorate degrees. The ratio has been diminishing as a result of senior colleges and universities raiding their faculties for teachers with such qualifications.

Likewise the ratio of junior college facilities with a year of graduate work beyond the master's has been declining even more rapidly from 22 per cent to 17 per cent since 1958. Once again, college teachers in this category high promise of doctoral credentials. Raiding of junior college faculties in this bracket has been heavy.

For instance at the Board Meeting in Jackson, Mississippi, January 31, 1962 we voted a Committee on a Committee or Board on a Board but Dr. Buck, looking into the future and thinking of tomorrow, refused to lower the standard of qualification of a Christian School for the loaves and fishes.

Help Us Grow

The Baptist Observer Wants Your News

Christianity did not come into the

ful special articles concerning the

The Baptist Observer

The March issue of THE BAPTIST OBSERVER was sold for half-price. After checking everything pro and co to just get by, not to make any profit.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES:

One year $3.00—Two years $5.00—6 months $2:00

20 cents per copy

Send your news items to:

W. L. Terrell, Editor

THE BAPTIST OBSERVER

P. O. Box 205, Greenwood, Mississippi

Work In Foreign Mission Field Is Reported By Southern Baptists

The baptism of 34,364 persons, bringing total membership to 475,727, is a tangible 1961 achievement of the 3,627 overseas churches related to Southern Baptist mission work. Baptisms numbered 3,257 more than in 1960.

There were also 6,815 Baptist chapters and mission points overseas at year's end, an increase of 293 over 1960. The number of churches increased by 228.

Contributions through these churches and missions amounted to $3,621,908.56, up $359,618.26 from the year before. Sixty-one per cent of the churches, or 2,204, were self-supporting.

Sunday schools sponsored by the overseas Baptists in 1961 enrolled 419,744 persons; youth organizations, 135,123; Woman's Missionary Unions, 126,931; Brotherhoods, 4,529; and Vacation Bible schools, 116,616.

This information is recorded in the Southern Baptist Foreign Mission Board's 1961 report, a compilation of figures and facts from the countries and territories where Southern Baptist missionaries serve. The annual report will be presented to the Southern Baptist Convention when it meets in San Francisco, Calif., in June.

At the end of 1961 there were 1,548 Southern Baptist missionaries — 657 men, 664 married women, and 227 single women — serving with the churches and missions and in various other phases of Baptist work overseas. The Foreign Mission Board appointed 103 missionaries during

tionals in publication work.

"Any statistical survey is only a partial report of work accomplished in a year of missionary endeavor," said Dr. Baker J. Cauthen, executive secretary of the Foreign Mission Board, in releasing the 1961 information. "For every person baptized there are many others in some stage of inquiry about the gospel of Jesus."

He added that there is no way to measure the impact of Christianity upon ethical and moral standards of the countries where mission work is being done. "In most lands Christian groups have an influence far out of proportation to their numbers," he said.

Grenada Revival At New Hope

Rev. and Mrs. C. E. Cantrell of Greenwood attended one of the meetings in progress at the First New Hope Baptist Church in Grenada pastored by Rev. C. C. Coleman.

Rev. Clyde Adams of Fort Wayne, Indiana was the nationally and internationally known Evangelist for the revival. Prof. Robert Bradley, minister of music from Nashville, Tenn., conducted the singing. The revival was largely attended. Dr. Adams preached a powerful sermon on "Believeth." The Reverend Coleman stated that up to Wednesday there had been 96 decisions for Christ. Ac-

Executive Secretary . .

(Continued from Page One)

Sundays. He has been pastor at Edwards for eleven years.

Dr. West has pastored other churches in his ministerial career but the three mentioned have taken up the major portion of his time.

Teacher, Too

The foregoing sounds like Dr. West has been a pretty busy man all his life. Certainly three church pastorates would be enough to enrich and bring lasting satisfaction into a man's life who wants to serve humanity.

But Secretary West has also chalked up 28 years in the teaching profession. Up until 1953 he taught in the schools of Hinds County and was principal of the Brownsville School, near Bolton, for many years.

Early Families

Secretary West is a member of an early family in the Bolton area. His parents were the late Rev. John W. and Mary E. West, prominent residents of the community.

He attended Mt. Zion School in Hinds County then went to Natchez College for his High School and college work where he received an A. B. degree in Education. Later he received a B. Th. degree from Mississippi Baptist Seminary in Jackson.

Mrs. C. L. West

Dr. West's wife is the former Miss Mary Williams of Bolton, to whom he was married in 1922.

Mrs. West has been in the teaching profession for many years in Hinds County and currently teaches Second Grade at Reuben Jr. High School.

She is a graduate of Jackson College.

Mrs. West, too, is an able and busy person.

She is active in Sunday School, Baptist Training Union and the Women's Auxiliaries. She is now serving as treasurer of the Song Leaders Department of Hinds County SS and BTU Congress and is a former president of the Junior Matrons Department in the Women's Auxiliary of Hinds County.

One Child

The Wests' have only one child, a daughter, Mrs. Mary Ardelia West Smith, who teaches at Isabel School on Hill Avenue in Jackson. She is married to James B. Smith and they reside at 1342 Fairmont Avenue. Mr. Smith is principal of the Reynolds

Church School Lesson For April

Lesson No. 1 **April 1, 1962**
"CHRIST — CENTER OF OUR FAITH"
Printed Text: 1 Timothy 1:12-17; 2:3-6:11, 12.
Golden Text: 1 Timothy 2:5.

Lesson No. 2 **April 8, 1962**
"TOWARD A MATURE FAITH"
Printed Text: 2 Timothy 1:3-7; 3:10-17.
Golden Text: 2 Peter 3:18.

Lesson No. 3 **April 15, 1962**
"LIVING IN THE LIGHT OF THE CROSS"
Printed Text: Titus 2:11-3:8.
Golden Text: Gal. 2:20.

Lesson No. 4 **April 22, 1962**
"CHRIST REIGNS"
Printed Text: Hebrews 1:1-12.
Golden Text: Rev. 5:12.

Lesson No. 5 **April 29, 1962**
Printed Text: Hebrews 10:23-25; 12:1-7,11-14.
Golden Text: Hebrew 10:36.

Donald E. Smith, 3 years old.

Reads A Lot

When asked how he liked to spend his time when he wasn't busy pastoring, visiting church members and the sick, or performing a myriad of Convention duties, Rev. West replied he loves to read and also works a small vegetable garden himself. Ever so often he will take his grandchildren fishing.

"I like to keep up with what's going on," the Rev. West said.

He reads the newspapers daily and religious magazines and enjoys television and radio.

Most of all, however, he enjoys reading and studying his Bible and the commentaries in preparing his sermons.

An extra avocation of the Rev. West may be said to be traveling.

He loves to travel in various sections of this great nation and has visited in many states attending annual conventions of the National Baptist Convention of the U. S. A., Inc. and he hasn't missed a gathering of this body since 1932. He plans to go to Chicago when it meets there in September. In fact, he is a member of the Transportation Committee for both

cago.

Philosophy

When the reporter asked the Rev. West if his philosophy of life could be summed up in a few words what would they be, he replied:

"Well, I like the 23rd Psalm, and also the rhyme we all remember from childhood:

"If a task is once begun
Never leave it 'til
it's done
Be the labor great
or small
Do it well, or not
at all."

After a two-hour pleasant interview with the Rev. and Mrs. West, your reporter would say that he practices what he preaches — and that he, indeed, does perform many tasks well.

Women's Day . . .

(Continued from Page One)

Jackson and Mrs. Elnora D. McGowan, received the contributions. The chairman of the Program Committee, Mrs. Nannie Barker, made timely remarks, followed by expressions by the pastor. The total receipts for the occasion and for the day amounted to $154.69. After the benediction was pronounced, refreshments were served, with everyone departing, feeling uplifted

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Help Us Grow

The Baptist Observer Wants Your News

Christianity did not come into the world through the editorial page; it came through the news story.

* * * *

Were those special services in your church last Sunday reported in your local paper? And that interesting talk to the church school, given in costume by the missionary, or that great sermon preached by the pastor? Too bad it was not reported! Many who should have heard it never come to church school; or to the worship service, but they might have read it if it had been in the newspaper (Baptist Observer) And how Grandma Charters would have enjoyed it! She cannot get out much any more, but she likes to know what is going on.

Every community boasts a local newspaper, daily or weekly; in some areas there are several within a radius of twenty or twenty-five miles.

Most of these papers are as eager for news stories about the church as they are for the shorter news items.

As a Christian paper, you have a responsibility to serve this local press.

Often a well written report of some special service or project will help thousands of people.

The national, regional, and state denominational papers, many of them weeklies, provide a splendid market for the news feature. The new Baptist Observer will carry all of your Church news. Not only do we welcome thoughtful special articles concerning the churches of this denomination, but also we use timely general articles.

We need realistic discussions of recent happenings, character sketches of oustanding persons, historical articles which have bearing on some current topic or event, character-building articles, Christian family-life items, articles on social conditions, and articles concerning such subjects as temperance and juvenile delinquency.

In spite of the power of the radio and television, the newspaper is still considered the single factor in molding thought and public opinion. Think of the Christian influence you can exert through a constant stream of stimulating contributions!

Whether your community is large or small, city or country, you can prepare newsworthy articles concerning its churches and their activities. Special services, annual meetings, elections, conferences, camps, vacation church schools, weekday religious education — the possibilities are endless. Women's missionary circles, men's brotherhoods, youth fellowships, junior clubs, all have active programs which will yield interesting articles. Send to The Baptist Observer, we are asking all of your churches to send in your news and read what others are doing. We need your help to make this a great Christian Publication.

REV. W. L. TERRELL, Editor

Lebanon District Women's Ass'n. Holds Drive

The Lebanon District Women's Association held its one day Educational Drive Sunday, March 26, at the Hyman Chapel M. B. Church at Sidon.

The Rev. D. G. Green is pastor of the Sidon church.

A total of $240.04 was raised to be used by Natchez Jr. College and C. M. C. College of Kosciusko.

The meeting was attended by 300 to 400 people.

A special feature was the mother and baby pageant conducted by Mrs. M. L. Colbert of Tchula. The babies reported as follows: Baby Sutton, Mt. Calvary (third place) — $15.60; Pamela Jordan, Hyman Chapel — $4.92; Eddie Mae Oliphant, Spring Valley — $12.31; Sylvester Taylor, Mt. Pleasant — $2.00; James Markus Montgomery, Aisa — $8.00; Sam Ella Sample, Hyman Chapel — $1.40; Jeraldine Ross, Holly Grove — $6.50; Jones Chapel, donation — $4.00; Union Paradise, donation — $2.00.

Mt. Pisgah, first place, sponsored by Mozelle Humphrey, $24.59; Sunny Mt., donation, $6.00; Union Grove, Baby Wilkes, (second place), $15.15 Grand total raised, Baby Pageant, $105.04.

A fine sermon was preached by Rev. S. G. Carey of Lexington.

Mrs. Callie Friar, president
(Mrs.) Nathalee Clark, sec'y

THE BAPTIST OBSERVER

REV. W. L. TERRELL, Editor

The Official Journal of the General Missionary Baptist Convention of Mississippi published monthly at Greenwood, Mississippi. Address all Correspondence to Rev. W. L. Terrell, P. O. Box 205, Greenwood, Miss.

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At the end of 1961 there were 1,548 Southern Baptist missionaries — 657 men, 664 married women, and 227 single women — serving with the churches and missions and in various other phases of Baptist work overseas. The Foreign Mission Board appointed 103 missionaries during the year, for a net gain of 68 after retirements and resignations.

The new missionaries included the first for Germany (to do English-speaking work) and the French West Indies, bringing the number of geographical entities served by the Board to 47 at the year's end — 15 in Latin America, 14 in the Orient, four in the Near East, eight in Africa, and six in Europe. (Foreign missionaries also serve at the Baptist Spanish Publishing House in El Paso, Tex., and on loan in Hawaii where responsibility for Baptist work was transferred from the Board to the Hawaii Baptist Convention at the close of 1960.)

Missionaries worked alongside 3,665 nationals who were engaged in church-related vocations, 1,725 of them ordained ministers. (Last year saw the ordination of the first national pastors in the history of Southern Baptist missions in Tanganyika and Peru.)

Helping to train nationals for leadership in their churches and countries were 1,026 Baptist schools, with enrollments totaling 162,462. These included 38 theological seminaries, with 1,191 students; six women's training schools with 370; 27 colleges and teacher training schools, with 9,410; 93 secondary schools, with 26,204; 700 elementary schools, with 115,474; 156 kindergartens, with 9,678; and six other schools, with 135. On the faculties were 305 missionaries and 5,687 nationals.

Ten good will centers, staffed by 13 missionaries and 39 nationals, enrolled 3,033 children and 1,567 adults. And 16 orphanages, staffed by six missionaries and 74 nationals, cared for 315 boys and 331 girls.

Medical treatment was given to 299,824 patients in 1961 by 18 Baptist hospitals overseas and 56 clinics and dispensaries (three new dental clinics were opened). Serving these medical centers were 56 missionary doctors, 96 national doctors, 55 missionary nurses, 240 national nurses, 28 other missionaries, and 726 other nationals.

Sixteen publishing centers produced 240,000 copies of the Bible, 4,505,939 copies of 233 periodicals, 506,665 copies of 164 books, and 13,202,890 copies of 345 tracts. There were 57 missionaries and 437 na-

countries where mission work is being done. "In most lands Christian groups have an influence far out of proportation to their numbers," he said.

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Be Sure And Attend The Church Of Your This Sunday And Every Sunday!

mer Miss Mary Williams of Bolton, to whom he was married in 1922.

Mrs. West has been in the teaching profession for many years in Hinds County and currently teaches Second Grade at Reuben Jr. High School.

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There are five children who brighten the homes and hearts of their parents and grandparents: James B. Smith, Jr., nearly 16; Curtis West Smith, 14, named for his grandfather; one daughter, Jonnie Roberta Smith, 12; Paul R. Smith, 7; and

of Convention duties. Rev. West replied he loves to read and also works a small vegetable garden himself. Ever so often he will take his grandchildren fishing.

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The Rev. and Mrs. West both plan to make the trip to Denver along with about 300 other Baptists from the state. Some 500 from Mississippi are expected to attend the September convention in Chi-

"Well, I like the 23rd Psalm, and also the rhyme we all remember from childhood:

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(Mrs. Lillian C. Marshall, Church Clerk)

Information From The President Of The General Missionary Baptist State Convention Of Mississippi

To the Pastors, Moderators of county and district Associations, Executive Board Members, Presidents of the Auxiliaries and of other organizations cooperating with The General Missionary Baptist State Convention of Mississippi:

Dear Co-Workers:

In looking forward to the coming Annual Session of our State Convention, to be held with the Baptist Churches of Grenada, July 17, 18, 19, this year, the Executive Board met at Farish Street Baptist Church, Mississippi, Rev. S. Leon Whitney, Pastor, January 31, last, and the following recommendations were proposed and adopted for action for the coming session:

PERSONAL ENROLLMENT

Officers of the Convention	$125 each
Executive Board Members	75 each
Pastors	50 each
Ordained Ministers (not pastoring)	25 each
Licentiates (local ministers)	10 each
Annual Members	10 each

REPRESENTATION

Each County and/or District Association (as a unit)	$ 100.00
The Woman's Auxiliary State Convention	5,000,00
The State Sunday School and Training Union Congress	1,000.00
The State Ushers Auxiliary	500.00
The State Laymen Unit	250.00

CHURCH REPRESENTATION

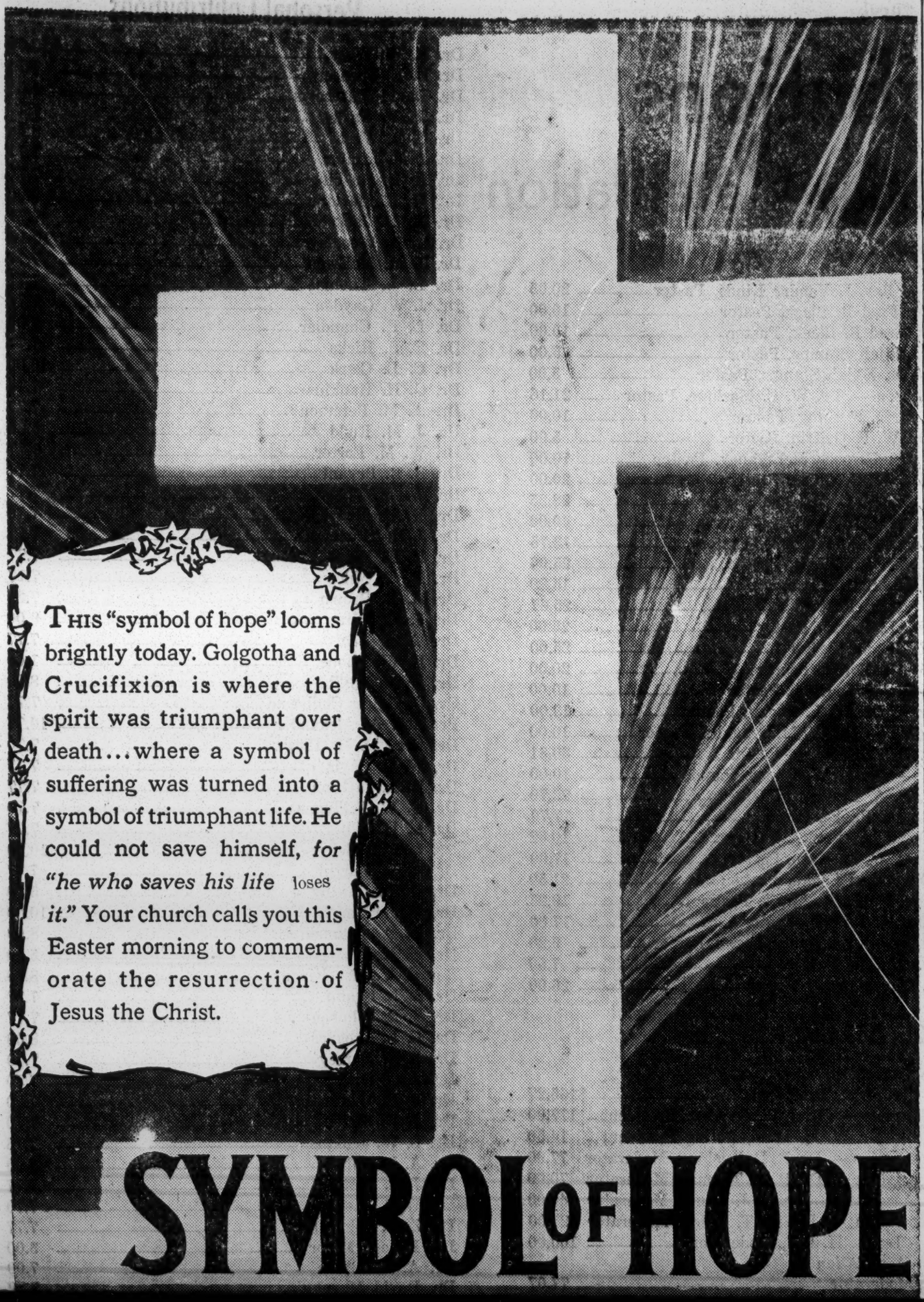
A church with 3 to 10 members	$ 15.00
A church with 11 to 20 members	25.00
A church with 21 to 40 members	50.00
A church with 41 to 60 members	75.00
A church with 61 to 100 members	100.00
A church with 101 to 125 members	125.00
A church with 126 to 150 members	150.00
A church with 151 to 175 members	175.00
A church with 176 to 200 members	200.00
A church with 201 to 250 members	225.00
A church with over 250 members	250.00

THE GOAL — $60,000.00

May each co-worker and each organization strive to bring to, and report in, the convention the personal enrollment and representation as his case may be which will enable the Convention to satisfy its creditors and also keep the door of our school open for continuous service in the field of Christian education.

With faith and confidence in your prompt response, I am,

Yours to serve,
R. W. WEST, President


THIS "symbol of hope" looms brightly today. Golgotha and Crucifixion is where the spirit was triumphant over death... where a symbol of suffering was turned into a symbol of triumphant life. He could not save himself, *for "he who saves his life loses it."* Your church calls you this Easter morning to commemorate the resurrection of Jesus the Christ.
SYMBOL OF HOPE

Rev. Chandler To Preside At Convention

The Rev. A. M. Chandler, president, will preside at the St. John District Singing Convention on April 26, 27, and 29th.

This Fifth Sunday Session will be held at the New prospect Baptist Church of Swifttown.

All choirs of the district are urged to attend as well as officers, members and interested persons.

Mrs. Jo Ann Houston is Convention secretary.

Rev. A. M. Chandler

Revival Schedule For April

A Revival began on March 26, at the Jones Chapel M. B. Church at Greenwood. The Rev. R. B. Harris, Canton, was the Evangelist.

Rev. C. L. Clark, Pastor
Bro. Aaron Gordon, Sec'y.

A fine revival was held April 2-6 at Mt. Calvary M.B. Church at Tchula. The Rev. R. L. Butler, Greenville was the Evangelist.

Rev. C. L. Clark, Paster
Mrs. F. P. Johnson, Sec'y.

Beulah Land M. B. Church, Yazoo City will hold a revival April 16-20. The Rev. W. M. Saffold, Lexington, will be the visiting Evangelist.

Rev. C. L. Clark, Pastor
Bro. Milton Stewart, Sec'y

The annual revival at Asia M. B. Church, Lexington, will be conducted April 16-20. The Rev. T. B. Brown, Jackson will be the Evangelist for this series of meetings.

Rev. G. H. Hines, Jr., Pastor
Mrs. Jeanette Epps, Sec'y

Notice to pastors: Mail the editor dates of your coming revivals for May and June by April 25th, or as soon as possible.

Youth Day Held At Lebanon Church On March 18th

Youth Day was held at the Lebanon M. B. Church Sunday, March 18.

The pastor, Rev. A. Barron, chose for his text: "Remember Thy Creator in the days of thy youth, Ecclesiastes 12-1."

The theme for the program was "Youth's Role as Saints For God."

Gaspee Waddell, the speaker, gave a very inspirational address from the theme.

O. W. Hodges, Jr. was master of ceremonies.

The young people had charge of all activities for the day.

Money raised was $118.00

Rev. A. Barron, Pastor
Bro. D. L. Kimbrough, Sec'y.

Baptist Ministers In Convention Promote Observer

Other Pastors Are Needed To Help Sell Newspaper

A number of Baptist ministers throughout the state have volunteered their efforts in promoting the sale of The Baptist Observer during the month of April.

Dr. W. P. Davis, president of the Baptist Seminary, is helping us all he can with The Observer. He has told officers and the Convention itself how important he thinks it is that we have a newspaper voice for Negro Baptists in Mississippi.

Dr. Davis is going to try to sell 1,000 copies of the paper for us in April.

Let us all do what we can.

Those who have indicated they will sell 100 or more copies of The Baptist Observer during this period are as follows:

Dr. William P. Davis, Jackson; Dr. E. E. Spencer, Lorman; Dr. L. C. Wilcher, Jackon; Dr. J. W. Gayden, Greenwood; Dr. C. C. Coleman, Grenada; Dr. W. L. Terrell, Greenwood; Dr. L. D. Woodly, Washington; Dr. P. F. Parker, Canton; Dr. C. L. West, Bolton and Dr. C. L. Clark, Lexington.

We need many, many others to order and sell copies of The Baptist Observer. We must sell 3,000 copies. Won't you send in your order, Mr. Pastor, and see that every family in your church gets a copy? Thank you.

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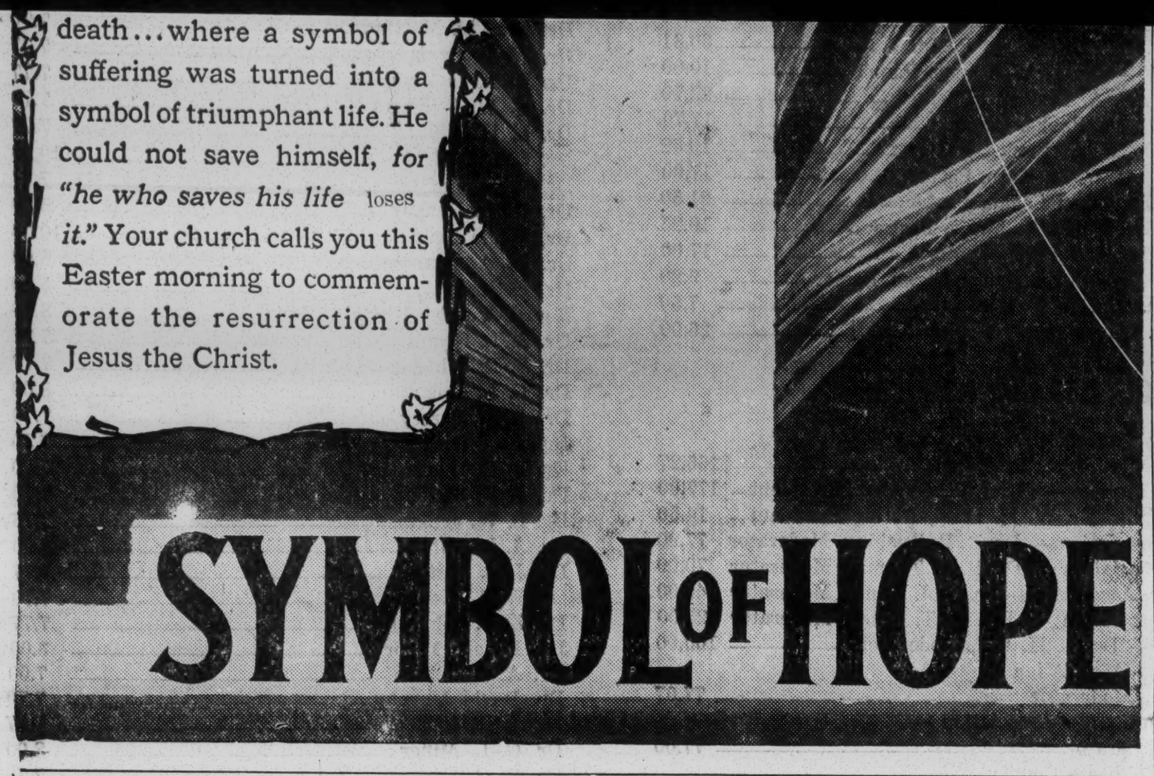
Additional State Convention Reports

Gulfport - Delayed

The following reports were mailed in by Secretary C. L. West following the Founder's Day Program at Natchez on March 7th.



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Grenada; Dr. W. L. Terrell, Greenwood; Dr. L. D. Woodly, Washington; Dr. P. F. Parker, Cantor; Dr. C. L. West, Bolton and Dr. C. L. Clark, Lexington.

We need many, many others to order and sell copies of The Baptist Observer. We must sell 3,000 copies. Won't you send in your order, Mr. Pastor, and see that every family in your church gets a copy? Thank you.

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Jackson District M. B. Association

Church	Post Office	Pastor	Post Office	Representation
Cade Chapel	Jackson	J. D. Hayden	Tougaloo	$ 25.00
Canny Creek	Jackson	S. L. Spann	Jackson	10.00
Cherry Grove	Jackson	W. C. Davis	Jackson	25.00
Fairfield	Jackson	R. L. White	Jackson	5.00
Fairview	Jackson	R. H. Walls	Jackson	50.00
Farish Street	Jackson	S. Leon Whitney	Jackson	125.00
Free Mission	Jackson	E. D. Terry	Jackson	15.00
Friendship	Jackson	L. H. Newsom	Jackson	15.00
Greater North Side	Jackson	A. B. Brown	Jackson	30.00
Howard Chapel	Jackson	P. H. Howard	Jackson	12.50
Johnson Chapel	Jackson	R. L. Plump	Jackson	15.00
McRaven Hill	Jackson	W. W. Pace	Jackson	25.00
Morning Star	Jackson	P. E. Lott	Jackson	25.00
Mt. Bethel	Jackson	J. H. Hardy	Jackson	10.00
Mt. Helm	Jackson	T. B. Brown	Jackson	100.00
Mt. Nebo	Jackson	Fred B. Black	Jackson	100.00
Nazareth	Jackson	L. L. Williams	Jackson	5.00
New Hope	Jackson	L. C. Pickens	Jackson	25.00
New Hope	Jackson	G. C. Hunte	Jackson	15.00
New Mt. Zion	Jackson	B. D. Rushing	Jackson	100.00
Pleasant Gift	Jackson	M. Johnson	Jackson	10.00
Pleasant Hill	Jackson	J. C. McClinty	Jackson	5.00
Progressive	Jackson	L. H. Newsom	Jackson	75.00
Rosemont	Jackson	C. B. Bingham	Jackson	45.00
Solomon Temple	Jackson	A. W. Bell	Jackson	10.00
St. James	Jackson	O. D. Brown	Jackson	65.00
St. Peter	Jackson	B. D. Rushing	Jackson	100.00
Strangers Home	Jackson	G. C. Carroll	Jackson	15.00
True Light	Jackson	R. H. Walls	Jackson	50.00
True Light	Canton	E. C. Johnson	Canton	10.00
Special Association Representation				50.00
Total Representation				$1,187.50

REV. B. D. RUSHING, Moderator
REV. S. L. SPANN, Secretary
REV. J. W. COLLINS, Missionary
REV. O. L. LLOYD, Missionary

Lebanon District Association

Church	Post Office	Pastor	Post Office	Representation
Asia	Lexington	George H. Hines, Jr.	Jackson	$ 25.00
Holly Grove	Lexington	C. D. Brown	Jackson	15.00
Jones Chapel	Greenwood	C. L. Clark	Lexington	50.00
Mt. Calvary	Tchula	C. L. Clark	Lexington	50.00
Mt. Pisgah	Sidon	J. W. Gayden	Greenwood	250.00
New Foundation	Yazoo City	T. E. Birt	Yazoo City	25.00
New Jerusalem	Yazoo City	E. W. Weathers	Yazoo City	10.00
New Tabernacle	Yazoo City	W. H. Carter	Yazoo City	20.00
Rose Hill	Yazoo City	E. A. Hogan	Jackson	20.00
Union Grove	Lexington	C. D. Brown	Jackson	30.00
Special Association Representation				$100.36
Total Representation				$595.36

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Natchez Junior College 77th Birthday Celebration

March 7, 1962 Total Receipts For The Occasion $3,665.12

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True Light, Jackson — Dr. R. H. Walls, Pastor	$ 8.70
Pleasant Green, Vicksburg — Dr. L. R. Chandler, Pastor	20.00
Belzoni Chapel, Belzoni — Dr. L. R. Chandler, Pastor	9.00
Cherry Grove, Edwards — Dr. A. M. Peterson, Pastor	14.00
St. Matthews — Dr. W. M. Wells, Pastor	5.00
County Line, Pocahontas — Dr. E. D. Jackson, Pastor	2.70
Rose Hill, Woodville — Dr. Allen Scott, Pastor	5.00
Mt. Olive, Woodville — Dr. Allen Scott, Pastor	5.00
King Solomon, Woodville — Dr. Allen Scott, Pastor	5.00
Kingford, Woodville — Dr. Allen Scott, Pastor	5.00
China Grove, Jackson — Dr. S. P. Johnson, Pastor	8.90
Pilgrim Rest, Batesville — Dr. J. M. Rudd, Pastor	32.00
St. Thomas, Bolton — Dr. R. W. West, Pastor	41.27
Mt. Zion, Raymond — Dr. R. W. West, Pastor	35.03
Morning Star, Learned — Dr. R. W. West, Pastor	15.04
Elbethel, Bolton — Dr. R. W. West, Pastor	20.25
First New Hope, Grenada — Dr. C. C. Coleman, Pastor	60.00
Strangers Home, Greenwood — Dr. David Matthews, Pastor	32.00
College Hill, Jackson — Dr. W. M. Walton, Pastor	50.00
First Baptist, Clarksdale — Mr. M. D. Upchurch, Clerk	15.00
Beulah Land, Yazoo City — Dr. C. L. Clark, Pastor	25.00
Jones Chapel, Greenwood — Dr. C. L. Clark, Pastor	25.00
Mt. Calvary — Dr. C. L. Clark, Pastor	10.26
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Good Hope, Crystal Springs — Dr. D. D. Smith, Pastor	20.52
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Rising Sun, Port Gibson — Dr. C. Cedric Claiborne, Pastor	43.85
Second Baptist, Port Gibson — Dr. M. J. Gilbert, Pastor	8.23
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Pleasant Valley, Vicksburg — Dr. E. D. Straughter, Pastor	7.73
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Farish Street, Jackson — Dr. S. Leon Whitney, Pastor	58.85
Mt. Heroden, Vicksburg — Rev. LeVander Kinds, Pastor	20.05
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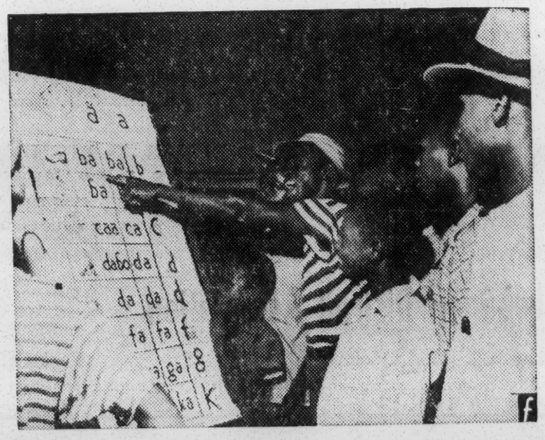

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MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS

"The Truth Shall Make You Free"

Volume One — Number Twenty-One | Jackson, Mississippi — Saturday, May 5, 1962 | 10 Cents Per Copy

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Respect For Sandra Holderfield

We are in profound sympathy with you, your relatives and friends. We never knew Sandra, but we are extending our respects because she was human, and above all she was trying, what we (Negroes) have attempted for so very long, to extend a helping hand or brotherly-love to the unappreciative.

We are sure you have never placed any trust in a Negro, probably you were advised from birth not to, but don't you think it is getting quite ridiculous when you can't even trust your own?

In the newspaper, they portrayed Slyter of being from every state except that of which he really is, Mississippi. Deep within they knew only a southern small minded white man could commit such a brutal inhuman crime as that. Not a Negro; take the Emmit Till case, the Parker case, the cruel treatment of the Freedom Riders; the release of police dogs and inhuman beatings from policemen on innocent people the shooting of Corporal Ducksworth and now Sandra. O God, what will your people think of next?

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Will your people, strong supporters of what's right, as claimed, convict Slyter for your sake, or will they attempt to convince the (Negroes) that a white man could not be that cruel and let him go, with hopes that he was Negro?

Oh, well I am sure they will find something to convict him of, maybe the breach of peace or disorderly conduct or just ignorance. It's the law, is it not?

If he was a Negro, would it matter to them whether or not he was sane or insane? Would he be given a chance to plea not guilty, even if he was not?

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Six students were arrested while picketing another drug store where four of them had previously been arrested for sitting in. These four were later fined $100 each and their cases are being appealed.

The protest marchers were met two blocks from the college by 40 to 50 state and city police armed with fire hoses, clubs, and tear gas. City Counsel Byron Boyett was also there.

Boyett warned the marchers that they were violating the law because they had no parade permit. When the students insisted on continuing their protest, the police attacked with clubs.

One student who was injured said the police made every effort to strike young men in the groin with their clubs. The students sang throughout and did not strike back.

Finally they were driven back to the college gate, where the police stopped beating them. Many of the victims not only had severe bruises but also cuts inflicted by some sharp instrument.

Local Sorority Plans May Week Celebration

The Jackson Alumnae Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc. invites the public to attend its May Week celebration.

Speakers for the occasion will be Mrs. Claire C. Harvey, Attorney Carsie Hall and Mr. V. R. Collier.

"Intensifying Social Action in the Community" is the theme of the program which will be held in the Pratt Memorial Methodist Church, Sunday May 6th at 4:00 p. m.

The Negro race is struggling for recognition as of human status. The white race having benefitted economically from the present status objects strenuously.

Successful citizenship is the practice of good relationship between and among people or citizens.

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With the closing of three long established firms, The Fowler Cigar and Tobacco Company that did a good business with Negro stores in the outlying area, The Bings Nations Foodstore and the Smart Shop largely frequented by Negroes we hope will suggest a change of pattern of the stores still in operation. There are more empty buildings in downtown Clarksdale than any of the oldtimers remember seeing in History.

The Federated Council of Organizations which holds its mass meetings every Wednesday night, every month tries to get a conference with the downtown merchants to resolve the differences. To date only a few have agreed to talk about the problem, even fewer have agreed to our request, until the down town merchants agree to treat us fair, they need'nt look for us over there.

Three NAACP leaders are still under jail sentence of six months and $500.00 fines, yet they and the movement goes on.

ANNUAL PROGRAM OF THE REGIONAL COUNCIL OF NEGRO LEADERSHIP MAY 13

On Sunday, May 13, the Annual Program of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership will be held in Mound Bayou, Mississippi.

Workshops in all areas of Civil Rights will be conducted.

Rev. Merrill Winston Lindsey will speak at 8:00 p. m. at the Bethel AME Church.

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If he was a Negro, would it matter to them whether or not he was sane or insane? Would he be given a chance to plea not guilty, even if he was not?

Again we extend our sympathy.

Sincerely.

Negro Vote Increase Noted In Florida

Tallahassee, Florida — The number of Negroes registered to vote in Florida shows an increase of 19,329 over 1960 and now totals 182,456, Florida's Secretary of State reported this week.

Significent gains were made in cities and counties where local units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People conducted registration drives. These include the cities of Tampa, Jacksonville, Miami Orlando and West Palm Beach and Pinellas and Lee Counties.

Negro registration in Pinellas County site of St. Petersburg and Clearwater, was up 43 per cent, from 4,955 to 7,000, NAACP Field Secretary Robert W. Saunders reports. In Tampa where the NAACP also conducted an intensive drive there was also a 43 per cent increase, from 11,277 to 16,175. The increase in Lee County was more than 50 per cent, from 1,147 to 1,821.

Other significant increases were registered in Jacksonville — 23,513 to 26,874; Miami — 22,356 to 30,519; Orlando — 3,266 to 4,328; and West Palm Beach — 6,977 to 8,634.

The gains were made, Mr. Saunders said despite the loss of some 2,000 Negro voters who, forced to move by public developments, failed to register their new addresses. Also there were losses due to failure to vote in at least one major election during a two-year peroid as required by law.

Registration reopens in May and the NAACP state organization has formulated plans to involve all its local units in intensified drives to add at least

(Continued from Page Three)

U. S. Gov't. Rejects Segregated Training School Apprentices

The United States Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training is advising its St. Louis, Missouri, staff it will no longer register apprenticeship programs using the David Ranken Jr. School of Mechanical Trades for related instruction classes. In addition, registration will be withdrawn from apprenticeship programs which continue to send apprentices to the school after the current semester. Withdrawal of registration means that apprentices studying at the school will be disqualified from working on construction projects for which the Secretary of Labor predetermines prevailing wages.

Reason for this action is that the David Ranken School denies the use of its educational facilities to all except male Caucasians. An investigation revealed, Edw. E. Goshen, Director of the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, said, that Negroes are banned from attending the school under conditions set down by the founder, David Ranken, Jr. These rules have been in effect since the privately endowed, nonprofit institution was founded.

"The same withdrawal of registration will apply to apprenticeship programs using segregated schools in other parts of the country," Mr. Goshen said. "When trained manpower is so necessary to our economy, we cannot afford to withhold training opportunities from any segment of our population. Minority groups must be given the advantage of education and

(Continued on Page Three)

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Every area of the state, from Clarksdale in the Delta to the Mississippi Gulf Coast, was represented in the group of men and women, white and Negro, which gathered by invitation on the campus of Tougaloo Southern Christian College near Jackson Thursday afternoon, May 3, in a three-hour organizational meeting marked by harmony and accord.

Dr. A. D. Beittel, white president of Tougaloo, a Negro church-owned college, was elected president of the Council. He was not present at the meeting Thursday, being in Washington at the time. His consent to serve in the position of president was given Thursday night by telephone.

Because of Dr. Beittel's absence, the list of officers elected by the Council was not released to the press until Friday.

They are Dr. Beittel, president; three regional vice presidents, ~~Bishop Joseph Brunini, Jackson;~~ Dr. D. I. Horn, Jr., West Point, and Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Hattiesburg; Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson, Clarksdale, secretary; I. S. Sanders, Jackson, treasurer; members of the Executive Committee, Rev. Henry Clay of Laurel, Aaron Henry of Clarksdale and Mrs. Wallis I. Schutt, Jackson.

Purpose Declared

The declaration of purpose formally adopted by the group was:

Believing that all men are of equal worth in the sight of God, and drawing our inspiration and guidance from the Judaeo-Christian continuity of prophetic witness for social justice, and desiring to support in the State of Mississippi those objectives in this direction which elsewhere within our nation have won general recognition and acceptance, we hereby propose to form in Mississippi an organization to be known as The Mississipp Council On Human Relations.

Positive Approach

Stressing the positive approach to be used by the Mississippi Council in an effort to better human relations in the state, the organizational group formally adopted support of the following:

1. The traditional freedom of speech including its class-room counterpart of academic freedom for all teachers.

2. The basic freedom of assembly in which men who be-

(Continued On Page Two)

MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS

Published every Saturday by the HiCo Publishing Company, Inc., 1072-1 West Lynch St., Jackson, Miss., Phone FL. 5-7345.

This paper is published weekly in Jackson, Mississippi. Application to mail at second class postage rate is pending at Jackson, Mississippi.

Subscription price: $5.20 per year — $2.60 for six months — Ten cents per copy.

Voluntary Segregation Urged By Judge Mize

On April 26, Judge Sidney Mize declared that the segregation signs were not unconstitutional. The Judge based his concept on the belief that it is legal if both races, the Judge insinuates, agree to practice voluntary segregation.

The Judge's argument, means in other words, that we (Negroes) may continue to isolate ourselves if we so desire. How nice of you Judge, but it just so happens that we have not endeavored to voluntary practice segregation, we are not voluntarily practicing it now and we do not intend to practice it in the future.

Are we going to let the Judge, supposedly a literate man, yet as small minded as Mrs. B. J. Gaillot, encourage us to practice voluntary segregation?

I pity the Judges' sense of humor, but I admire his stand for injustice and ignorance. However, his idea of voluntary segregation would not be so bad if only the city policeman had as much sense as the dogs and jump when commanded or when there is a legal reason. What the Judge has not considered is that, there are too many small minded people, who want a big name like Judge, boss or Miss Ann, that are looking for ways of obtaining them. Mrs. Gaillot the segregationist in New Orleans used her eighth grade education to inform Archbishop Joseph F. Rummell, who earned a Ph.D Degree in Theology in 1903, before she was born that the Bible demands, segregation. Kenneth Slyter, the killer of Sandra Holderfield, used a tool to beat his victim to death and then ran over her dead body with his car in order to secure his victory. Five hundred gathered to hear, ten gallon Leander Periz, recently excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church, display his ignorance in order to change his name. No Judge, with those cases and many others like them I am inclined to believe they would not know what voluntary segregation means, so it is best we not practice it. Would I be safe if I did not wish to maintain the practice? Of would Captain Ray move the small minders, Ask him—.

Pregnant Freedom Fighter Surrenders

Human Relations—

(Continued from Page One)

lieve in democratic institutions.

Thoughts On The Mississippi Free Press

By J. R. SALTER

The brutal and senseless slaying of Corporal Roman Duckworth — a very highly regarded Negro GI and 27 year old father of six children — by a Taylorville, Mississippi white officer three weeks ago indicated, more clearly than most happenings in the last several months, the existence of the poisonously animalistic racist attitude and practice which pervades the mentalities of most white Mississippians and which is strangling the entire state.

Something else was indicated by the Duckworth slaying: the dishonesty of the vast majority of white Mississippi newspapers — including all of the major ones. The Duckworth killing received little publicity indeed in any if the state's white newspapers and when it was reluctantly mentioned, every story gave most of the space to quotations by Taylorsville whites who were desperately seeking to cover the tracks of the officer — a whitewashing maneuver which could only be accomplished, as it was, by slandering and smearing — in a totally foundationless fashion — the murdered man.

Only the newspaper that you now hold in your hand — the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS — covered the Duckworth killing in an inclusive fashion. Using well written and up-to-date news stories and editorials, supplemented by dramatic photographs, this little newspaper took the Duckworth story out to the people.

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social action newspaper in the history of this unhappy state.

Within a very short time, the FREE PRESS has established itself as the state's only call-all-the-shots-as-we-see'm newspaper — a publication which, as in the Duckworth affair, gives sound coverage and interpretation to Mississippi civil rights matters. It searches out and proposes constructive solutions to the monumental social, economic and political problems which plague Mississippi. It gives much-needed publicity and support to the democratic projects of the state, among which are: NAACP rallies, membership drives, and voter-registration campaigns; Student Non-Violent boycotts; the Congressional campaigns of the Rev. R. L. T. Smith and the Rev. Merrill Winston Lindsey — the first Negroes to run for major political office in Mississippi since the Reconstruction. And the FREE PRESS, without question, serves as the major communication workers for democracy within link between the embattled Mississippi — its arrival on the streets of Jackson and in the small cities and rural communities throughout the state is a highlight of Friday afternoons and Saturday mornings. Its staff is fiercly loyal to it — and rightfully so — and, what is most important, its support — reader-wise — is growing rapidly.

Some time ago, this writer sent off a number of FREE PRESS copies to friends of his who are teaching in northern colleges and universities. Within a short space of time, letters came back praising the publication and asking for more. "Keep those FREE PRESS papers coming right along," wrote one professor. "It's a first-rate help in my classes." Another individual also asked for additional

failure to do so, there is absolutely no excuse.

The system of white supremacy is exploiting in the material sense and injuring psychologically every single Negro in the state. The sordid status quo in Mississippi is poisoning much of the American South — a good deal of which appears to be still drunked-up and under the influence of the rabid Mississippism which was carried throughout the Deep South by that Magnolia State reincarnation of the Ku Klux Klan — the White Citizens' Councils — following the U. S. Supreme Court Brown decision in 1954. And the whole sorry system south of the Mason-Dixon line is having a mighty negative effect on the health of the nation as a whole. The historical mission of the Southern Negro may well be to clean up the totalitarian, poverty stricken society of the South — and there is no place where that work more sorely needs to be done than right here in the soverign state of Mississippi. And, in this connection, every single democratic project — NAACP membership drives and voter registration campaigns, SNCC boycotts, the support of Negro Congressional candidates, and all of the many others — are important indeed. And, lending mightily to the success of those projects is the growing power of the peoples' newspaper: the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS.

Over a century ago, one of the founders of crusading American democratic journalism — Horace Greeley — wrote: "Then hail to the Press! chosen guardian of freedom- Strong swordarm of justice! bright sunbeam of truth!" Neither Greeley nor any of the other pioneers of American newspapering — Peter Zenger, William Allen White, Lincoln Steffens, H. L. Mencken, or Heywood Broun — would have any use for the

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Pregnant Freedom Fighter Surrenders

Jackson — On Friday, April 27, Mrs. Dianne Bevel, a participant in the sit-in movements, informed the press that she was going to surrender herself to the authorities on April 28, and serve her two years. Mrs. Bevel declared that her attorney had informed her that her case was being appealed again and that she refused the appeal, because, she continued, "I have finally decided to refuse to cooperate with or participate in one of the most corrupt and decayed institutions in existence — the Mississippi Court. The so-called courts of justice in this state not only do not try to promote justice, but are used as tools to oppress men and to defile human worth."

"The courts themselves segregate," Mrs. Bevel went on to say "when they attest to a belief that Negroes are refused the right to serve on the juries. How can a court pass judgment on a Negro or an issue of human rights when they deny them before the trial begins."

Instead of using laws involving the legality of segregation she said, the system hides behind charges of disorderly conduct, trespasses, breach of peace, contribution to delinquency, etc.

The charges are unjust and I have not contributed to anyone's delinquency. I would not sit through another so-called trial. I shall make a moral witness for the next two years against the injustices perpetuated against people who believe in freedom.

Mrs. Bevel continued to say, I do not want to go to jail. I want to live with my husband. I want to take care of my child, (expected in September) for the first two years of it's life. But, I cannot be a slave, and I want my child to be a free man or woman. I hope that God will give his black people in the Southern section of America the grace to become convinced of their own worth dignity, and may he help us to suffer without hate, but in love.

Human Relations—

(Continued from Page One)

lieve in democratic institutions may meet together without anxiety.

3. Absolute impartiality as to race in the enforcement of law by police and courts and in the selection of jury members.

4. The application of one set of requirements in one manner to all individuals who seek registration for voting, regardless of race.

5. Employment in industry and agriculture on the basis of merit.

6. Wise compliance with the spirit of the Supreme Court decision of 1954 within the living context of the situation in Mississippi through:

a. Voluntary removal of state and local laws enforcing segregation.

b. Prompt acceptance of qualified Negro applicants on the part of colleges and graduate schools.

c. Initiation on the part of men of good will of both races within local communities of plans for compliance in the lower schools in advance of compulsory action by federal courts.

d. Immediate representation by qualified Negroes on local and state boards of education where these posts are appointive.

There are many differences among people that make openings for discrimination which even in the most just relationship make unequal conditions. There's the difference between men and short men, between man and woman, between tall black men and white men, between Methodists and Baptists, but man's noblest instinct is that these differences whether avoidable or not should in no way react to the personality or economical injury of the person.

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It is precisely because of this racist throttle-hold on the mass media of Mississippi — particularly in the newspaper realm — that Negro leaders in the state, and a few liberal whites as well, combined forces just before the beginning of Christmas, 1961, to launch the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS: the first liberal Negro

Within a very short time, the FREE PRESS has established itself as the state's only call-all-the-shots-as-we-see'm newspaper — a publication which, as in the Duckworth affair, gives sound coverage and interpretation to Mississippi civil rights matters. It searches out and proposes constructive solutions to the monumental social, economic and political problems which plague Mississippi. It gives much-needed publicity and support to the democratic projects of the state, among which are: NAACP rallies, membership drives, and voter-registration campaigns; Student Non-Violent boycotts; the Congressional campaigns of the Rev. R. L. T. Smith and the Rev. Merrill Winston Lindsey — the first Negroes to run for major political office in Mississippi since the Reconstruction. And the FREE PRESS, without question, serves as the major communication workers for democracy within link between the embattled Mississippi — its arrival on the streets of Jackson and in the small cities and rural communities throughout the state is a highlight of Friday afternoons and Saturday mornings. Its staff is fiercly loyal to it — and rightfully so — and, what is most important, its support — reader-wise — is growing rapidly.

Some time ago, this writer sent off a number of FREE PRESS copies to friends of his who are teaching in northern colleges and universities. Within a short space of time, letters came back praising the publication and asking for more. "Keep those FREE PRESS papers coming right along," wrote one professor. "It's a first-rate help in my classes." Another individual, also asking for additional copies, pointed out that the FREE PRESS news is "hot from the war zone" and indicated that his copies were making the rounds of his faculty colleagues as well as his students. These and others now have regular subscriptions to the paper. And then, not too long ago, we sent letters to a number of liberal secular and religious publications throughout the country — informing them of the existence of the FREE PRESS. Right away, letters came back — indicating wholehearted approval of this Mississippi venture into honest and democratic journalism. They also, we might add, indicated that the out-of-state subscription rate will be increasing forthwith in quite a healthy fashion.

This is indeed all good news. The FREE PRESS is still under attack by the segregationist elements — newsboys have been harassed by police, the printer has been harassed by the White Citizens' Councils, and the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (secret police) continue to float around the corners — and the paper can use all of the moral support it can get. Then too, like any newspaper faced with heavy operating expenses, subscriptions and financial contributions are most welcome. And it is mighty heartening to learn that the FREE PRESS message is fast taking root in other sections of the United States.

But the major purpose of the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS is to reach the Negro people of the state of Mississippi — and those white people who are open to long overdue changes in their patterns of thinking and behavior. And, in this, the newspaper is definitely succeeding — step by step. But there are still many Negro people in the state — indeed, right in Jackson itself — who do not yet subscribe or otherwise purchase and boost the paper, And, for this

in the state. The sordid status quo in Mississippi is poisoning much of the American South — a good deal of which appears to be still drunked-up and under the influence of the rabid Mississippism which was carried throughout the Deep South by that Magnolia State reincarnation of the Ku Klux Klan — the White Citizens' Councils — following the U. S. Supreme Court Brown decision in 1954. And the whole sorry system south of the Mason-Dixon line is having a mighty negative effect on the health of the nation as a whole. The historical mission of the Southern Negro may well be to clean up the totalitarian, poverty stricken society of the South — and there is no place where that work more sorely needs to be done than right here in the soverign state of Mississippi. And, in this connection, every single democratic project — NAACP membership drives and voter registration campaigns, SNCC boycotts, the support of Negro Congressional candidates, and all of the many others — are important indeed. And, lending mightily to the success of those projects is the growing power of the peoples' newspaper: the MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS.

Over a century ago, one of the founders of crusading American democratic journalism — Horace Greeley — wrote: "Then hail to the Press! chosen guardian of freedom- Strong sword-arm of justice! bright sunbeam of truth!" Neither Greeley nor any of the other pioneers of American newspapering — Peter Zenger, William Allen White, Lincoln Steffens, H. L. Mencken, or Heywood Broun — would have any use for the great majority of white newspapers of Mississippi and, to a large extent, those of the American South in general; these perversions of journalism which are simply dark clouds smothering this unhappy land; clouds which have grown out of the grassroots racism and which rain down an endless stream of hatred and venom which nourishes and renourishes that initial racism . . . .

But those founders of American journalism would, it is safe to say, recognize and accept as a brother-in-arms the tough little FREE PRESS. Indeed, those hardy and crusading zealots who forged the traditions of democratic American journalism would recognize the FREE PRESS as a publication which definitely must survive and grow and they would, accordingly, give it their wholehearted support in every fashion. And so must YOU support YOUR paper. The MISSISSIPPI FREE PRESS is your "sunbeam of truth" which will play a powerful role in clearing back the dark and gloomy clouds and bringing the sunlight to Mississippi.

U'm gitting long alright
ain't worried bout another.
um eaten lean pork chops
to heck wi h my brother.

I'm the big cheese in this town
I'm worried about saving face
I help "Ole boss" keep my people down
that is, keeping the N..... in his place.

I am a big fish in this pond
It's a cinch when I go fighting
I help to keep my people down,
and that keeps me in my position.

Invest now in the future of Mississippi — Plant more pine trees today!

Lindsey For Congress Rally Held On Friday At Holly Springs

Rev. Merrill W. Lindsey addressed a Lindsey for Congress Rally at Holly Springs, Miss., Friday night April 27th. The rally lasted from 8 p. m. to 10 p. m.

Mr. Lindsey spoke to an integrated audience in the Asbury Methodist Church.

Appearing on the program was Professor S. T. Nero, Advisory Committeeman from Mar shall County who chaired the program; Aaron E. Henry, Campaign Manager and the Rust College Singers who supplied the music.

In the address Rev. Lindsey raised the following issues:

1. Pledged unqualified allegiance to the present Kennedy Administration.

2. On the question of Foreign Policy. Lindsey said our course must be geared to the Christian Ethetic of Brotherhood. "Give me a Democracy that works in America, and I will deliver to you two thirds of the worlds population on the side of the United States in a cold or hot war."

3. The third issue raised by Lindsey was the plight of the small farmer in agriculture. He said the income of the farmer in the second congressional district is too low and his hours are too long. A way must be found to increase his income and shorten his working day which now ranges from twelve to sixteen hours a day. The only reference made to either of the other two candidates in the second Congressional District was in the area of Voting Rights. Lindsey said that his former fellow citizen, referring to Representative Frank Smith, while he and Lindsey both lived in Greenwood, had the responsibility and the duty as the chief politician of the former third congressional district to speak out for the rights of all citizens to become qualified voters. He never raised his voice in our defense and by his own admission in an adver-

CATCHINGS MOTOR SERVICE
FL 2-9213
Lynch at Dalton, Jackson, Miss.

SPEAKS AT McCOMB — Mrs. Ruby Hurley, South East Regional Secretary of NAACP will be the featured speaker Sunday, May 6, 1962 at 3:00 p. m. at an NAACP rally in McComb, Miss. The purpose of the meeting is to urge Negro citizens in the area to become more active in Political affairs by registering and voting.

U. S. Government—

(Continued from Page One)

training, not only to raise their income levels, but to demonstrate our belief in equal opportunity to all nations."

A complaint alleging segregation and discrimination in related instruction programs for apprentices at the Ranken school was filed with Assistant Secretary of Labor Jerry R. Holleman early in April by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The telegram was signed by Arthur J. Kennedy, chairman of the Labor and Industry Committee of the St. Louis NAACP,

Charleston Youths Continue Picketing

Charleston, South Carolina — The Charleston NAACP Branch and Youth Council closed its fifth consecutive week of picketing of Charleston's King Street stores at the turn of the Easter weekend. The Rev. Benjamine J. Glover, astute President of the Charleston NAACP Branch when questioned as to the duration of the picketing of King Street stores replied, "when lunch counter service is integrated and when merit is the basis for employment and not color if it takes until Easter 1972."

At the beginning of Easter weekend Delbert L. Woods, Chairman of the Labor and industry Committee of the Charleston Branch of NAACP and coordinator of the current no-buying strike indicated that picketing and negotiations have begun paying off. Mr. Woods reports that South Carolina Electric and Gas Company which holds the franchise for city bus operation in the city-by-the-sea has employed two full time bus drivers of color, one of the larger Piggly Wiggly stores hired a Negro check-out clerk, Kaybee's Department store, two sales clerks and Moskins Credit Clothiers, one sales clerk. Other merchants have begun to seek-conferences with Charleston's NAACP leadership to get a briefing on surrender terms.

NAACP leadership in Charleston admit that gains made so far are not commensurate with the sacrifice of time, energy and shoe leather the pickets have expended, nevertheless they vow to press their claim for dignity on King Street, with dogged determination.

NAACP Youth Council members deployed in the vicinity of with the public at the weekly Mass Meetings.

It is noteworthy that King Street picketing has not been marred by a single act of violence since its inception although as many as 100 pickets have been on duty at the same time. The closest thing to violence being experienced along King Street is hypertension on the part of the merchants, and heart trouble when they check the till on a Saturday night.

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SEE US ABOUT ANY

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Lindsey closed with a caution that all Americans should unite and fight against all things that are detremental to American Democracy. He promised to use his influence to bring about a condition wherein all Americans could walk together down the Avenue of Freedom in full respect and dignity.

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A human worthiness can only be measured by the performance of the individual

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The telegram was signed by Arthur J. Kennedy, chairman of the Labor and Industry Committee of the St. Louis NAACP, and by Mrs. Margaret Bush Wilson, President of the St. Loius Branch. They said they wished to recall Mr. Holleman's statement in St. Louis during the White House Regional Conference that if racial segregation and discrimination were shown in federally approved apprenticeship training programs, with drawal of registration by the Department of Labor would be ordered immediately.

Negro Vote—

(Continued from Page One)

another 50,000 Negro voters to the polls by the end of the year.

Negro voters in the state now amount to more than ten per cent of all Florida voters. Of the 182,456 Negro voters, 14,664 are registered as Republicans. There is a total of 1,458,618 white voters, including 329,077 Republicans.

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NAACP Youth Council members deployed in the vicinity of picket lines maintain a "Judas list" and a snapshot gallery of "uncles and aunts" who cross picket lines. These are shared though as many as 100 pickets have been on duty at the same time. The closest thing to violence being experienced along King Street is hypertension on the part of the merchants, and heart trouble when they check the till on a Saturday night.

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Rev. Robert L. T. Smith Speaks To Farish Street Branch YMCA Wednesday, May 2

"This important objective is certainly in line with the thinking and action of those of you who are here today. Our community is fortunate indeed, in having such a dedicated team of workers in this most worthy task. Since our state and nation is made up out of the various communities across the vast expanse of our borders, we can say that efforts like yours here help us all and strengthens our country.

No rational minded person questions the wisdom and neces sity of building and maintain sufficient military strength to mantain our freedom and independence in a world where unscrupulous systemo work from the outside.

But at the same time we must recognize our unshirkable duty to strengthen and broaden our moral and ethical position here at home.

That is why what you are doing is so vital to our national well-being. Your's and mine is a job for human betterment. Ours is a crusade for freedom, justice and equality under law for all men. Our job is to help our young men choose the honorable way in life. We must be inspired ourselves and inspire them to always put principle above expediency and personal gain. We cannot emphasize too strongly that "righteousness exalt a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people." You and I wish to expend our talents for human betterment. This course of action is commended to people everywhere.

It is ours to impress upon our young people and adults the moral obligation to participate in every worthwhile thing in our community. Among those things, and certainly one of the most vital, is to get the ballot and keep an active and sustained interest in the affairs of government in our community, state and nation. We must impress upon all of our people the urgency of this matter. It matters not, that obstacles are placed in our way by scheming men to deny us the ballot, we must pursue this course that leads to first class citizenship and human dignity for all. There is a crying need now for men of great integrity to lead us in all areas of human interest.

A concerted effort for voter registration is now being launched and I just know that we can count on you to do your part.

We need men — competent men; men with faith, men with vision and courage to speak for us in the Councils of Government at all levels. We can no longer sit supinely by while mis-guided men pretend that we are still living in the 1800's.

MABERRY BROTHERS

Mrs. Ida Jones Barnes Awarded Fellowship

Mrs. Ida Jones Barnes, a senior language arts major at Jackson State College, has been awarded an Audiology Fellowship to attend the State University of Iowa. Notice of Mrs. Barnes' award came from Dr. James F. Curtis, Head of the Department of Speech Pathology and Audiology at the University. The Fellowship guarantees a stipened covering expenses for one academic year and a summer session. It is re-

Georgia Variety Store Desegregates Lunch Counter; No Incidents

Augusta, Georgia — On Saturday afternoon, April 7, a group of students, Negro and white, went down to the lunch counter at H. L. Green's Variety Store in Augusta, Georgia. Green's along with several other lunch counters in Augusta, was desegregated by agreement several weeks ago.

Three of the white students and one Negro student sat down on four of the stools and were later joined by a young man, Mr. Cecil Hudson, who stood next to the Negro girl in an empty space where there were no stools. By this time there were also Negroes eating at various places along the counter. There was one policeman stationed in the store. There were also several small groups of white men gathering and talking at different points in the store, and most of their attention seemed to be directed toward Mr. Hudson.

One of the white men, came up to Mr. Hudson and asked him to step outside and began to threaten him. Mr. Hudson remained at the counter, and the policeman then approached the white man and escorted him out of the door.

The Negro girl who was with the group had left by this time, and Mr. Hudson sat down. Mr. William Didley, a student from Paine College, then approached the group and told them there was trouble brewing outside at that moment. The four white students remained at the counter for fifteen or twenty more minutes, and it was obvious that tension was rising among the various groups of white men

NAACP Steps Up Drive For Jobs

New York — Branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People throughout the country have been called upon to step up their drive against discriminatory employment practices in their respective communities.

Citing a recent resolution adopted by the Association's Board of Directors, NAACP Executive Secretary Roy Wilkins this week sent letters to 1,500 local NAACP units urging them "to make a report on their activities by June 15.

Mr. Wilkins' communication outlined the following steps for action by the branches:

1. Investigate the employment practices of local businesses, retail establisrments, industries, breweries and other manufacturing concerns to determne their hiring practices.

2. Conduct a marketing survey to determine the amount of Negro business enjoyed by these concerns.

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Phone FL 5-8426
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A graduate of J. J. Knox High School, she entered Jackson State College on a Masonic Scholarship. She is an honor roll student and an active member and participant in many extra-curricular activities including the Jackson State College Concert and Vesper Choirs, the Methodist Student Movement, the Sunday School, the Dunbar Dramatics Club, Alpha Kappa Mu Honorary Society, and Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority. She is also President of the Language Arts Club.

Mrs. Barnes is a native of Sumner, Miss., and the daughter of Reverend and Mrs. Samuel Jones of Winona.

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Counter; No Incidents

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Mr. Didley returned to the group and suggested that they leave, and they followed him out the door. There were three or four white men standing to the left of the door on the street and as Mr. Hudson emerged they moved toward him, saying, "Let's get him"! Mr. Didley, however, had placed himself in front of the white men, acting as a buffer for the other four, who turned to the right and ran down the street.

The white men began to hit at Mr. Didley and in the scuffle one of them stabbed him in the stomach. Mr. Didley began to run down the street with the white men following him. He was thrown to the sidewalk, and was continously being beaten.

At this time, a policeman came over and took Mr. Didley and the white man away. After being treated for the stab wound Mr. Didley was booked on charges of disorderly conduct and carrying a knife. He said later that he did not have a knife on him at all — that all students engaged in activities connected with the lunch counters always emptied their pockets of anything that might be identified as a dangerous weapon. The white man that was arrested was charged only with disorderly conduct.

Mr. Didley is now in the University Hospital in Augusta. An exploratory operation was performed on Saturday evening, three inches, but had been de- the knife had penetrated about and the surgeon reported that flected by a rib.

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The Lexington Advertiser

"Principles and Men: Truth—the Weapon we use in their Defence."

Volume 125 | Lexington, Mississippi — Thursday, May 10, 1962 | Number Six

Through Hazel Eyes

By Hazel Brannon Smith

The District Attorney of Sunflower County will present all evidence and testimony obtained by the special legislative investigating committee on the operations of Parchman state penitentiary to a meeting of the Grand Jury of that Delta county in September.

State Rep. Bob Anderson of Copiah County has said he feels certain the committee will accede to the request of the DA for the records and also the names of witnesses not heard by the legislative committee.

It is hoped that penitentiary matters, which have placed Mississippi unfavorably in the nation's headlines for several months now, will get the careful attention they deserve from the Sunflower body.

The whole state will be awaiting with a great deal of interest the outcome of the Grand Jury's deliberations.

The District Attorney and the Sunflower County Attorney have their work cut out for them.

It is to be hoped no individual or group will try to impede the progress of the probe or otherwise stand in its way.

The public interest demands a completely honest and thorough search for the truth — and indictment and prosecution of any persons reasonably regarded by a Grand Jury as having been guilty of violating state laws.

In Holmes County the probe will be of added interest due to the fact that we are in the same circuit court district as Sunflower — and the district attorney, Parham H. Williams, Jr. resides in Lexington.

Senator James O. Eastland received the praise of the Mississippi Legislature and the John Birch Society for his attack on the United States Supreme Court last week.

Senator Eastland's attack upon the highest court in our land gave the distinct impression he thinks the men who occupy that bench are either communists or communist-sympathizers, something Sen. Eastland knows is not true. So do thoughtful Mississippians.

But the fact that a man of his position and importance said what he did on the Senate floor will be used by radicals and extremists to "prove" that our court is disloyal to this country and its people, something too many people in Mississippi want to believe, anyway.

Not that we think the U. S. Supreme Court should be im-

(Continued on Page Eight)

Formal Opening Of PW Building Set

Clean-Up Parade In Lexington Friday At 2:15

10 Floats Registered Others Expected By Chairman Berman

Clean-up month in Lexington gets off to a gay start with a colorful parade beginning at 2:15 Friday. School will be dismissed at that time.

Ten floats have registered at this writing and more are in the planning stage.

The parade will be headed by Mayor W. B. Kenna, and other city officials including Police Chief George Musselwhite and his fellow officers Sonny Meek. Frank Davis and Martin McNeer; the Fire Department float with Billy Rathell in charge; Sanitary Department with Floyd McNeer; Boy and Girl Scouts; Cubs and Brownies; all stepping to the time of the Lexington High School Band under the direction of Mrs. Geraldine Wheeler.

Civic clubs having floats include the Business and Professional Women's Club, Junior Chamber of Commerce, Lions Club, Jaycettes, and others.

Berman Brokerage Company will feature a display of Dial soap. Spectators may guess the number of bars on the float, place a guess at the office, and the winner will receive a case of Dial soap.

Cash prizes of $5.00, $3.00 and $2.00 will go to the best

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Governor Barnett Will Speak At New Welfare Building Friday

Holmes County's new $86,000 Public Welfare Building will be formally opened Friday afternoon at 3:00 with a brief program featuring Governor Ross Barnett as speaker with an Open House to follow.

GOV. ROSS BARNETT

Mrs. Jean Strider, Holmes welfare agent, announces everything is in readiness to receive a record number of visitors and she and members of her staff issue a cordial invitation for everyone to attend. Serving also as official hosts will be members of the Holmes County Board of Supervisors and the Holmes County Welfare Board.

Among the out of county guests will be Governor Barnett and his party; Miss Evelyn Gandy, state treasurer; State Tax Collector William Winter; State Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis; Highway Commissioner Felder Dearman.

Acting State Commissioner of Public Welfare C. O. Brooks of Jackson and Mrs. Georgia Pitchford of Greenwood, district supervisor, will also be among the honored guests.

Mayor Kenna

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Lexington Garden Club Flower Show Will Be Held Tuesday

"Beauty Is Our Business" is the theme of the Lexington Garden Club's spring flower show which will be held on Tuesday, May 15th in the basement of the First Baptist Church of Lexington.

The show will be open to

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(Continued On Page Three)

Miss Pearl Megee Dies In Greenwood

HJC To Dedicate New Buildings

McMorrough Library, Attala Hall Dorm New On Campus

where Mr. and Mrs. Hilary O. Thomas reside. Mr. Thomas is Dean of Men and head of the Agricultural Department and

Holmes Group Attend TU Elimination At

get the careful attention they deserve from the Sunflower body.

The whole state will be awaiting with a great deal of interest the outcome of the Grand Jury's deliberations.

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Cash prizes of $5.00, $3.00 and $2.00 will go to the best poster from a children's group.

Joe Berman, committee chairman, is assisted by Mrs. Dora Pearl Tidwell, vice chairman; Phil Cohen, C. M. McDaniel, Mike Lammons, N. M. Parkinson, Dr. G. D. Russell, Dr. P. B. Brumby, B. C. Martin, J. E. Goss, Mrs. Louise King and Mrs. Tom Cothran, publicity chairman.

Lexington Garden Club Flower Show Will Be Held Tuesday

"Beauty Is Our Business" is the theme of the Lexington Garden Club's spring flower show which will be held on Tuesday, May 15th in the basement of the First Baptist Church of Lexington.

The show will be open to the public between the hours of 3:00 and 7:00 p. m.

All exhibitors of arrangements and horticulture are urged to have flowers at the show between 8:00 and 10:00 a. m.

All entries must be accompanied by an entry card (calling card size) bearing name of exhibitor on one side, division and class number on the other.

Members are reminded that this show will be the last meeting of the club year.

A covered dish luncheon will be held at 1:00 p. m. followed by a color film on home decorating. Mrs. B. W. Humphrey and Mrs. P. H. Williams are program chairmen for this phase of the day's activities.

Color Film

"New Rooms For Old," a new Celanese color slide program on Home Decoration, offers many How-To-Do-It Ideas for giving Old Rooms a New Look.

These rooms were redecorated and photographed in an elegant 5-story Town House in New York City — a 40 year old Home in the Country — several City and Suburban Apartments — thus providing something for all

(Continued On Page Three)

Miss Pearl Megee Dies In Greenwood

Miss Pearl Megee, one of Durant's oldest and best loved citizens died at the age of 90 Friday, May 4, at the Golden Age Nursing Home in Greenwood. She had been ill for about four years.

Born in Holmes County on July 23,1871, "Miss Pearl" was the daughter of the late Dr. John T. Megee and Mrs. Elizabeth McMillan Megee, pioneer citizens.

She was a member of the First Baptist Church of Durant, the Durant Chapter of the Order of Eastern Star, and the United Daughters of the Confederacy. For approximately 35 years she served as secretary of Mizpah Cemetery Association.

Funeral services were held Saturday at 2:00 p. m. in the Southern Funeral Home chapel with the Rev. Durell Makamsom officiating.

Interment was in Mizpah Cemetery under the direction of Southern Funeral Home of Durant.

Pallbearers were Louie Clements, Ado Bennett, Jerry Gilmore, Robert Irby, Charlie Ray and Joe Lewis.

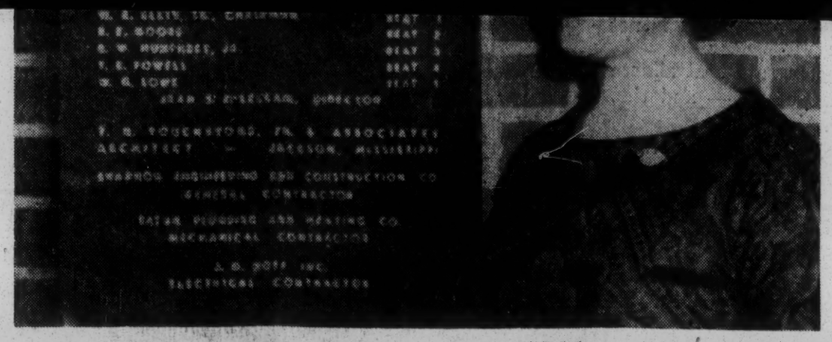
Debbie Portrays Second Time Around

"Second Time Around" opens today at the Ricky Theatre starring Debbie Reynolds and Andy Griffith. This comedy is equally as entertaining as "Follow That Dream", starring Elvis Presley.

The cast also includes Thelma Ritter from Columbus, Mississippi, a girl who made good in the city as a comedian.

"Second Time Around" is a color picture with action from beginning to end.

"The Racers" starring Kirk Douglas follows the dates on "Second Time Around". Details can be found in an ad elsewhere in this issue.



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HJC To Dedicate New Buildings

McMorrough Library, Attala Hall Dorm New On Campus

Holmes Junior College will dedicate two new buildings with appropriate ceremony next Wednesday, May 16, at 2:15 p. m.

The program will be held in the Administration Building and Open House at both buildings will follow. The public is invited.

A $133,000 library, in use since last fall, has been named McMorrough Library honoring a veteran Lexington attorney, the Hon. G. H. McMorrough, who has been identified with the Goodman institution for more than fifty years. Currently he is serving as president of the Board of Trustees.

The $104,000 new dormitory for boys, occupied two months ago, will be called Attala Hall, honoring neighboring Attala County, one of seven supporting counties of the school. The structure houses 68 boys, two to a room, and is now fully occupied. It also contains a 4-room faculty apartment where Mr. and Mrs. Hilary O. Thomas reside. Mr. Thomas is Dean of Men and head of the Agricultural Department and Mrs. Thomas is in charge of the Cosmetology School.

President Frank B. Branch said that George Thornton, prominent Kosciusko attorney will speak for Attala County on the program and Edwin White, Lexington attorney and former legislator from Holmes County, will pay tribute to Mr. McMorrough.

The Rev. B. F. Lee, Goodman Methodist pastor, will give the invocation and the Baptist pastor, the Rev. J. B. Miller, will pronounce the benediction.

Musical entertainment will be provided by the HJC Boys' Octette under the direction of Mrs. Martha Tye McKie.

Three Students For Girl's State

American Legion Auxiliary Post No. 18 has elected three students to Girls' State. They are Miss Linda Moorhead, daughter of Mrs. Connie McLellan Moorhead of Lexington; Miss Beth McWilliams, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. W. P. McWilliams of Lexington; and Miss Jo Ann McCrory, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. G. L. McCrory of Goodman.

Mrs. Joe Braddock, chairman and Mrs. E. H. Skinner, co-chairman served on the committee and Mrs. Ruth Roach is auxiliary president.

Rites Held Sunday For W. C. Henry

Funeral services for William Calvin Henry, well known resident of Durant, were held at Rocky Point Baptist Church on Sunday at 3:00 p. m. with the Rev. A. A. Ward and the Rev. R. E. Wasson officiating.

Burial followed in the church cemetery with Southern Funeral Home of Durant in charge of arrangements.

Mr. Henry, a retired farmer and carpenter, died Saturday, May 5 in the Baptist Hospital at Jackson after an illness of several weeks. He was 81

Mr. Henry was born on October 12, 1880 in Cleburne County, Alabama. He was a member of the Durant Methodist Church.

Surviving are two brothers, Louis Henry, Carthage and J. G. Henry, Durant; a sister, Mrs. Bessie Lowe, Kosciusko and several nieces and nephews.

Holmes Group Attend TU Elimination At Ackerman Tuesday

A group of Holmes County Baptist Training Union members participated in the District Elimination program at Ackerman on Tuesday.

Mrs. Tom Cothran, of the First Baptist Church of Lexington, represented the Adults and told a mission story. Mrs. Cothran placed first and will receive an expense paid trip to Gulf Shore this summer.

The afternoon session included the Junior Departments' memory work and sword drill and the evening session was composed of the Young Peoples' and Adults' activities.

First Baptist Church of Durant had the best representation with the following members of the Junior Department attending:

Betty Brooks, Leca Estes, Sara Jo Kealhofer, Sheryl Makamsom and Buzzy McNeer.

One Junior from Calvary Baptist of Durant attended,

invitation for everyone to attend. Serving also as official hosts will be members of the Holmes County Board of Supervisors and the Holmes County Welfare Board.

Among the out of county guests will be Governor Barnett and his party; Miss Evelyn Gandy, state treasurer; State Tax Collector William Winter; State Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis; Highway Commissioner Felder Dearman.

Acting State Commissioner of Public Welfare C. O. Brooks of Jackson and Mrs. Georgia Pitchford of Greenwood, district supervisor, will also be among the honored guests.

Mayor Kenna

Mayor W. B. Kenna of Lexington will bring official greetings after the invocation has been given by the Rev. Roy Raddin of Tchula, Baptist minister.

William Moses, a member of the Board of Aldermen of the City of Lexington and a Colonel on Governor Barnett's staff will introduce the Chief Executive. Mr. Moses will also recognize other distinguished guests.

After the governor's address Mr. W. Leslie Smith, president of the Holmes County Board of Supervisors, will cut the ribbon to open the building. Mr. W. R. Ellis of Lexington, veteran member of the Holmes Welfare Board, will assist and may say a few words. Mr. Ellis has been a member of the board since its inception.

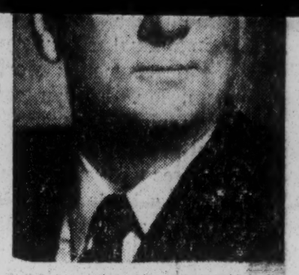
Mrs. McLellan will accept the building for the agency.

Open House will follow and refreshments will be served.

See additional story and pictures on back page.

Cindy Engelmann.

Representing the Young People's Department from the county were Billy Joe Gilmore of Antioch and Dona Kaye Pierce of Harlands Creek. These young people participated in the speaking tournament.



GOV. ROSS BARNETT

F. C. McIntosh Dies On Monday

Frank Carlass McIntosh, well known and respected resident of the Tolarville community, near Lexington, died Monday, May 7 at 5:00 a. m. in the Holmes County Community Hospital of a heart condition. He was 81.

A native of Hinds County, Mr. McIntosh had made his home in Holmes County for a number of years. He made his home a few miles southwest of Lexington on the Brozville Road for several years prior to moving to the Tolarville community. He was a retired building contractor. A Baptist, he was a member of the Oak Grove Baptist Church.

Funeral services were held from the chapel of Southern Funeral Home in Lexington on Tuesday at 10:30 a. m., with the Rev. Luther J. Slay officiating.

Interment was in the Raymond Cemetery with graveside rites there at 2:30 p. m. under the direction of Southern Funeral Home of Lexington.

Survivors are his widow, Mrs. Anna Lee McIntosh, Lexington; two daughters, Mrs. G. E. Early, Murphreesboro, Tenn. and Miss Minnie Belle McIntosh, Silver Spring, Maryland; a grandson and three great grandchildren.

Pallbearers were H. O. Pettus, Frank Davis, Brady Davis, Frank Eakin, Mahlon Stephenson and Frank Spencer.

OPEN OFFICE IN DURANT MONDAY: H. L. Daniel, left, and A. L. Gibson, right, are pictured above with Mrs. Daniel and Mrs. Gibson at the Open House held by their new firm, Central Loans, Inc., in Lexington last Tuesday.

They opened their second office in Holmes County on Monday of this week in Durant with a large crowd attending.

Mrs. Evon Lepard is assisting in the Durant office of Central Loans, Inc.

Mr. Gibson is the son of Mrs. E. R. Gibson of Durant and he and Mrs. Gibson formerly made their home there.

Newcomers Breakfast Set For Saturday

The Hospitality Committee of the Lexington Chamber of Commerce will sponsor its annual "newcomer's breakfast" Saturday, May 12th.

This event, given in special honor of all newcomers to this city, will begin at 8:00 a. m. in the Grammar School Cafeteria.

Thus far approximately twenty-one newcomers have been contacted. If you have moved to Lexington or surrounding trade area within the past few months, or know of anyone who has, notify the Chamber office in Lexington by Friday, May 11 or any member of the following hospitality committee:

Mrs. Charlotte Blackstock, chairman; Mrs. Jean S. McLellan, Mrs. Dora Pearl Tidwell, Mel Chrestman, Mrs. George Patterson, Ray Johnson, Marvin McLellan, Mrs. W. H. Fincher, Jr., Mrs. M. G. Catron and Mrs. W. A. Ramsey.

All newcomers are invited and urged to attend this welcoming event.

WELFARE VISITORS of the Holmes County Welfare Department are pictured above in the conference room where regular staff meetings take place. Each of the nine visitors has a case load of about 345 persons out in the field. The number was lowered from 435 cases in April with the employment of two new visitors, Mrs. Betty Povall of Lexington and Mrs. Tommie Cooksey of Lexington.

Welfare visitors pictured are, front row, left to right, Mrs. Edna Idom of Durant, Mrs. Juanita P. Watson of Franklin, Mrs. Tommie Cooksey of Coxburg, Mrs. Nell Sullivan of Lexington, Mrs. Betty Povall of Lexington; back row, Mrs. Sue McLellan (who did not quite get in the picture) of Lexington, Mrs. Martha Montgomery of Pickens and Mrs. Emily P. Lucas of Lexington. Mrs. Thelma Johnson of West, also a member of the staff, was absent when picture was made.

Editorials

Become Informed To Preserve Freedom

FBI Chief Tells How To Fight Communism

A top ranking official of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has told a Mississippi audience to leave "spy-hunting" to professional and specially trained people and instead to become informed on the real nature and threat of communism.

William C. Sullivan, assistant director of the FBI and chief of its domestic intelligence division, told a public convocation on the University of Mississippi campus Monday night that "the average citizen is neither equipped nor trained" to engage in espionage work.

"Modern-day espionage and counter espionage, with their emphasis on professional skills and training, as well as their reliance on complex scientific aids, are the province for experts," Mr. Sullivan said.

Then he pointed out there is something every citizen can do and that is become informed on what communism is, study its nature and threat so that we can understand what makes people "go communist."

The individual citizen can support the U. S. government's work against communism, Mr. Sullivan continued.

He can also emphasize the need to eradicate from our own land the leading causes of communism which Mr. Sullivan said included ignorance, poverty, disease, economic dislocation, political corruption, social discrimination, oppression, psychological maladjustment, educational inadequacies, religious anemia and philosophical materialism. (And if we don't know what some of those terms mean, it would be a good place to begin our study.)

Mr. Sullivan called on Mississippians to demonstrate in our own daily lives that the best way to oppose communism is through constitutional, rational, calm, creative and constructive action in our personal and social lives and to be, in effect, a living testimonial of a citizen and a nation that believes in and practices the greatest of all tenets against communism — and that is "individual freedom under law."

prejudice, intolerance and bigotry are actively helping to bring about in our own beloved state a totalitarian complex and dictatorship just as distasteful as any found in a communist or communist-dominated country.

When a people are so intimidated, through fear of economic or social reprisals, that they become afraid to speak their minds on any question, afraid to make a public statement (and sometimes private) statement on any matter remotely controversial, then they don't need to have any fear of anything the communists can do to them, because they have already lost their personal freedom.

This condition applies in varying degree to every area of Mississippi today — where supposedly free men with few exceptions are afraid to speak.

We find that fear everywhere, in the individual citizen, the editorial column, the pulpit, the school teacher, the lawyer, and even in our own State Legislature.

Who can honestly say this is not so?

Abraham Lincoln said that silence makes cowards out of us — and this may well be true.

The people of Germany lost their freedom because they did not speak out soon enough or often enough to stem the tide of the Nazi dictatorship.

We hope the same fate does not await Mississippi.

Or, has it already happened?

* * * *

We shall continue in our own small way to stand up for the right of every Mississippian, along with other Americans, to have and to hold any opinion he may choose and to express it freely without fear. If he chooses to remain silent — well, this is his privilege, too.

But as an editor it is our responsibility to point out anything we be lieve to be a threat to the peace, prosperity, security, progress, and advancement of our state and its people. This we have never failed to do,

Through The Years

Items of interest from the past taken from our files of The Lexington Advertiser and The Durant News.

By Ruth B. Flower

TEN YEARS AGO

LHS STAR ATHLETE HAS PNEUMONIA

W. L. Lipsey, 16-year-old star pitcher for Lexington High School became ill with pneumonia on Saturday at the home of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Lipsey at Franklin.

Lipsey pitched a no-hit game last week, defeating Durant 1-0.

Zack Grey, 17-year-old Tchula boy, now at Holmes Junior College, is also a great baseball prospect.

PARDON, PLEASE!

The linotype machine dropped an "o" for an "a" in last week's paper and made it read that the Rev. P. D. Bragg was giving the grass on his lawn a Saturday afternoon "shove." It should have read "shave."

Pastor Bragg does not shove he persuades. (Note to printer: be sure to make that one an "o". If you make it "does not shave" we all may have to run out of town.)

TWENTY YEARS AGO

MRS. MONEY ANSWERS INQUIRY OF MANY

Mrs. Irene Money, librarian presents the following answer to many readers regarding the origin of the quotation: "United We Stand, Divided We Fall."

From David C. Means, reference librarian of the Library of Congress, comes the answer that John Dickenson in the Patriot's Appeal in 1776 wrote: By uniting we stand, by dividing we fall. Mr. Means stated that the state of Kentucky in 1792 adopted the motto: "United We Stand, Divided We Fall."

Many inquiries have been made for the true origin of the above motto.

SAMUEL COHEN HAS BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY

The family of Samuel Cohen gathered at his home at 201 Vine St. on Sunday, April 26th to celebrate his eightieth birthday.

Mr. Cohen, retired dry-goods merchant, and Mrs. Cohen had as their guests on this occasion members of their immediate families, including: Mr. and Mrs. Ephriam Cohen and children, Sylvia Lynn and Phillip; Mrs. Dave Miller, Mr. and Mrs. Abram Flowers and daughter, Phyllis; Mr. and Mrs. Herman Flowers and baby daughter, all of Lexington.

Sgt. Freddie Miller of Tampa, Florida; Rabbi and Mrs. Stanley Brav of Vicksburg; Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Miller and son, David of Drew; Mr. and Mrs. Sam Flowers and son Phillip Harold, Ruleville; Mrs. Charles E. Kahn and children, Leon and Frances Ann of Morgan City, La.

THIRTY YEARS AGO

BAXTER WILSON GIVES HISTORY OF HOLMES

Holmes County was cut off from the northern end of Yazoo County in 1833 and Otho Beall was appointed sheriff.

About one-third of the county is in the Yazoo delta.

Some of the richest land in all of the Mississippi delta is in that part of the county known as Honey Island.

The county was originally inhabited by the Choctaw Indian tribe but after the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1828, it rapidly filled up with the wealthier class of people

herds of deer, flocks of turkeys and an occasional black bear feeding on the hillsides. Wolves, panthers, catamount wildcats, coons and opossums were everywhere and the streams abounded in fish.

After the county was laid off, three places were nominated for the county site. Rankin, Georgeville and Lexington. The latter was chosen because it stood in the geographical center of the county.

The county developed rapidly and furnished to Mississippi some of the best citi-

Drew Pearson

Seven Ways To Prevent Communism

Here are seven points given by Drew Pearson, the noted Washington columnist, for preventing communism in America. Mr. Pearson has earned a reputation and has in fact performed for many years as the foremost exponent of Americanism all the way round the world. He has seen communism in action, too, and knows whereof he speaks. His remarks will be of interest to any person genuinely interested in fighting or preventing communism in our own country. Read them and see if you don't agree.

1. The elimination of poverty — When I get letters from mothers who are struggling to feed their children and whose husbands don't have jobs, I know they and the children they are bringing up could be converts to communism.

Most people have forgotten that the young Communists of the 1930's were the product of the depression. It was those harsh, cruel, heartless years of no hope, of pitiful men selling apples on street corners that brought on communism, just as it was the harsh hopelessness of czarist rule that brought communism to Russia.

2. Honesty — Corruption in high places, and low places too, is another way of inducing communism. A Democratic-Republican form of government must be an honest government. Likewise our capitalistic system of business must be honest. Once either loses high ethical standards, then is the time to begin worrying about communism.

When the Justice Department indicted the port manager of Galveston, E. H. Thornton, Sr. for surreptitiously mixing wheat unfit for human consumption with good wheat and labeling it A-1 wheat, justice was right. The Jusutice Department knew it must keep a high standard of government honesty. And when Governor Allan Shivers flew to Washington and persuaded President Eisenhower to drop the indictment he was wrong.

The Soviet, in my opinion, carried things too far when it recently gave the death sentence to a Russian grain official who likewise misbranded wheat. But they also knew that the first standard of good government is honesty.

3. Respect of government — This goes hand in hand with honesty. If we don't respect our government officials we have the right, by means of the ballot, to change them. But if we lose respect for too many of them we may want to change our system. That's

fluence of religion, the more you aid communism. The first step taken by most Communist governments has been to shut down the churches and curb the clergy. Yet the Bible-pounding fundamentalists, who make such a display of teaching anti-communism, are probably the greatest single voice undermining the churches.

5. Equality of opportunity and fair competition. Monopoly is one step that makes it easy for a Communist take-over. Communism thrives on monopoly; in fact is monopoly. Under communism the government owns and runs everything. There is no private business or small business.

Therefore when you stamp out little business, or little labor, you take a step which could eventually make it easier for communism. This applies to big labor just as much as it does to big business. The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers in New York who put across a five-hour day at five dollars an hour, with a severe restriction of apprentices, is just as guilty as American Telephone and Telegraph which operates the biggest monopoly in the USA and wants to expand by taking over the communications satellite.

6. Respect for the dignity of man — The individual isn't important under the Communist system. He is subordinated to the state. But under the Judaic-Christian philosophy, the dignity of man is all important — and that is true regardless of his color, his wealth, or his religion.

The more respect and care for our fellow men the stronger we make our system. When we spread hate and intolerance we're playing into the hands of those who would like to see this country go Communist.

7. Strength — By this I don't mean merely military and physical strength, though in this day and age they are important. I also mean educational strength, cultural strength,

we can understand what makes people "go communist."

The individual citizen can support the U. S. government's work against communism, Mr. Sullivan continued.

He can also emphasize the need to eradicate from our own land the leading causes of communism which Mr. Sullivan said included ignorance, poverty, disease, economic dislocation, political corruption, social discrimination, oppression, psychological maladjustment, educational inadequacies, religious anemia and philosophical materialism. (And if we don't know what some of those terms mean, it would be a good place to begin our study.)

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* * * *

Another well known American and newsman wrote an excellent column this week giving his own set of principles and observations which will be of interest to all persons of good will who are honestly concerned with fighting communism. (See Drew Pearson column elsewhere on this page.)

* * * *

Some of our own friends in Mississippi in the Citizens' Council who want to destroy all those who do not agree with them (especially the writer) by any means available, no matter how dishonest or corrupt, would do well to examine a thought held by an increasing number — and that is that they themselves in their blind, unreasoning

Who can honestly say this is not so?

Abraham Lincoln said that silence makes cowards out of us — and this may well be true.

The people of Germany lost their freedom because they did not speak out soon enough or often enough to stem the tide of the Nazi dictatorship.

We hope the same fate does not await Mississippi.

Or, has it already happened?

* * * *

We shall continue in our own small way to stand up for the right of every Mississippian, along with other Americans, to have and to hold any opinion he may choose and to express it freely without fear. If he chooses to remain silent — well, this is his privilege, too.

But as an editor it is our responsibility to point out anything we be lieve to be a threat to the peace, prosperity, security, progress, and advancement of our state and its people. This we have never failed to do, knowingly at least.

We shall continue to try to do our duty as we see it.

The expressions of confidence and support on the part of our readers and friends in Holmes County particularly and throughout Mississippi help us personally to know our efforts are not in vain and that many people are aware of the existing threats to freedom in our state today. Now, if they just care enough to do something about it!

We ask for your continued individual support, your continued prayers, and any other expressions of sentiment that may help to preserve your freedom and ours.

Without freedom our lives would be intolerable — and our state would go back 100 years.

The Lexington Advertiser

Thursday, May 10, 1962

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH (Mrs. Walter D.)_____Editor and Publisher
Established in 1837 — Published Every Thursday — Subscription rates: Anywhere in Holmes County, $3.00 per year; Outside Holmes County $3.50 per year. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Lexington, Mississippi.

stand, by dividing we fall. Mr. Means stated that the state of Kentucky in 1792 adopted the motto: "United We Stand, Divided We Fall."

Many inquiries have been made for the true origin of the above motto.

SAMUEL COHEN HAS BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY

The family of Samuel Cohen gathered at his home at

Prylis; Mr. and Mrs. Herman Flowers and baby daughter, all of Lexington.

Sgt. Freddie Miller of Tampa, Florida; Rabbi and Mrs. Stanley Brav of Vicksburg; Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Miller and son, David of Drew; Mr. and Mrs. Sam Flowers and son Phillip Harold, Ruleville; Mrs. Charles E. Kahn and children, Leon and Frances Ann of Morgan City, La.

time to begin worrying about communism.

When the Justice Department indicted the port manager of Galveston, E. H. Thornton, Sr. for surreptitiously mixing wheat unfit for human consumption with good wheat and labeling it A-1 wheat, justice was right. The Jusutice Department knew it must keep a high standard of government honesty. And when Governor Allan Shivers flew to Washington and persuaded President Eisenhower to drop the indictment he was wrong.

The Soviet, in my opinion, carried things too far when it recently gave the death sentence to a Russian grain official who likewise misbranded wheat. But they also knew that the first standard of good government is honesty.

3. Respect of government — This goes hand in hand with honesty. If we don't respect our government officials we have the right, by means of the ballot, to change them. But if we lose respect for too many of them we may want to change our system. That's why it's so important to keep government fair and honest, so as to keep respect for and confidence in government.

4. Respect for religion — Some of those who are beating the tom toms loudest about the dangers of communism are the Bible-pounding fundamentalist preachers of the extreme right, and one of their stocks in trade is to smear their fellow preachers as Communists. The Rev. Billy James Hargis claims that the National Council of Churches "aids and abets communism." He also managed to sell the Air Force on inserting similar charges in its troop indoctrination program.

But the more you undermine churches and the more you destroy in-

York who put across a five-hour day at five dollars an hour, with a severe restriction of apprentices, is just as guilty as American Telephone and Telegraph which operates the biggest monopoly in the USA and wants to expand by taking over the communications satellite.

6. Respect for the dignity of man — The individual isn't important under the Communist system. He is subordinated to the state. But under the Judaic-Christian philosophy, the dignity of man is all important — and that is true regardless of his color, his wealth, or his religion.

The more respect and care for our fellow men the stronger we make our system. When we spread hate and intolerance we're playing into the hands of those who would like to see this country go Communist.

7. Strength — By this I don't mean merely military and physical strength, though in this day and age they are important. I also mean educational strength, cultural strength, scientific strength, and moral and spiritual strength.

We have neglected our schools at a time when the Communist world has spent money hand-over-fist strengthening its entire educational system. We once ranked first in science. But of late we have turned out more insurance salesmen, stock brokers, and jazz experts than scientists, so that Russia has forged ahead of us in the science of space.

The average schoolteacher, in both our farm areas and big cities, can do more to combat communism in a quiet, unsensational, non-name-calling way than almost any other person in America. But we don't give him or her either the tools or a living wage to do it.

THIRTY YEARS AGO

BAXTER WILSON GIVES HISTORY OF HOLMES

Holmes County was cut off from the northern end of Yazoo County in 1833 and Otho Beall was appointed sheriff.

About one-third of the county is in the Yazoo delta.

Some of the richest land in all of the Mississippi delta is in that part of the county known as Honey Island.

The county was originally inhabited by the Choctaw Indian tribe but after the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1828, it rapidly filled up with the wealthier class of people from Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia and a few from Alabama.

My father, J. M. Wilson came to this county from Trianna, Alabama in 1829 bringing some slaves, mules and farming implements with him. He settled and made a crop at a place now known as Blissdale, about 3 miles south of Howard Station on the railroad. He sold his crop and farming implements to a town on the Yazoo River known as Manchester which is now Yazoo City. He then went back to Alabama and reported the favorable conditions to his father, Thompson Wilson, who then moved here in 1832 and settled on the headwaters of Funnagusha Creek about 3 miles northwest of Emory near the boundary line between Holmes and Carroll Counties.

Where Lexington courthouse now stands tnere was a highland pond. There were no roads and he traveled by the aid of a compass. All of the creeks were bordered with blue cane, eight to twelve feet high, which he cut with cane knives to be able to ford a creek.

It was a common thing to see herds of deer, flocks of turkeys and an occasional black bear feeding on the hillsides. Wolves, panthers, catamount wildcats, coons and opossums were everywhere and the streams abounded in fish.

After the county was laid off, three places were nominated for the county site. Rankin, Georgeville and Lexington. The latter was chosen because it stood in the geographical center of the county.

The county developed rapidly and furnished to Mississippi some of the best citizens of the state including Landon C. Haynes, state treasurer; General Miles, Congressman; Dr. L. S. Rogers, state treasurer; E. F. Noel, governor; S. M. Smith, chief justice; H. H. Elmore, circuit judge; G. A. Wilson, district attorney; W. P. Tackett, district attorney and Arthur Jordan, district attorney.

Letter To Editor

State College, Mississippi
May 5, 1962

Mrs. Hazel Smith
Editor
The Lexington Advertiser
The Durant News

Dear Mrs. Smith:

We want to thank you for the frequent publicity you give 4-H Club work in your paper. Publicity is very helpful in any program, and this is especially true in 4-H Club work.

We appreciate your interest and cooperation very much, and I know I am speaking for the local Extension personnel as well.

Sincerely yours,
C. I. Smith
State 4-H Club Leader

Legislative Bulletin

SPECIAL TO MEC MEMBERS:

The Senate this week defeated SCR 130, to establish lay state board of education. This is fundamental change coming out of $150,000 education study and is basic to improved administration of about 50% of general fund dollar. Only Mississippi and Florida have ex-officio boards. Proposal held in Senate on motion to reconsider, which means it can still be passed if Senators know that the voters want this improvement This constructive legislation should be weighed on its merits and not distorted by emotions and false conclusions.

* * * * *

LEGISLATURE SEEMS HEADED DOWN HOME-STRETCH — at end of 18th week, with administration issuing statement that upward economic trends in state make it evident current revenue sources, plus tax increases already voted at this session, will "balance proposed $287 million budget for next biennium." Therefore, proposed sales tax increase is now abandoned — governor says he will veto bills exceeding maximum budget proprials — check shows solons have increased taxes enough to bring in over $17 million in "new money" for biennium, all of which expire June 30, 1964, as follows: up cigaret tax from 6 to 8 cents a pack, for $8 million; corporation franchise tax upped from $2 to $2.50 per $1,000 capitaliza-

tion, for $1,875,000; tighten enforcement of beer tax in "dry" counties, $1 million; let Vet Farm and Home loan board repay $600,000 on $10 million appropriation made years ago; up sales tax on contractors from 1½ percent to 2 percent, for $2.5 million; tax sales-rental of manufacturing machinery at 1 percent, for $3 million; and increase special sales tax on whiskey from 5 to 6 percent wholesale, and 8 to 9 percent retail, for $275,000 — Solons now talking sine dine adjournment in May — House met Friday morning (see last paragraph for highlights) — passed over $64 million in appropriations on Wednesday — windup expected to be fast.

BILLS SIGNED BY GOVERNOR — during week included: H 222, trucks on highways not follow within within 300 feet of another vehicle — H 226, highway commission increase speed on in-

(Continued On Page Six)

LETTERS TO EDITOR

Mrs. William P. Taylor
107 Castalian St.
Durant, Miss.
May 5, 1962

Dear Hazel,

The Castalian Street Garden Club members asked me to write you and thank you for your wonderful cooperation and publicity that you gave us for the Festival.

We all appreciate it very much and we appreciate you.

Love,
Rufus Taylor

Anniversary Of Casey Jones' Wreck

April 30, 1962 marked the 62nd anniversary of the wreck of the South Bound Illinois Central "Cannonball" and death of the famed "Casey" Jones at the North switch of a Passing Track at Vaughan station about six miles south of the Overhead bridge near the town of Pickens.

Most all of the younger generation seem to think that "Casey" Jones was a mere fictional engineer, and not real at all. Some adults are of the same opinion, the idea being gathered from the famous song.

Casey Jones, before his death, had established a colorful reputation, both with railroad people and residents along the right of way. Casey had his own whistle, and blew it along the countryside in his own distinctive way, and the people, young ond old, when they heard that long wail, as he rolled along at 60 miles and more, would lovingly say, "That's ole Casey"!

John Luther (Casey) Jones, (1854-1900), was the brave railroad engineer who gave his life to save the lives of his passengers and crew. On the night of April 29, 1900, brought the Illinois Central's fast mail train, the New Orleans-to-Chicago "Cannonball' into Memphis, Tenn. He volunteered to run the Southbound train when he learned the engineer was sick. Early the next morning, through no fault of his, Casey Jones' Engine No. 382 struck the rear of two freight trains protruding from a siding at Vaughan, His body was found in the wreckage with one hand on the throttle and the other on the air-brake lever. If he had not stayed in the engine to put on the brakes, the crash would have been much worse. The song about him has immortalized the skill, courage and drama of railroading. He was born near Cayce, Kentucky.

On the 50th anniversary of the wreck, a party of top officials of the Illinois Central Railroad, led by President Wayne Johnson, disembarked at the Vaughan Yards, and dedicated a monument that had been erected in his honor there. They had stopped the "fast" train, about 20 minutes for the purpose.

There is an historical marker on the North approach of the overhead bridge just out of Pickens, telling about "Casey" Jones.

Casey's fireman, Simms, a Negro whom Casey made jump before the impending collision lived until about two years ago, some 60 years after the wreck, in a home that his white railroad friends and others gave him.

In the year 1900, depots like Durants were the centers of a town's interest with fast passenger trains on the main line. The yards at Gwin were being constructed that year, with Durant serving terminals located at Aberdeen, Tchula and the run through Lexington.

Nationally known Casey Jones was featured on the Wednesday night Perry Como program with the Como group singing the famous song.

ONE YEAR AGO THIS WEEK Lexington newcomers enjoyed a breakfast at the Grammar School lunchroom, sponsored by the Lexington Chamber of Commerce.

Mrs. Jean McLellan, left above, was chairman of arrangements and served as mistress of ceremonies at the affair.

Pictured with her are Mrs. Virginia Crestman, who won the door prize given by Henson-Kickernick; Miss Ann Adams, public school music teacher, and Miss Frances Parker, child welfare worker with the Holmes County Welfare Department.

Miss Bragg Will Become Bride Of Dr. Yarborough May 26th

The Reverend and Mrs. Paul D. Bragg of Lexington announce the engagement and approaching marriage of their daughter Rachel Ann to Dr. John Marion Yarborough, Jr. son of Mr. and Mrs. John Marion Yarborough of Pickens.

Miss Bragg is the granddaughter of Mrs. C. D. Bragg of Greenville, South Carolina and the late Mr. C. D. Bragg and of the late, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Basben of Memphis, Tennessee.

The bride-elect is an honor graduate of Lexington High School where, during her senior year, was presented a loving cup as most outstanding senior. She is a cum laude graduate of Baylor University School of Nursing at Waco, Texas. Miss Bragg is now employed at the Baptist Hospital of New Orleans, where she was recently chosen Nurse of the Year.

Dr. Yarborough's grandparents are Dr. and Mrs. W. F. Yarborough of Jackson and Pickens and Mr. and Mrs. T. S. Horton of Pickens.

A medical officer in the United States Navy stationed in New Orleans, Dr. Yarborough attended Pickens Elementary School, graduated from Holmes Agricultural High School at Goodman and Holmes Junior College. He is also a graduate of Tulane University and Tulane Medical School, where he was president of his graduating class.

The wedding ceremony will be solemnized on Saturday, May 26 at seven-thirty in the evening at the First Baptist Church of Lexington with Dr. James Basden, uncle of the bride-elect performing the ceremony.

No invitations are being mailed in the county. Friends and relatives of the couple are invited to attend the wedding and reception through the medium of the press.

MISS RACHEL ANN BRAGG
— C. Bennette Moore photo

Beauty School First Held By Holmes-Attala Unit

The Holmes-Attala Unit of Cosmetology held a two day school at the Modern Beauty Lounge in Lexington on May 6 and 7.

The school was a first attempt by the organization on a local scale, and proved to be a great success.

Mr. Robert Johnson, of Memphis of the Mohler Sys-

Pam Rutledge Hostess Troop 214

Brownie Troop 214 held its regular meeting on Friday after school on May 4th at the Girl Scout Hut.

Mother's Day gifts were made by members and posters were planned for the Clean-up, Paint-up, Fix-up parade on Friday afternoon.

Pam Rutledge, hostess, served fudge sticks, cookies and Cokes to those present.

Sandra Green, reporter

Miss Cade Elected Officer In MSNA

Miss Edna Anelle Cade, daughter of Mrs. Olive Cade of Lexington was elected second vice president of the Mississippi Student Nurses Association at the semi-annual convention held in Jackson last week.

Miss Cade is a junior student at the University of Mississippi School of Nursing. Sharing honors with her is her roommate, Miss Ann Grif-

News Of Women

SOCIETY ★ CLUBS ★ PERSONALS

Lexington HD Club Met At City Hall

The Lexington Home Demonstration Club met at the City Hall on Thursday, May 3rd at 2:00 p. m. with Mrs. Goldie Rogers and Mrs. Buck Tidwell as hostesses.

Mrs. W. E. Strider, vice president, presided in the absence of Mrs. H. D. Terry, president.

The opening song, "America The Beautiful" was led by Miss Marianna Kimbrough.

The secretary, Miss Addie Vic Bailey read the minutes and called the roll. Fourteen members and one visitor and Miss Harpole were present.

Mrs. Rogers gave the devotional taken from the 10th chapter of John.

Mrs. Robert Autry gave the study topic on "Organization of American States."

Mrs. Goldie Rogers also gave the garden report.

Officers for the coming year were elected and Mrs. Cox was welcomed as a new member.

Miss Harpole reminded members to make plans to attend the following meetings: District Style Show at West Tallahatchie High School on May 11; Officers Workshop, June 29 at Clarksdale; and State Council meeting, June 12-13-14 at Mississippi State University.

A very informative demonstration on home furnishings was given by Miss Harpole.

Recreation was led by Mrs. W. P. Zemp with Miss Mariana Kimbrough winning the prize.

Delicious sandwiches, cookies, potato chips and Coca-Colas were served by the hostesses.

Arrived From England

Mrs. Tommy Gant and son, Donny have arrived home after a five months visit with SP5 Tommy Gant in Harrowgate, England.

Swinney-Tyson Vows Exchanged

Miss Marian Evelyn Tyson and Mr. Auburtin Swinney were united in marriage on Friday, May 4th.

The double ring ceremony was performed in the Ebenezer Methodist Church at 10:00 p. m. by the Rev. Crawford Ray of Lexington.

Miss Glenda Faye Rodgers and Mr. Samuel Hearn, Jr. of Coxburg were the only attendants.

The bride is the daughter of Mrs. Olive Tyson of Coxburg and the late Mr. Ellis Tyson.

Mr. Swinney's parents are Mr. and Mrs. W. R. Swinney of Lexington.

The bride was lovely in a white ballerina length dress featuring a bouffant skirt. Her accessories were also white.

Mr. and Mrs. Swinney are now making their home in the Coxburg community.

Morris Schur Wins Award At Ole Miss

Morris Schur, son of Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Schur, has been presented a military award in the Air Force ROTC at the University of Mississippi.

Morris graduates from the University in late May and his award gives him a choice of a scholarship at the University of Missouri or the University of Colorado.

McDANIELS' AWARDED YARD PLAQUE FOR MAY

The attractive lawn of Mr. and Mrs. C. M. McDaniel on Pine Street bears the "Yard of the Month" plaque for the month of May.

These plaques are placed monthly by The Lexington Garden Club and selected by a group of secret judges.

All interested persons are invited to drive by and view

Lexington Garden—

(Continued from Page One)

tastes and budgets.

One of the pictures taken in a city apartment shows rather plain, dull "Old Room" transformed into a "New Room," which suddenly comes to life and sparkles with the lavish use of colorful fabric.

The "New Room" also takes on additional height by means of ceiling-to-floor draperies on the window and behind the bed. In striking tones of blue and lavender the exquisite printed fabric created by Charles Bloom, Inc. is one of a great variety of Celanese Contemporary Fiber Fabrics available today.

"New Rooms For Old" will be shown on May 15, at the Baptist Church basement at 1:00 o'clock for the Lexington Garden Club Luncheon. Mrs. B. W. Humphrey, Jr. will read the commentary on the 56 slides in the program.

This film may help you solve your decorating problems. The program features a beautiful dress length given as a door prize.

Mrs. P. H. Williams and Mrs. Tom Riley, cochairmen of the flower show list the outline and rules as follows:

Division I—Artistic: "Beauty Is Our Business"

CLASS I: "Beauty Outdoors and In"

A design using plants that beautify the landscape and the arrangement.

CLASS II: "Wing Beauty"

An arrangement using birds in the design.

CLASS III: "Bread, Butter and Beauty"

An arrangement suitable for a luncheon table.

CLASS IV: "Beauty Is Where You Find It"

Oriental line design using branches and a minimum of flowers.

CLASS V: "Beauty Queen Of The Garden"

Rhythmic design with roses predominating.

Division II — Horticulture "Beauty Unlimited"

CLASS A: Roses. Names, one stem.

1. Hybrid Tea
2. Floribunda
3. Grandiflora
4. Climbing, cluster type, 18 to 24 inches
5. Climbing, Hybrid Tea, 18 to 24 inches

CLASS B: Iris. Names if possible. One stalk.

C, white; D, any other color.

2. Double: Colors as stated above.

CLASS D: Bulbs — One stem

CLASS E: Lillies. To be judged according to kind and color.

1. Specimen bloom: A, red; B, pink; C, white; D, yellow; E, bi-color.

CLASS F: Distinctive Plant. Correctly named.

1. Rare or unusual plant.
2. Flowering tree. Spray not over two feet.
3. Flowering shrub. Spray not over two feet.

CLASS G: Perennials and Biennials. Judged as to kind and color.

1. Daisies, three stems.
2. Snapdragons, three stems
3. Verbena, one stem.
4. Any other worthy specimen.

CLASS H: Pot Plants.

1. Flowering plants.
2. Foliage plants.
3. African violets

CLASS I: Annuals or Plants Grown as Such. Judged as to kind and color.

1. Calendula, three stems.
2. Petunia, single, three stems.

Doll Show Sponsored By DAR To Be Presented May 18th

A "Godey's Ladies in Miniature" doll show will be presented at Grenada on Friday, May 18th as announced by Mrs. Joy W. Brooks, regent of the Benjamin G. Humphreys chapter of the Daughters if the American Revolution Society.

The show will include a collection of dolls owned by Mrs. Harry Alexander of Grenada and other collections. All will be dressed in handmade period costumes.

Mrs. L. J. Doaks of Grenada, sister of Mr. O. L. Ellison of Lexington, will arrange period floral designs to complement the dolls.

The show will be held at the Civic Auditorium in Grenada at 3:00 p. m. and is sponsored by the Grenada DAR chapter. Tickets are one dollar. The public is cordially invited to attend.

Texas Visitors

Mr. and Mrs. B. C. House of McAllen, Texas, are visiting her brother and sister-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Ellis, Jr this week.

Beth McWilliams MSPA Officer

Miss Beth McWilliams has been elected treasurer of Mississippi Scholastic Press Association for the 1962-63 school year.

A convention of school journalists was held last weekend at the University of Mississippi.

Attend MSMA

Dr. and Mrs. Paul B. Brumby went to Jackson on Tuesday to attend the Mississippi Medical Association convention being held there.

To Greenwood

Members of the Holmes County Health Department who spent Monday in Greenwood, on health department business, were Mrs. Betty Ellis, Mrs. Hosea Grisham, Mrs. Hal Gilliam, Mrs. Maud Legate and Mrs. Virginia Land.

To Natchez

Mrs. Maud Legate visited in Natchez from Friday through Sunday as guest of her son, Claude Legate, Mrs. Legate and children, Dennis, Claudia and Wesley. Claudia has a mild case of measles.

From Grenara

Miss Mozelle McCaulla and her mother, Mrs. Mitch Chambley both of Grenada, were visitors in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Walter D. Smith Sunday.

Attend Memorial Service

Memorial Day service at Pleasant Ridge Baptist church was held on Sunday, May 6. Among those attending were Mrs. Connie Moorhead, Miss Linda Moorhead, Mrs. T. J. Evans and Miss Blanche McLellan.

RICKY THEATRE
Lexington, Miss.
'Second Time Around'
Thurs. Fri. Sat. Sun.
Mon Tues.
May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
In Color
Starring
Debbie Reynolds
Andy Griffith
Thelma Ritter - Steve Forest
Juliet Prowse - Ken Scott

S. Horton of Pickens.

A medical officer in the United States Navy stationed in New Orleans, Dr. Yarborough attended Pickens Elementary School, graduated from Holmes Agricultural High School at Goodman and Holmes Junior College. He is also a graduate of Tulane University and Tulane Medical School, where he was president of his graduating class.

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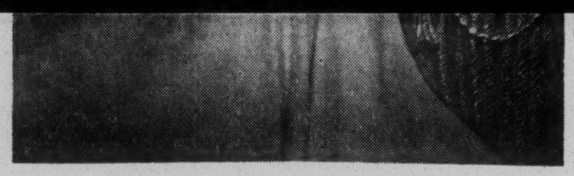

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— C. Bennette Moore photo

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The school was a first attempt by the organization on a local scale, and proved to be a great success.

Mr. Robert Johnson, of Memphis of the Mohler System of Beauty Culture, served as instructor. Mr. Ray Nephery, whose picture was shown in our last issue is a student of Mr. Johnson.

Modern styling techniques with live models were featured by the twenty operators attending. In attractive surroundings made beautiful by arrangements of choice flowers, gifts from friends of the unit, and Miss Clara Ware president.

Wins Law Award

Timothy Jones of McComb and the University of Mississippi has been recognized for outstanding accomplishments at the University.

Mr. Jones is married to the former Miss Sara Evelyn Sudbeck of Lexington, and along with four other law students, were presented law awards including the Mississippi Law Journal award, Moot Court winner and the Phi Delta Phi award.

WSCS District Meeting

Among those who attended the sub-district Woman's Society of Christian Service meeting held in Pickens on Friday were Mrs. Joe Moore, Mrs. Ruth Roach, Mrs. P. H. Williams, Mrs. R. M. Gwin and Mrs. I. R. King.

Pam Rutledge Hostess Troop 214

Brownie Troop 214 held its regular meeting on Friday after school on May 4th at the Girl Scout Hut.

Mother's Day gifts were made by members and posters were planned for the Clean-up, Paint-up, Fix-up parade on Friday afternoon.

Pam Rutledge, hostess, served fudge sticks, cookies and Cokes to those present.

Sandra Green, reporter

Extend Sympathy

Sympathy is extended to Mr. Joe Latham of Jackson in the recent death of his mother-in-law, Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor Peek of Morton.

Mrs. Peek will be remembered for her frequent visits here when Mr. Latham and the late Mrs. Latham resided in Lexington.

At the age of 87, she had outlived most members of her immediate family. In addition to Mr. Latham, she is survived by two grandchildren and four great grandchildren.

From New Orleans

Miss Ann Bragg of New Orleans is enjoying a vacation at home with Rev. and Mrs. P. D. Bragg.

Attend School

Mr. and Mrs. Robert Johnson of Memphis attended the Holmes-Attala Beauty Culture School held at the Modern Beauty Lounge on May 6th and 7th.

From Oxford

Mr. and Mrs. Red Byrd and daughters, Beverly and Leigh Ann of Oxford spent Sunday with Mrs. Dot Craney, Mrs. Jesse Byrd and Mr. and Mrs. Dewitt Nabors.

Miss Cade Elected Officer In MSNA

Miss Edna Anelle Cade, daughter of Mrs. Olive Cade of Lexington was elected second vice president of the Mississippi Student Nurses Association at the semi-annual convention held in Jackson last week.

Miss Cade is a junior student at the University of Mississippi School of Nursing. Sharing honors with her is her roommate, Miss Ann Griffin of Meridian. Miss Griffin was elected "Miss Student Nurse", and a classmate, Miss Becky Cox of Biloxi was elected president of the association.

Miss Cox is the fiancee of Mr. David Samuelson of Tchula, a student in the school of medicine at the University Hospital in Jackson.

In Hospital

Mr. Jesse Boatwright is a patient at St Dominic Hospital in Jackson. Donald Boatwright and Jimmy Boatwright visited him on Saturday and Mrs. Boatwright, Mrs. Marcia Jackson and Mr. Lonnie Boatwright went down on Sunday. Mr. Boatwright underwent surgery on Tuesday.

Return To Base

Lt. Steve Reid arrived Wednesday from duty in Puerto Rico and left Friday for his base at Le Jeune, North Carolina. He was accompanied by Mrs. Reid and Stevie who had been visiting Mr. and Mrs. Jack Reid and Mrs. W. H. Fincher, Sr.

Attends Church

Mrs. Olive Broome attended church services on Sunday afternoon at Liberty Chapel.

of American States.

Mrs. Goldie Rogers also gave the garden report.

Officers for the coming year were elected and Mrs. Cox was welcomed as a new member.

Miss Harpole reminded members to make plans to attend the following meetings: District Style Show at West Tallahatchie High School on May 11; Officers Workshop, June 29 at Clarksdale; and State Council meeting, June 12-13-14 at Mississippi State University.

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Arrived From England

Mrs. Tommy Gant and son, Donny have arrived home after a five months visit with SP5 Tommy Gant in Harrowgate, England.

Attend Stage Show

Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Schur and Mrs. Yetta Kaplan of Pickens went to the University of Mississippi on Friday night to attend the production of South Pacific and visit their sons, Morris Schur and Roy Kaplan, students at the University.

Business Visitor

Edwin Faulconer of Ebenezer was a business visitor to Lexington on Saturday.

Dinner Guests

Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Schur and Mr. and Mrs. E. Cohen were dinner guests on Sunday of Mrs. Yetta Kaplan at her home in Pickens.

Attend Recital

Mrs. Lee Daniel of Pickens, accompanied by Miss Minnie Pearce and Mrs. Pearl Patton, attended the piano recital recently at the Lexington Grammar School, to hear her grandson, Sam Daniel perform.

Church Visitors

Mrs. Jesse Byrd and Mrs. Aaron Gantt were visitors at the regular service at Liberty Chapel Church on Sunday.

Holmes County Community Hospital

White Patients

Mrs. Belle Waggoner, Pickens
Mrs. Clara Ginn Bruce, Lexington
Mrs. H. W. Earle, Clarksdale
Mrs. Olivia Wilkerson, Lexington
Mrs. Annie F. Stewart, Lexington
Miss Charlie Harrison, Lexington
Mrs. Biddie Hocutt, Lexington
Claude Harthcock, Tchula
Mrs. Joe D. Williams, Lexington
Mrs. Jenny Quinn, Goodman
Mrs. Janice Wynne, Pickens
Mrs. Mary Gilliam, Lexington

Colored Patients

Roosevelt Anderson
Lela Mae Walton
Alice Kilpatrick
Willie Lou White
Priscilla Phillips
Matilda Gatson
Tempie Ellis
Grace Weatherspoon
Chuffus Horton
Isiah Haymond
Owen Ambrose
Mattie Davis
Margaret Miller
Jessie Williams
Doc Hudson
Dale Brown

her accessories were also white.

Mr. and Mrs. Swinney are now making their home in the Coxburg community.

Morris Schur Wins Award At Ole Miss

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All interested persons are invited to drive by and view the lovely pink roses and matching verbena which borders the walk.

Visiting Mother

Guest of Mrs. R. M. Gwin is her daughter, Mrs. Thomas Jones of West Point, Georgia. Mrs. Jones made the trip by car and will remain through Mother's Day on Sunday.

Holmes HD Clubs Held Achievement Program In Lexington Thursday Night

Clubs, Members Recognized For Outstanding Work

In celebration of National Home Demonstration Club Week members of the seventeen Holmes HD Clubs held an achievement program on Thursday night at the Lexington Grammar School Cafeteria.

The purpose of this event was to recognize clubs and members for outstanding work during the past year and to give their families an opportunity to find out what HD work is composed of.

Mrs. William Brock of West, Holmes County Council President, presided.

Awards were presented by Mrs. Brock, Mrs. James Summerlin, Council vice president; Mrs. J. L. Braddock, district awards chairman; and Mrs. J. A. Hearn, council secretary.

Club Of Year

The West club received a plaque as "Club of the Year". This was the third consecutive year this club has achieved this honor.

An attendance ribbon was given the Pickens Club for having perfect attendance at all seven Council meetings for the year.

A number of members were recognized as 25-year-members wearing membership pins and several who are eligible for pins were also noted. These pins will be presented at a later date.

Mrs. W. C. Downer of the Emory Club was recognized as the oldest member in the county. Mrs. Downer is 84 years old.

Youngest club members are Mrs. John C. Burwell Ebenezer and Mrs. Wayne Sims, of Goodman.

The purpose of recognizing these members was to point out that the younger club members represent the future progress of Home Demonstration Club in the county.

Enrollment

Pickens has the largest enrollment with thirty-one members, Cruger and Brozville follow with thirty, and Coxburg third with twenty-eight. The Goodman club has the largest number of new members for the year.

The Richland club reported the higest percentage of attendance at club meetings.

Mrs. W. L. Devine of the Brozville club was first place winner for the best garden of the year.

Homemakers ribbons were presented to Mrs. Roscoe Johnson, first; Mrs. J. W. Potts, second; and Mrs. Harold Brock, third.

Individuals recognized as having perfect attendance at Council meetings were Mrs. Harold Brock, Durant; Mrs. J. W. Burwell, Ebenezer; Mrs. W. L. Dickard, Pickens; Mrs. James Summerlin, Richland; and Mrs. W. B. Farmer, Bethesda.

Mrs. James Summerlin gave special tribute to the program leaders of the year for a job well performed.

An added feature was the presentation of demonstrations by the following 4-H Club members: Pat Slack, Dona Kaye Pierce, and John Maxwell.

The program closed with a film made at State Council held at Mississippi State University last summer. This film was made and presented through the courtesy of Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Preceding the program a delicious dish dinner was enjoyed.

Approximately one hundred members and guests attended this entertaining event.

Visits Father

Mr. and Mrs. O. A. Cleveland spent Sunday in Union with her father, Mr. J. O. Thrash.

ty Is Our Business"

CLASS I: "Beauty Outdoors and In"

A design using plants that beautify the landscape and the arrangement.

CLASS II: "Wing Beauty"

An arrangement using birds in the design.

CLASS III: "Bread, Butter and Beauty"

An arrangement suitable for a luncheon table.

CLASS IV: "Beauty Is Where You Find It"

Oriental line design using branches and a minimum of flowers.

CLASS V: "Beauty Queen Of The Garden"

Rhythmic design with roses predominating.

Division II — Horticulture "Beauty Unlimited"

CLASS A: Roses. Names, one stem.

1. Hybrid Tea
2. Floribunda
3. Grandiflora
4. Climbing, cluster type, 18 to 24 inches
5. Climbing, Hybrid Tea, 18 to 24 inches

CLASS B: Iris. Names if possible. One stalk.

1. Bearded Iris; A, white; B, yellow; C, blue; D, purple; E, pink; F, bronze; G, red; H, bi-color; I, any other color
2. Iris; any other than bearded. Colors as stated above.
3. Dutch Iris; colors as stated above.

CLASS C: Peonies

1. Single: A, red; B, pink; C, white; D, any other color.
2. Double: Colors as stated above.

CLASS D: Bulbs — One stem

CLASS E: Lillies. To be judged according to kind and color.

1. Specimen bloom: A, red; B, pink; C, white; D, yellow; E, bi-color.

CLASS F: Distinctive Plant. Correctly named.

1. Rare or unusual plant.
2. Flowering tree. Spray not over two feet.
3. Flowering shrub. Spray not over two feet.

CLASS G: Perennials and Biennials. Judged as to kind and color.

1. Daisies, three stems.
2. Snapdragons, three stems
3. Verbena, one stem.
4. Any other worthy specimen.

CLASS H: Pot Plants.

1. Flowering plants.
2. Foliage plants.
3. African violets

CLASS I: Annuals or Plants Grown as Such. Judged as to kind and color.

1. Calendula, three stems.
2. Petunia, single, three stems.
3. Petunia, double, one stem
4. Petunia, ruffled, one stem.
5. Larkspur, one stem.
6. Nasturtiums, five stems.
7. Sweet peas, ten stems.
8. Poppies, one stem.
9. Pansies, five stems.
10. Any other worthy specimen not named above.

Miss Mozelle McCaulla and her mother, Mrs. Mitch Chambley both of Grenada, were visitors in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Walter D. Smith Sunday.

Attend Memorial Service

Memorial Day service at Pleasant Ridge Baptist church was held on Sunday, May 6. Among those attending were Mrs. Connie Moorhead, Miss Linda Moorhead, Mrs. T. J. Evans and Miss Blanche McLellan.

RICKY THEATRE
Lexington, Miss.

'Second Time Around'
Thurs. Fri. Sat. Sun.
Mon Tues.
May 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
In Color
Starring
Debbie Reynolds
Andy Griffith
Thelma Ritter - Steve Forest
Juliet Prowse - Ken Scott

'The Racers'
In Color
Starring
Kirk Douglas
Wed - Thurs.
May 16-17

Which Whitten
Do YOU Believe????

March 17, 1960—"The most any southerner can hope to do with a chairmanship or a key position is to have a better office, more employees..."
Rep. Jamie L. Whitten, (in a speech on the floor of House of Representatives)

April 14, 1962 – Rep. Jamie L. Whitten said that his key position on the Agricultural Appropriations subcommittee must be preserved to protect Mid-South farming interests."
Rep. Jamie L. Whitten, (Dispatch from Grenada, Miss. in Memphis Commercial Appeal)

One of the employees on Mr. Whitten's committee staff is his sister, Mrs. Mary Smallwood.

Vote For FRANK E. SMITH
for U. S. Representative on JUNE 5
Submitted to and approved by J. D. Lundy

What's your boiling point?

Keep cool with a kitchen phone... the smart way to save steps, spill-overs *and* tempers!

Southern Bell
CHOICE OF LOVELY DECORATOR COLORS TO PEP UP YOUR KITCHEN

County Agent's Notes

By W. R. SULLIVAN

HERBICIDAL OILING CAN SAVE MONEY . . .

If you are planning on oiling your cotton a level, smooth, uniform seed bed is essential if oil is to be used effectively. Clods on the drill surface will tend to direct the oil in the buds of the cotton and cause damage.

Oil can be applied as soon as the cotton plants are high enough for a directive spray under the leaves. Usually when cotton is from 7 to 10 days old.

The first application should be applied at the rate of 5-7 gallons per acre. After the first application or after the cotton is 3 weeks old no more than 5 gallons of oil per acre should be used at one application. There should be at least 5 days between each application of oiling. Do not apply more than three applications of oil.

Weeds are best controlled with oil when they are small. Oil can be expected to kill crab grass, seedling Johnson grass, morning glories and pig weeds. You cannot expect to kill such grasses as bermuda grass, established Johnson grass and nut grass. However, oiling does have a tendency to retard the growth of these grasses.

Be sure that you are spraying no higher than one inch up on cotton stem. If the wind is blowing too much and causing the oil to get on the leaves of the cotton you had better stop oiling until the wind dies down. Or you may use a larger tip and lower your pressure if the wind is not too high and get by O. K.

* * * * *

Thrip Control —

Let me urge that you control thrip on your young seedling cotton as soon as possible after you have a stand of cotton. Thrip can delay the maturity of your cotton for 10-14 days. Thrip can be controlled successfully at about 20-40 cents per acre for the cost of the insecticide depending on the insecticide you use.

Materials for controlling thrip are:

Dieldren — at the rate of one gallon mixed in enough water for 20 acres.

Aldrin — 1 gallon mixed in enough water for 18 acres.

Endrin — 1 gallon mixed in enough water for 18 acres.

Toxaphene — 1 gallon mixed in enough water for 6 or 7 acres.

Each of these materials will do a good job of controlling thrip if you direct the material directly over top of the plants.

After the first application wait 7 days and make another application for thrip.

The dosage of materials mentioned above will not control cutworms. If cutworms are a problem they can be killed by using 1 gallon of endrin mixed in enough water for 8 acres of cotton; toxaphene — 1 gallon of 6 pound toxaphene mixed in enough water to cover 2½ acres or dieldren — 1 gallon mixed in enough water to cover 5 acres. Where using this amount for cutworms you will automatically take care of thrip and other insects on the plants.

* * * * *

Grazing Clover —

Crimson clover, white Dutch clover and wild winter peas should be grazed heavy during the rest of the grazing period as these clovers will begin to die out as the weather becomes hotter. So be sure and get as much grazing from them as possible.

* * * * *

Vaccination —

Just a reminder to be sure and vaccinate all your calves for black leg and malignant edema. Grown cows that have not been vaccinated this year should be vaccinated for malignant edema.

In areas where anthrax has been known to have occured vaccinate all cattle, horses and mules for anthrax. It is better to prevent a disease than try to cure one after it occurs.

Home Agent's Notes

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS REVIEW

KNAPP-MONARCH TO EXPAND

The Knapp-Monarch Company of Holly Springs, (formerly Metalcraft), will expand its operations under a "Balance Agriculture With Industry" bond issue of $100,000 to be submitted to a vote in the near future. The Agricultural and Industrial Board has granted a certificated authorizing the BAWI election. H. H. Stanley, manager of the metal company, said plan call for construction of another building on a site immediately north of the present one. The new building will contain 20,000 square feet and will manufacture component parts for machines produced by the company's St. Louis factory.

* * * *

GOVERNOR CITES NEED FOR SKILLED WORKERS

Mississippi must have technically-trained workers for industry or the state will lose out in competition with other Southern states, according to Governor Ross Barnett. The governor said many industrial prospects have told him they would come to Mississippi if the state had an organized program for the training of skilled manpower.

Gov. Barnett said, "What we need is an improved program of vocational technical education in our secondary schools and colleges. We must train young Mississippians for technical jobs."

* * * *

MISSISSIPPIANS' INCOME UP

Mississippi ranked sixth in the nation and second in the South in the rate of increase in total annual income in 1961, according to a statement released by the Secretary of State's office. This report is further supported by the State Tax Commission's announcement that state income taxes for the first four months of 1962 are some $750,000 ahead of the same period in 1961.

* * * *

CONTRACT LET FOR LOUISVILLE EXPANSION

A contract has been let for a $350,000 expansion program at Taylor Machine Works in Louisville. Two new build-

JOHN SQUIRES, left, of Jackson is congratulated upon being chosen president of the Forest Farmers Association by outgoing president Herman Baggenstoss, right, as Mississippi's Queen of the Forest Gwen Cooper watches. Squires, chief forester with Sears Roebuck and Company was elected at the recent Southern Forestry Conference in Memphis.

Miss Cooper joined with Squires in reminding people that Mississippi now has the timber resources to support additional forest industries and many favorable conditions for industrial development. Squires has been active in promoting forest development in Mississippi and is chairman of Governor Barnett's Forestry Advisory Committee.

Farming Today . . . .

CROSS-PLOWED COTTON

Cotton drilled for cross-plowing may be treated with a post-herbicide before first cultivation. This practice will eliminate a lot of hand hoeing later.

* * * *

SPACE CROSS-PLOWED COTTON . . . .

Cross-plow drilled cotton on 40 inches centers leaving ten inches of drill for hills. Leave eight to 15 plants per hill for best yields.

* * * *

SPACING COTTON ON HILL FIELDS

On hill land where moisture is limited leave one to three plants per hill, nine to 12 inches apart in the drill.

On bottom land in hill areas leave three to five plants per hill, 14 to 22 inches apart in the drill.

* * * *

SPACING COTTON IN DELTA AREA

On good cotton land leave two to five plants per hill, results are obtained from placing liquid mixed and nitrogens in the soil. Research shows more nitrogen is needed for crop production on dry years.

Sidedressing with nitrogen fertilizers applies to cotton, corn and sorghums. Topdressing permanent pastures, Coastal Bermuda and Johnson grass meadows pay big profits.

MAY'S GARDEN WORK

Plant growth is at its maximum this month. All plant life is active. Even the sluggish species that are slow to start are wide awake and growing like mad this month. Weeds and insects are active also. Of all the months of the year, this is one when the gardener must be up doing; and nature is doing her best to help.

1961 Death Toll Smaller Despite More Traveling

Jackson, Miss. — (Special) —Two hundred fewer Americans were killed in motor vehicle accidents in 1961 than in the previous year, despite an increase in total miles traveled according to William J. Dalrymple, Vicksburg Ford dealer who is chairman of the Automotive Safety Committee of the Mississippi Automobile Dealers Assoication.

"We automobile dealers attribute this progress to the increase of driver education and training in our schools and the work of numerous civic clubs and organizations," he said.

Dalrymple remarked that members of the Mississippi Automobile Dealers Association are pledged to a safety program with the objective of saving lives on the highway. He reported that 79 Mississippi dealers last year joined

Laws Given By State Game And Fish Commission

A new law passed recently permits quail raised in pens to be sold commercially by licensed breeders.

The breeder's license may be obtained from the state Game and Fish Commisison for $25.00 and is valid for one year. The breeder must exhibit the license at all times at the place where the quail are bred. He is required to keep permanent records of all sales.

Pen-raised quail are defined by the law as those hatched from eggs laid by quail confined in pens, and wholly raised there by a licensed breeder.

Quail carcasses offered for sale must bear tags issued by the Game and Fish Commission. These tags cannot be copied or re-used. Quail brough in from out-of-state must bear Mississippi tags before they can be offered for sale in Mississippi.

The law also provides for special invoices, storage and transportation of quail.

Violators of any provisions of this law may be fined from $100.00 to $500.00, or face imprisonment, or both. A licensee convicted of violating provisions of this act will have his license revoked immediately.

Wildlife Protection

A law protecting wildlife states that hunting, killing or catching alligators is illegal in Mississippi, and requires persons selling frogs and turtles for novelty purposes to have a resident hunting and fishing license, or a special permit.

The law, which went into effect on March 28, 1962, states that it is unlawful for any person to hunt, kill, or catch turtles and frogs for commercial use without the special permit. The permit is issued by the Game and Fish Commission for $200.00 Persons who have been convicted of violating game and fish regulations are ineligible for the permit.

Violators of this law are liable to a fine of from $25.00 to $200.00.

Jack A. Warren, Jr., public relations director of the Game and Fish Commission, says he "will try to keep the

Capitol News

By HEBER LADNER

ON THE FARM . . . .

The people who live on farms are at their busiest peak right now. This is attested by the bee hive activity that is evident in the small town seed, feed and fertilizer stores equipment yards and shops, petroleum stations, and on the highways of the state where trucks race to keep tune with the hum of tractor motors in nearby fields. Make hay while the sun shines never had more meaning than at the planting season.

* * * *

STATE RANKS FIFTH IN BROILER PRODUCTION

Some 139,373,000 broiler chicks were placed in Mississippi last year, an increase of 17 million over 1960's volume, giving Mississippi the rank of America's fifth largest producer. Mississippi produced about seven per cent of the national total in 1961. The state is especially fortunate in having an ideal climate for broiler production and in the proximity to key markets. Scientific techniques and improved management are increasingly effective in the production.

* * * *

CASH FROM GOOD PASTURES . . . . .

All agricultural research and farm experience attest to the basic place of permanent pastures in the profitable production of livestock. There are valid reasons why fast growing pastures composed of both grasses and clovers contribute so largely to the economical production of meat and milk. Such pasturage contains all of the elements needed by animals to produce growth and milk. Tender grasses and clovers are rich in protein, packed with essential vitamins, and are rich in needed minerals. Springtime reveals the high value of pastures as the warm days and rising temperatures bring a burst of quick growth and tender herbage on pasturelands.

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In areas where anthrax has been known to have occured vaccinate all cattle, horses and mules for anthrax. It is better to prevent a disease than try to cure one after it occurs.

Home Agent's Notes

By MARY HARPOLE

28 DOZEN EGGS! The hens of the United States laid enough eggs last year for each man, woman and child to have almost 28 dozen. Just think of the scrambled eggs, omelets, sunnyside-ups all these eggs will make. And good eating, too!

* * * *

MILDEW ON LEATHER GOODS. To remove mildew from leather shoes, glover and purses, wipe the articles with a cloth moistened in a solution of 1 cup denatured or rubbing alcohol and 1 cup water. Dry in an airy place.

* * * * *

WOODWORK IN THE KITCHEN. Plan carefully the finish and color for the woodwork in your kitchen. First, you will want it smooth and easy to clean. A light color is most desirable. You will find an enameled finish or light varnished finish satisfactory.

Choose a light color that repeats or blends with the color of walls or furnishings. The small kitchen looks larger when woodwork and cabinets are the same color as the walls or when they are a bit lighter or darker than the walls. You can use sharper contrasts in color when your room is very large and when openings are well located.

* * * *

SELECTING FRESH VEGETABLES AND FRUITS — To get highest quality of fruits and vegetables that fit your family needs:

1. Make your own selection.
2. Don't buy just because the price is low.
3. Consider fruits and vegetables in season in nearby areas.
4. Don't buy more than you can store without waste.
5. Don't buy fruits and vegetables that show excessive ripeness, limpness, sprouting or other deterioration.
6. Remember the largest is not always the best.
7. Distinguish between defects in looks and those that affect eating quality.
8. Watch for full measure. Some containers may be packed or replaced with loose or "slack pack", which reduces the actual amount. Examine containers that appear to be "faced" with the best specimens. The face layer may conceeal ordinary or poor quality.
9. Consider buying fruits and vegetables designated by the U.S.D.A. as plentiful foods.
10. Do not handle produce unnecessarily.

GRAVES LIVESTOCK COMPANY

Winona, Mississippi

★ Highest Prices

★ Lowest Commission Rates

★ Fast Efficient Service

★ Capable Personnel

★ More Money To Take Home.

In Business Since 1936

We Want Your Business, If We Are Not Getting It.

Livestock Auction Every Tuesday

Office Phone 434 Res. Phones 448 & 872

Billy Graves

GOVERNMENT SURPLUS SALES

Now anyone can buy Direct from U. S. Government Surplus Depots by mail for your self or for resale. Cameras, binoculars, cars, jeeps, trucks boats, hardware, office machines, and equipment, items, tools and tens-of thousands of other items at a fraction of their original cost. Many items brand new. For list of hundreds of U. S. Government Surplus Depots, located in every state and overseas with pamphlet "How Government Can Ship Direct To You," plus procedures. How To Buy and how to get Free Surplus. Mail $2.00 to Surplus Sales Information Services, P. O. Box No. 1818, Washington 5, D. C.

would come to Mississippi if the state had an organized program for the training of skilled manpower.

Gov. Barnett said, "What we need is an improved program of vocational technical education in our secondary schools and colleges. We must train young Mississippians for technical jobs."

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CONTRACT LET FOR LOUISVILLE EXPANSION

A contract has been let for a $350,000 expansion program at Taylor Machine Works in Louisville. Two new buildings will be constructed for the company and should be completed within five months. Taylor Machine Works manufactures logging and other equipment.

* * * *

NEW INDUSTRY OPENS AT SENATOBIA

Governor Ross Barnett presided at the official opening of Senatobia's new $1.5 million Chromcraft, Inc. plant. The plant will manufacture metal furniture and will employ 400. The 240,000-square-foot plant was financed by a BAWI bond issue which passed 2,193 to 39. Payroll at the plant is expected to be close to $1,000,000.00 a year.

* * * *

VICKSBURG TO GET WOODWORKING PLANT

The Vicksburg Chamber of Commerce has announced that Donnell Builders will locate a woodworking plant in its Industrial Park. Construction will start immediately on the plant, according to the announcement, and the firm will produce doors, windows, kitchen cabinets and other millwork items. Initial employment will be approximately 20.

* * * *

ABERDEEN PLANT NEARING COMPLETION

Carondelet Manufacturing Company's Aberdeen plant is nearing completion and machinery will be moved in this month. Church furniture will be manufactured in the 30,000 square-foot structure when completed.

* * * *

MOELLER ADDS NEW DIVISION . . . .

Moeller Manufacturing Company, Greenville, has purchased the Ken-Flo Division of Walker, Minnesota, in order to expand its marine life, according to R. L. Peterson, Moeller executive vice president. Negotiations with the parent company, Flo-Tronics, Inc., Minneapolis, were completed in April. The purchase will expand the manufacturing company's marine line with eight plastic accessories. "We plan to go into other plastic items," Peterson said. The new products to be manufactured by the Greenville concern, which presently manufactures stoppers and closures for home and industry, include a directional ventilator for boats, a tiller groment, a transom drain tube and related items. Moeller moved to Greenville from Racine, Wisconsin, in 1960.

Farming Today . . . .

CROSS-PLOWED COTTON

Cotton drilled for cross-plowing may be treated with a post-herbicide before first cultivation. This practice will eliminate a lot of hand hoeing later.

* * * *

SPACE CROSS-PLOWED COTTON . . . .

Cross-plow drilled cotton on 40 inches centers leaving ten inches of drill for hills. Leave eight to 15 plants per hill for best yields.

* * * *

SPACING COTTON ON HILL FIELDS

On hill land where moisture is limited leave one to three plants per hill, nine to 12 inches apart in the drill.

On bottom land in hill areas leave three to five plants per hill, 14 to 22 inches apart in the drill.

* * * *

SPACING COTTON IN DELTA AREA

On good cotton land leave two to five plants per hill, 14 to 22 inches apart in the drill.

On heavy clay soils leave two to three stalks per hill, 12 to 14 inches apart in the drill.

* * * *

FIRST CULTIVATION OF COTTON . . . .

Do not disturb level, wide seedbed with disk-hillers or sweeps before using post-herbicides. Too many farmers get in a hurry to cultivate and ruin drill surface for later effective use of oiling or flaming.

* * * *

NITROGEN FOR SIDEDRESSING . . . .

Long range weather forecast indicates a dry summer so sidedress early. As soon as your stand of cotton is assured sidedress with solid or liquid nitrogen fertilizer.

Apply in a band six to eight inches from drill. Place fertilizer applicator knife away from pre-emergence band. If liquid nitrogen is used, place hose and nozzle behind sweep next to drill. Run this sweep deeper than regular cultivation. Best results are obtained from placing liquid mixed and nitrogens in the soil. Research shows more nitrogen is needed for crop production on dry years.

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Violators of this law are liable to a fine of from $25.00 to $200.00.

Jack A. Warren, Jr., public relations director of the Game and Fish Commission, says he "will try to keep the public informed of any new developments in game and fish information in Mississippi."

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DOWPON kills Johnson grass . . . roots and all

Why settle for more expensive, less effective results on Johnson grass in cotton and other high-value land when control is cheaper and more effective with Dowpon® grass killer?

The minute Dowpon is sprayed on the leaves, it starts being absorbed into every fiber of the grass, including roots and rhizomes. And Johnson grass—so tough to control by other methods—yields to the "tops-to-roots" killing power of Dowpon.

A program of two to four applications of Dowpon this season will control Johnson grass at low cost. Actually, the first application, when grass is about 12" high, brings amazing control—from 50% to 90% of top growth depending upon thoroughness of application. Then, since resprouting and regrowth problems are reduced, follow-up treatments (spaced about 4 weeks apart) require less time, less Dowpon. You save dollars. And it costs less than ineffective and time consuming treating and retreating necessary with oiling or chopping.

In high-value cotton land . . . in drainage ditches . . . and in other farm areas, you'll find that Dowpon really controls Johnson and other problem grasses—roots and all! Put it to work on your farm. See your Dow farm supplier for all the facts on Dowpon.

PRODUCT ADVERTISED HEREIN COMPLIES WITH U.S. LAW
When used as directed on label and in accordance with good practices, complies with Food and Drug Law and other Federal Laws.

THE DOW CHEMICAL COMPANY DOW Midland, Michigan

BPW Officers Installed Thursday

Lucille Truitt Will Serve As New President

Mrs. Lucille Truitt was installed as new president of the Durant Business and Professional Women's Club Thurs hee plans to attend Louisiana monies held at Hotel Coffee day night at installation cere- Mrs. Erma White.

Other officers who were installed at this time and who will serve along with Mrs. Truitt are Mrs. Margie McNeer, first vice president; Mrs. Mable Ellis, second vice president; Mrs. Sara Nell Martin, third vice president; Mrs. Mildred Kinnebrew, recording secretary; Mrs. Jessie C. Lewis, treasurer; and Mrs. Jamatha Dickerson, corresponding secretary.

The key installation service was given, after which club members pledged their cooperation during the coming year.

Mrs. Lovie Glenn gave a most interesting talk on the club emblem.

Outgoing President Rachel Winters, gave the president's address and presented the gavel to the in-coming president, Mrs. Truitt, who will fill the office for her second term, since being a member.

Preceding the installation service a delicious meal was enjoyed. Lovely arrangements of spring flowers, placed at appropriate intervals decorated the tables.

Mrs. Truitt has called a special meeting of the executive committee to be held on Monday night at 7:30 in the dining room of Tommie's Cafe at which time plans and programs for the new year will be discussed.

All members of this committee are urged to atttnd this important meeting.

MRS. LUCILLE TRUITT, seated, left front row, is the new president of the Durant Business and Professional Women's Club. Mrs. Truitt, who has previously served the Durant Club as president, and the other new officers for 1962-63 pictured above, were installed Thursday evening by Mrs. Erma White, standing left.

Others pictured are front row, Mrs. Margie McNeer, first vice president; Mrs. Mable Ellis, second vice president; Mrs. Sara Nell Martin, third vice president; Mrs. Mildred Kinnebrew, recording secretary; Mrs. Jessie C. Lewis, treasurer; and Mrs. Jamatha Dickerson, corresponding secretary.

Peppermint Twist Party Held

Members of the Durant senior class were honored with a party on Tuesday night at the Holmes County Park.

Hostesses were parents of Larry Ramage, Stumpy McDaniel, Jan Derrick McBride and Royce Ann Smith.

The hall was decorated to imitate the Peppermint Lounge in colors of red and white and separated from the dining area with red and white streamers.

Twenty six seniors and invited guests enjoyed dancing to recorded music, and a variety of games were played.

The table centerpiece was a giant cake iced in white and green, the school colors

Durant News

Society Clubs Personals

Durant Girl Is Prospective Author

If family connections are an indication, two Mississippi

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Mrs. Parkinson Night Circle Hostess

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Mrs. J. B. Snyder president, presided over a brief business session with no new business.

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Contributions were made to the Best Fund, which applies on traveling expenses of workers for home mission, a state-wide movement.

The meeting was adjourned with the Mizpah and the hostess served salted nuts, potato chips, strawberry shortcake and Coca-Colas to those at-

Behind the Scenes In American Business

by Reynolas Knight

New York — For the past ten years educational television has been supported primarily by funds from private foundations, corporations and state and local grants to schools. This period has seen the formation of 62 educational TV stations.

Within the past week however, the situation has changed significantly. Several items of legislation have opened the way for the growth of educational TV. One bill provides $32 million in Federal funds for the establishment of additional stations; another, considered in the House, would increase the number of television channels from 12 to 82, the new additions being on ultra-high-frequency channels.

Proponents of educational TV are optimistic that the new legislation will double the number of education stations within a few years, and some predict as many as 1000 stations within a decade. One problem still remains: the lack of quality programming on the TV stations has repelled many potential viewers.

* * * *

DISCOUNTING DEBUT — The burgeoning discount business is in for stiff competition from the latest entry in the low-margin field, Woolco Department Stores, which opens its first unit in Columbus, Ohio on June 6.

Woolco, a division of the F. W. Woolworth Company, comes on the scene with an array of the latest discounting techniques. The Columbus store will be a modern, one-story, 100,000-square-foot department store featuring self-service and mass-display merchandising. It will be a complete department store with merchandise ranging from wearing apparel to furniture. An automotive supply center and a garden supply center will also be featured.

Located in Columbus' Great Southern Shopping Center, the store will be the first of seven to be opened this year, according to Lester F. Davis, Woolco general manager. Additional units are planned at another site in Columbus and in Richmond, Virginia in the da, Davis added.

This entry into the low-margin field by the biggest of the variety store chains is being watched with great interest by those in and out of retailing, because it may give strong clues to the direction low-margin retailing will take in the future.

* * * *

CAMPUS FOREIGN TRADE — A new kind of on-campus "foreign exchange" spreading across the country may have important effects on our future relations with other nations, according to educators and businessmen who have seen it in action.

The People-to-People University program, a movement to build understanding and friendship between American students and visiting foreign students, is now operating on more than 400 American university and college campuses. It was started a year ago at the University of Kansas and flowed over into neighboring Big Eight Conference universities last fall.

It is completely student-originated and operated. It has six basic aims: 1. closer and more frequent contact between American students and visiting foreign students; 2. job placement for visiting students; 3. hospitality by the communities in which the campuses are located; 4. forums for discussion between American and visiting students; 5. student ambassador exchange tours of American students and foreign students; and 6. communications to acquaint students with the program and its aims.

The University program is part of the national People-to-People program headed by General Dwight D. Eisenhower.

* * * *

THINGS TO COME — A completely furnished four-compartment cabana unit is being promoted by an Arkansas firm. Each compartment in the all-aluminum unit has electric air conditioning, sound proofing, insulation, shower/toilet combination and walnut paneling in addition to furniture, the maker says — A safety device for swimming pools that protects swimmers from shocks or electrocution caused by faulty wiring has been developed — A California firm is marketing a compact car desk with a 12x13 inch writing area and full size claims — totally automated food "store" has been introduced; the coin-operated "store" sells up to 36 different dry or refrigerated items, can be totally unattended and operates around the clock.

* * * *

'NO SHOW' PAYS DOUGH — The nation's 11 major trunk airlines, which have been beset by rising costs and static pasenger levels, have acted to eliminate one money losing situation: the no show. Last week a regulation was passed which permits the carriers to charge a penalty of from $5.00 to $40.00 to holders of reservations who fail to make a flight and do not cancel their reservations. At the same time, airlines who overbook a flight must also pay a similar fine to those left behind. The new rules apply only to domestic flights.

* * * *

BITS O' BUSINESS — Average first quarter earnings of the major industries declined slightly from 1961 year-end levels, but were substantially higher than earnings of a year ago, a recent business report indicated — Government officials predict a record milk flow of 127.5 billion pounds during the current year — Heavy construction contracts for the first four months this year totaled $7.1 billion, a six per cent increase over last year; housing starts continue sluggish, however.

Worship together this Sunday!

Eight Mississippi College Alumni Listed In Who's Who

CLINTON, Miss. — Eight Mississippi College alumni have been listed for the first time in Who's Who in America, famous publication giving biographies of America's most outstandng personages.

Mississippi College graduates included in Volume 32 just off the press were Dr. Bowen C. Dees, Dr. Thomas D. Fontaine, Mr. Malcoim D. Gilchrist, Dr. John F. Latimer Dr. Dotson M. Nelson, Jr., Mrs. Preston S. Stevens, Dr. Charles M. Tolbert, and Dr. Wilfred C. Tyler.

B. C. Rogers another Mississippi College alumnus, was cited in a special section of the volume for his philanthropy in supporting higher education. A member of the college Board of Trustees, Judge Earl T. Thomas, was also among those included in the new edition.

A check by Arthur Nealy, educational director for the publishers of the volume, indicated that Mississippi College ranked fourth among Southern Baptist colleges and universities in the number of new names added to Who's Who. Topping Mississippi College were Baylor University, the University of Richmond, and Furman University.

Within the state, the Clinton college is preceded in the number of names in the new volume only by the University of Mississippi and Mississippi State University.

NOTICE!

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The hall was decorated to imitate the Peppermint Lounge in colors of red and white and separated from the dining area with red and white streamers.

Twenty six seniors and invited guests enjoyed dancing to recorded music, and a variety of games were played.

The table centerpiece was a giant cake iced in white and green, the school colors and bearing the inscription of Seniors Of 1962.

The hostesses served barbecued chicken, baked beans, potato salad, hot rolls, pepper mints, pickles, olives and Coca-Colas. Dessert was sliced cake.

Mrs. Fay Owen, class sponsor attended the festivities.

Treasure Hunt For SS Class

Mrs. J. R. Brown's Sunday school class of young people of the Methodist Church enjoyed a treasure hunt on Friday night, April 27th.

Becky Derrick was in charge of the games. At the conclusion of the hunt refreshments were served at the Fellowship House.

From MSU

Jerry Parkinson, honor student and senior of Mississippi State University was at home on the weekend with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. B. S. Parkinson.

From Hazlehurst

Mrs. Hebron Bouchillon of Hazlehurst was a guest on Thursday afternoon of Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Kellum.

Durant News

Society Clubs Personals

Durant Girl Is Prospective Author

If family connections are an indication, two Mississippi State College for Women students are prospective authors.

Miss Kay Derrick, sophomore from Durant is the grand niece of Dr. Blanche Colton Williams whose manuscript was presented to the MSCW library in April of this year.

The other student is Miss Madeleine Bell, freshman of Greenville, who is the granddaughter of Harris Dickson. The library holds numerous Dickson books.

Kay is the daughter of Dr. and Mrs. A. A. Derrick of Durant.

To Tchula

Mr. and Mrs. Tom Kinnebrew accompanied by her mother, Mrs. W. T. Holder of Lexington, were Sunday afternoon callers in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Wilson on Horseshoe Plantation at Tchula.

In Hospital

Mrs. W. A. Henley, a patient in St. Dominic Hospital in Jackson has been allowed to sit up a few hours each day, is taking regular meals and her friends hope she will be back home very soon.

Mrs. Gulledge Hosts Durant Gamma Club

Mrs. Joel Gulledge was hostess to the Durant Gamma Literary Club on Thursday, April 26th at 3 p. m. in the dining room at Tommie's Cafe.

Attractive arrangements of spring flowers were used in table decorations.

Mrs. C. H. Blanton, Jr., president, presided over the business session, Mrs. E. C. Howard read the minutes of last meeting which were approved as read.

Mrs. W. C. Landrum gave the treasurer's report.

Mrs. Gulledge was elected delegate to attend the state convention in Biloxi on May 2-3-4 at the Edgewater Beach Hotel.

Mrs. Joe A. Johnson, program leader, presented the Rev. Brian Van der Spuy, who gave an inspiring devotional. Then Mrs. Johnson turned the meeting over to the guest speaker, Mr. H. J. Massey, of the vocation division of re-habilitation.

Mr. Massey's subject was "Gerentology", and his talk on aging in Mississippi was most informative, enjoyed by club members and guests including Mrs. Leslie Dorsett, Mrs R. C. Elmore, Mrs. Bessie Griffin, Mrs. Lily Williams Mrs. Henry McKenzie, Mrs.

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The meeting was adjourned with the Mizpah and the hostess served salted nuts, potato chips, strawberry shortcake and Coca-Colas to those attending.

Miss McGehee Presents Recital

Miss Margaret McGehee, Belhaven College piano major, will present her graduating recital on May 8 at 8:15 p. m. in Belhaven's Cunningham chapel.

Miss McGehee, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph McGehee of Durant, is the pupil of Mrs. J. L. Roberts, associate professor of piano at Belhaven.

She is an officer of Epsilon Gamma chapter of Mu Phi Epsilon, national professional music sorority. Miss McGehee plans to attend Louisian State University next year for work toward her masters degree in piano.

Her recital program will include: "Toccata in G major", Bach: "Variations on a Theme by Handel," Brahms: "Sonata, op. 81A ('Les Adieux')", Beethoven: "Etude, op. 25, No. 11." Cropin; "Scherzo in C major," Chopin; "La Vallee des Cloches." Ravel; "Jardins suos la Pluie", Debussy; "Toccata,' Poulenc; "Funerailles," Liszt.

Miss Howard Elected To Theater Guild

Shirley Howard, sophomore at Miss. State College for Women has qualified for Theatre Guild.

Students at MSCW who earn a minimum of ten points through participation in dramatics, backstage work, oral interpretation and radio, qualify or council uembership.

Shirley worked with the production staff, serving on the scenery and prop committee for the college's major spring production, "Blithe Spirit" by Noel Coward which was presented by the speech department in Whitfield Auditorium on Tuesday, April 17th at 8:15.

Shirley is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. E. C. Howard of Durant.

Attend The Church Of Your Choice This Sunday!

Paul Odom Mrs. Albert Tatum, Mrs. Jessie Lewis, Mrs. Edward Steen, Mrs. Walter Durham, Jr. and Mrs. C. G. VanKeuren.

Heavenly hash was served with Danish cookies and tea.

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* * * *

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Phone Durant 596

Which Whitten

Do YOU Believe????

1956—Jamie Whitten said: "To vote Democratic would strengthen the position of Mississippi Congressmen." He opposed the unpledged electors.

1960—Only a few days before election and after months of straddling the fence, Jamie Whitten sent a letter to Governor Ross Barnett stating that the unpledged electors was "in the public interest" and would "prove beneficial." Whitten's lukewarm statement did not say how Whitten would vote on election day.

Why this change in positions in only four short years? The national situation in 1960 was no different than it had been in 1956. The switch in positions certainly did not strengthen the position of the South. If Whitten believed that this were so, surely he would have said so in 1956 and not wait four years to make up his mind.

The switch certainly DID strengthen the Whitten position with Ross Barnett.

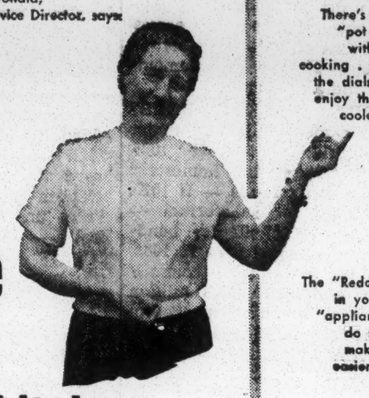
Vote For FRANK E. SMITH

for U. S. Representative on JUNE 5

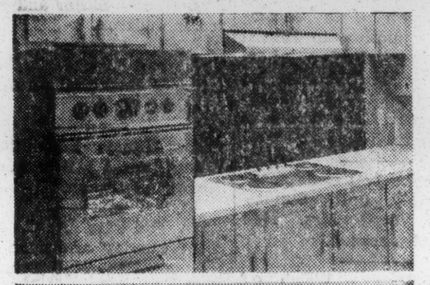
Submitted to and approved by J. D. Lundy

Miss Elaine McDonald, MP&L Home Service Director, says:

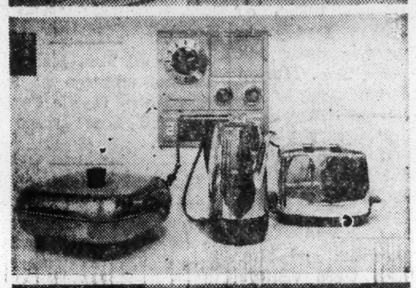
"Build the future into your kitchen Electrically!"



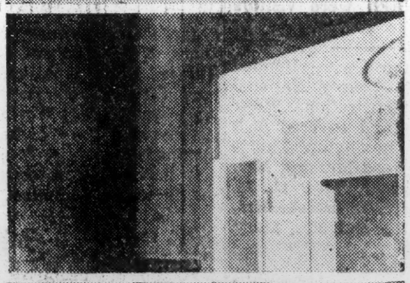
There's never any "pot watching" with flameless cooking . . . just set the dials . . . and enjoy the cleanest, coolest cooking possible!



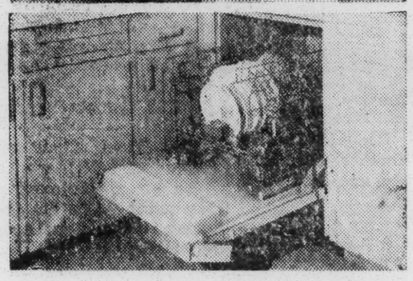
The "Reddy" helpers in your compact "appliance center" do so much to make your life easier and more pleasant every day.



Your electric water heater is so safe it can be tucked away in a closet. It needs no vents or flues.



Dishes, silver, pots and pans come out of your flameless dishwasher germ-free and completely dry!



Why wait for tomorrow? Conveniences classified as "dream kitchen" ideas a short time ago are now included as standard features in Gold Medallion homes. There never was a better time than now to plan the building or remodeling of your kitchen so that you can live better flamelessly.

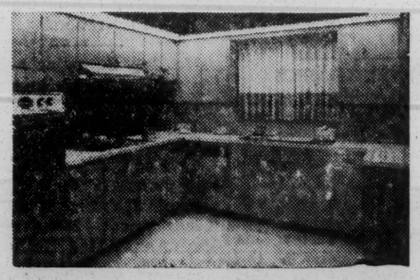
GOLD MEDALLION HOME — LIVE BETTER ELECTRICALLY

MISSISSIPPI POWER & LIGHT COMPANY

TOTAL ELECTRIC LIVING IS FLAMELESS

MP&L's fully staffed Home Service Department offers its customers a *free kitchen planning service.* Before you build, buy or remodel, call your local MP&L office for full details.

"Light For Living" assures you of both functional and decorative illumination . . . with special attention to those hard-to-light spots.



West News

By MRS. MABEL BRYANT

WEST GARDEN CLUB HOLDS APRIL MEETING

Mrs. Harold Gelson and Mrs. A. R. Bicker were hostesses at the April meeting of the West Garden Club.

The President, Mrs. Pauline Johnson called the meeting to order with the reading of the Club Collect.

Mrs. Johnson appointed Mrs. R. L. Jackson, Mrs. W. L. Wright, Mrs. L. J. Hand to serve on the nominating committee.

At the close of the business session the program was turned over to Mrs. W. L. Wright who gave a most interesting program on How To Condition Flowers For A Flower Show and What It Takes To Win A Prize.

Mrs. Wright also had an oriental arrangement on display.

The meeting closed with the reading of the Gardener's Prayer.

The hostesses served fudge cake and ice cream.

FLOWER SHOW HELD APRIL 29th

The West Garden Club had its Flower Show in the Community Club Room April 29. Mrs. Parham Williams, Sr. of Lexington was guest flower arranger. Mrs. Williams delighted everyone present as she graciously created many different and beautiful arrangements.

A lovely lunch consisting of fried chicken, beans, salad, asparagus casserole, sandwiches, rolls, ice tea and pie was served at noon.

Members present were Mrs. John L. Mason, Mrs. W. L. Wrght, Mrs. L. J. Hand, Mrs. Harvey Brister, Mrs. W. B. Johnson, Mrs. M. S. Rogers, and Mrs. A. J. Stevens, III.

Guests present were Mrs. Parham Williams, Mrs. Clyde Cade, and Mrs. Harvey Camp bell.

Mr. Victor Dunn of Greenwood came up Thursday and Mrs. Dunn returned home with him after being a patient in the hospital at Durant for a week.

Mrs. Luther Edwards of Kosciusko spent Saturday and

Guests of Mr. and Mrs. Hirman Kettle over the weekend were Mr. and Mrs. W. L. McArthur and daughter, Dorris Anne of Gulfport, Mr. and Mrs. Bit Kyzer and children of West.

Mrs. Ben Nabers and Mrs. Bit Kyzer were visitors to Pickens Monday morning.

Mr. and Mrs. Smith Cade spent Sunday in Durant with Mr. and Mrs. Vardaman Ellington.

Mr. and Mrs. Dan Black and Bonnie visited relatives in Attala County Sunday.

Mrs. A. C. Autry was a business visitor to Vaiden Tuesday.

Mr. Larkin Welch and Mr. L. B. Tucker Sr. transacted business in Vaiden Wednesday morning.

Mr. and Mrs. Ray Autry of Durant visited Mrs. J. M. Self and Douglas Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. J. R. Cross visited Mr. G. D. Thornton in the Lexington hospital Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. and Mrs. A. I. Campbell were dinner guests of Mr. Jimmy Hand of Durant on Thursday.

Mr. Herman Tucker of Vaiden visited his uncle, Mr. L. B. Tucker, Sr. Friday morning.

Mrs. John Rowlen and Mrs. James F. Tucker spent several days in Memphis last week.

Mr. and Mrs. Monroe Edwards of Jackson visited Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Self Saturday.

Mr. Tom Brock and Mr. L. B. Tucker, Sr. shopped in Durant Friday afternoon.

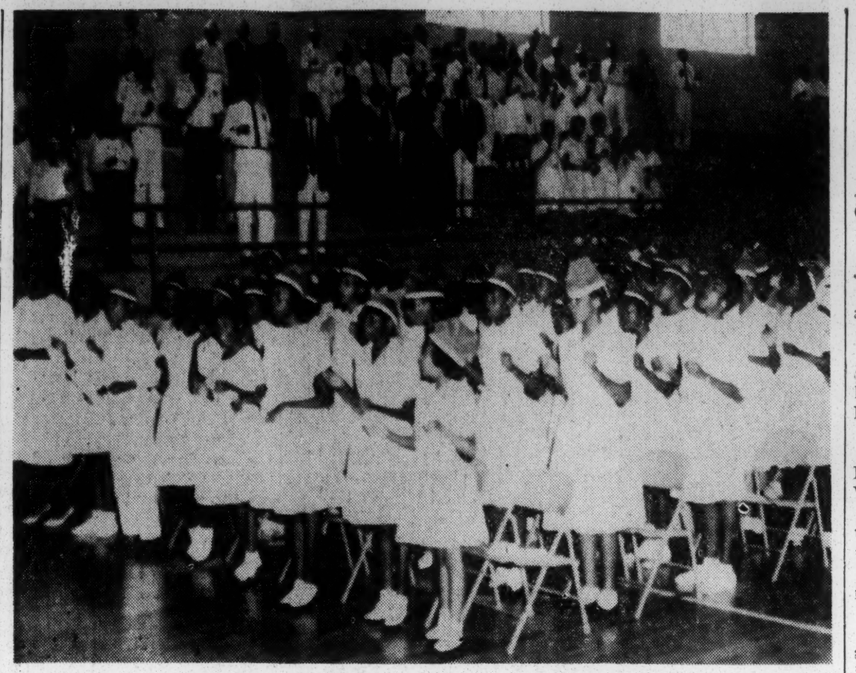
Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Tucker of Grenada and little grandson, Jimmy Smith of Jackson were dinner guests of Mrs. Mabel Bryant and Mr. L. B. Tucker, Sr. Sunday.

Legislative Bulletin—

(Continued from Page Two)

terstate system to 70 mph — H 235, require motor vehicle carriers of inflammable products to use lanterns and red flags or reflectors — H 381, supervisors of any county may adopt building, plumbing, electrical, gas and other codes — H 505, if runoff necessary in school trustee election, it must be held within 2 weeks after 1st election — H 548, increase height and length of trucks-trailers — H 278, provide maximum peyment for totally disabled may be exceeded by payments for medical care — H 279, change definition of assistance for needy aged — H 281, change definition of assistance for needy blind — H 592, impose privilege tax on salt mined in state — S 1712, revamp laws regarding formation of business corporations — S 1789, person voting in party primary must register one month prior to primary — H 453, deviation from rates by insurance companies by subject to approval Insurance Commission — H 631, require registration all instruments to inject drugs into livestock — H 148, require dept. public welfare report parents deserting children — H 159, to provide fire insurance rating — H 382, supervisors purchase police dogs — H 291, regulate owing persons on skis — S 1955, bonds may be issued to match federal highway funds — S 1752, special tags for Guardsmen.

HERE ARE SOME BILLS — clearing final hurdles during week (unless otherwise indicated) and await action of governor: H 481, Delta counties retain one mill state advalorem and put up ¼ mill for research program at Stoneville experiment station — H 651, junior colleges borrow to buy transportation equipment (amended) — H 68, require jurors to be property owners — 328, salaries tax assessors — H 303, compensation county attorneys — H 519, relative to transfer of students — S 1819, strip building commission right to sell state lands — S 1842, vets farm-home loan board members must be veterans — H 622, how supervisors may create economic development districts — S 1908, exclude from city sales tax sales of manufacturing machinery — S 1579, beavers



Large Crowd Attends Negro 4-H Rally

The boys and girls pictured above in their 4-H uniforms are typical of the thousands of boys and girls throughout Mississippi who are learning to live and serve through the 4-H organization. The training received in this great internatioal group helps to supplement valuable training received by the youngsters at home, in their church and in their school.

Pictured are Holmes County 4-H youngsters as they attended the annual rally day held at the Tchula Attendance Center on Saturday, April 28. About 1,500 persons viewed the parade held in downtown Tchula that morning and attended the program at the Tchula School.

quire health-accident insurance companies give premium due notices — S 1710, define authority campus police — S 2019, increase authority authority river ports issue bonds — S 2020, river ports execute assurance to borrow federal funds — S 1690, levy additional $1.00 case on liquor and 50c on wine for alcoholics fund — S 2039, rural communities may establish waterworks and sewage systems, receive federal aid — SCR 156, interim committee draft legislation separating office sheriff-tax collector if SCR 109 approved June 5 — SCR 145, Liberty amendment.

SENATE COMMITTEES REPORTED THESE BILLS — favorably, and now on calendar: S 1971, increase minimum surplus retained by domestic insurance companies S 1774, penitentiary commissioners may sell surplus crops

914, for election by municipality for urban renewal projects — House recommitted H 789, "the bone dry liquor bill."

Rites Held Sunday For Ernestine Grace

Ernestine Siggie Grace, a well known and highly respected Negro school teacher died suddenly on Tuesday, May 1st in the late afternoon at her home in Lexington.

Funeral services were held on Sunday, May 6th at Asia Baptist Church with the Rev. George Hines, Jr. officiating.

"Teen," as she was known to her family and friends had been in ill health for some time but was teaching at the Ebenezer Elementary School at the time of her daeth.

She had many years of teaching experience at Clower, Rose Hill and West Elementary schools and had been a church member since her youth.

"Teen" was the daughter of Narcissus Grace and other survivors are two brothers, Master Sergeant Andrew Grace of Gary, Indiana and Jesse Grace, Jr., Detroit; one sister, Lula Bell Grace, also of Detroit, several aunts, one niece and a host of relatives and friends.

Century Funeral Home was in charge of arrangements.

Eulogy - Coxburg Harland's Creek

Mrs. J. A. Hearn, Reporter
Phone 649-W-1

Mrs. J. A. Hearn and Mrs. J. F. Harthcock went to Greenwood last Tuesday.

Mrs. Ama Wallis and Mrs. J. A. Hearn visited Mrs. Percy Taylor last Thursday afternoon.

Mrs. Cenie Stewart spent several days last week with her daughter Mrs. Wenzell Dickard.

Mr. and Mrs. Doyle Rogers, Mrs. Lula Edwards, Mrs. Otto Wallis, Mrs. Rufus Netherland and Mrs. J. A. Hearn attended the Holmes Demonstration Attainment program in Lexington last Thursday night.

Mr. and Mrs. David Meek and boys spent the weekend in Mobile with her sister.

Several relatives from Memphis spent Friday night with Mrs. W. H. Cooksey.

Euell L. Dickard and family of Eupora came Saturday to see his mother, Mrs. A. R. Dickard. They and Mrs. Dickard along with Mr. and Mrs. Wenzell Dickard went to see Mr. A. R. Dickard at the V. A. Hospital in Jackson while here.

Mrs. Carl Rodgers and Mrs. William Cooksey were hostesses for a surprise housewarming party for Mrs. Peggy Edwards Saturday night in Mrs. Edwards' new home. Several amusing games were enjoyed by the guests, then refreshments consisting of sandwiches, pickles potato chips, nuts, mints with Coca-Colas were served. Everyone was amused by Mrs. Edward's delight with each gift she opened. About thirty guests were present for the occasion.

Miss Hal Ja Chung and Miss Ok Kang Yang spent the weekend with Miss Glenda Rogers. Miss Chung and Miss Yang are from Seoul, Korea and presently are students at Delta State College.

Mr. and Mrs. I. T. Gardner and children of Macon spent the weekend with the H. T. Abernathy's.

Mrs. F. C. McIntosh moved from the Eakin place to Lexington last Friday.

The pastor of Harland's Creek Church was ill and could not be present for services on Sunday. Rev. Wilbur Irwin of Jackson supplied for him. Rev. Irwin was guest of Mr. and Mrs. Mabry Ables for the day.

Those present for the morning worship services at Harland's Creek Sunday enjoyed the song by Misses Chung and Yang, guests of Miss Glenda Rogers.

Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Adams visited Mr. W. O. Harthcock at the hospital in Yazoo City last Sunday. Mr. Harthcock is still very ill following a recent heart attack.

Mrs. Ama Wallis, Mrs. J. A. Hearn and Billy Wigley were Sunday dinner guests of Mrs. Cenie Stewart and family.

Mr. and Mrs. Bilbo Marshal and Allan visited with Mrs. Cenie Stewart Sunday afternoon.

Mrs. Oscar Nance and Mrs. Joe Gilmore visited at Sanatorium Sunday with Mr. Nance and Michael Hanson.

Mr. and Mrs. Wesley Pettus spent the weekend with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. W. S. Pettus.

Mr. and Mrs. Billy Jo Gilmore and baby were Sunday supper guests of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Gilmore.

Sympathy is extended to Mrs. McIntosh in her bereavement.

Mrs. Stanley Adams was hostess to the Coxburg Home Demonstration Club workshop on Monday. Six members and Miss Harpole were present. At the noon hour all enjoyed lunch served buffet style. Each member providing one dish for the meal. Two stools were bottomed three cushions started and one dress cut during the work period.

its Flower Show in the Community Club Room April 29. Mrs. Parham Williams, Sr. of Lexington was guest flower arranger. Mrs. Williams delighted everyone present as she graciously created many different and beautiful arrangements.

A lovely lunch consisting of fried chicken, beans, salad, asparagus casserole, sandwiches, rolls, ice tea and pie was served at noon.

Members present were Mrs. John L. Mason, Mrs. W. L. Wrght, Mrs. L. J. Hand, Mrs. Harvey Brister, Mrs. W. B. Johnson, Mrs. M. S. Rogers, and Mrs. A. J. Stevens, III.

Guests present were Mrs. Parham Williams, Mrs. Clyde Cade, and Mrs. Harvey Camp bell.

Mr. Victor Dunn of Greenwood came up Thursday and Mrs. Dunn returned home with him after being a patient in the hospital at Durant for a week.

Mrs. Luther Edwards of Kosciusko spent Saturday and Sunday with her brother and family, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Self and Rose.

Miss Lynn Tate accompanied her mother to Mississippi College Friday afternoon where she remained for a weekend visit with her sister Miss Sara Tate who is a student there.

Miss Bettie Lou Cade spent from Friday until Sunday with her aunt Mrs. Nell Snavely of Jackson.

Mrs. Katherine Welch of Parchman spent Friday in the home of her sister and family Mr. and Mrs. Marion Weeks.

Mr. J. C. McCreary visited Mr. G. D. Thornton who is still a patient in the Lexington Hospital Thursday morning.

Mrs. T. D. Fultz and Mrs. William Welch were visitors to Kosciusko Friday.

Among those who attended the Holmes County National Home Demonstration Week Celebration and covered dish supper in Lexington Thursday night were Mr. and Mrs. Harvey Brister, Mrs. C. M. Tate, Mrs. W. D. Brock, Mrs. Mable Melton and Mrs. Mary Dunning.

Miss Elizabeth Thornton of Meridian and Mrs. G. D. Thornton visited Mr. G. D. Thornton in the Lexington Hospital Saturday.

Mr. T. E. Cade of Okolona visited his mother, Mrs. Effie Cade and Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Bicker Friday.

Mr. John Arnold of Mississippi State was home with his mother, Mrs. Carl Arnold over the weekend.

Mrs. Allen Ramage entertained the senior class with a delicious supper at the Holmes County Park Thursday night. Her son Larry was one of the Durant seniors.

CARD OF THANKS

We thank each and everyone for the acts of kindness and sympathy shown in the death of Mr. William Ellard.

The beautiful floral offerings helped us to face our great loss.

May the Lord bestow his blessings upon you is the prayer of friends of the family.

A Friend

ton hospital Wednesday afternoon.

Mr. and Mrs. A. I. Campbell were dinner guests of Mr. Jimmy Hand of Durant on Thursday.

Mr. Herman Tucker of Vaiden visited his uncle, Mr. L. B. Tucker, Sr. Friday morning.

Mrs. John Rowlen and Mrs. James F. Tucker spent several days in Memphis last week.

Mr. and Mrs. Monroe Edwards of Jackson visited Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Self Saturday.

Mr. Tom Brock and Mr. L. B. Tucker, Sr. shopped in Durant Friday afternoon.

Mr. and Mrs. W. D. Tucker of Grenada and little grandson, Jimmy Smith of Jackson were dinner guests of Mrs. Mabel Bryant and Mr. L. B. Tucker, Sr. Sunday.

Mrs. Mabel Bryant, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Tucker and Mr. L. B. Tucker, Sr. spent Sunday afternoon with Mr. and Mrs. Harold Smith and children in Jackson.

Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Bowen attended memorial services in Grenada Sunday.

Miss Donna Bouchillon of Durant was a visitor here on Sunday afternoon.

Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Autry spent Sunday afternoon with Mr. and Mrs. Jeff Browning of Goodman.

Mr. and Mrs. Melton Powers and children of Jackson visited Mrs. Mattie Faye Thomas and Miss Bessie Owen Sunday.

Mr. Junior Welch of Parchman visited relatives Sunday and Mrs. Welch returned home with him after several days visiting relatives.

Mr. and Mrs. Sammie Simmons of Grenada and Holmes Junior College visited Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Brister on their way to Fort Worth, Texas to make their home. Mrs. Simmons was Miss Sara Melton before her marriage recently to Mr. Simmons.

Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Dodson and son, James of Durant; Mrs. Mosie Murphy of Arkabutla and her children, Mr. and Mrs. Garrett Murphy of University Medical School, visited their brother and uncle, Mr. Bill Campbell recently.

Rev. Victor Shaw of New Albany and Millsaps College filled his appointment at the Methodist Church Sunday and was dinner guest of Mrs. Mabel Bryant.

Miss Doris Rigby attended the annual "class day" program held by the senior class of Durant Wednesday morning in the school auditorium. After the welcome address Miss Rigby read the class poem, "Inspiration."

Mr. Joe Cummins attended the funeral of his brother-in-law, Mr. Bob Downs in Grenada Sunday.

Rev. and Mrs. J. L. Reeves and grandson Scott Richardson of Jackson, Mrs. Dollie Kyzer spent Monday with Mrs. Annie Mae Kettle.

Mr. R. A. Cade of Greenville was home with his family over the weekend.

H 382, supervisors purchase police dogs — H 291, regulate owing persons on skis — S 1955, bonds may be issued to match federal highway funds — S 1752, special tags for Guardsmen.

HERE ARE SOME BILLS — clearing final hurdles during week (unless otherwise indicated) and await action of governor: H 481, Delta counties retain one mill state advalorem and put up ¼ mill for research program at Stoneville experiment station — H 651, junior colleges borrow to buy transportation equipment (amended) — H 68, require jurors to be property owners — 328, salaries tax assessors — H 303, compensation county attorneys — H 519, relative to transfer of students — S 1819, strip building commission right to sell state lands — S 1842, vets farm-home loan board members must be veterans — H 622, how supervisors may create economic development districts — S 1908, exclude from city sales tax sales of manufacturing machinery — S 1579, beavers declared predatory animals — H 143, provide for organization non-profit dental service corporations — H 209, for increase tax limit school maintenance from 25 to 28 mills by election — S 1691, auto driver training in high schools financed by assessment on traffic law violation fines — H 46, reimbursements for indigent sick.

BILLS PASSING HOUSE — included: following major appropriations — H 1025, $25.5 million for homestead exemption refunds — H 1029, $2,018,275 for sanatorium — H 1030, $8,197,697 for bond-interest payments — H 1032, $966,186 for building commission — H 1033, $2.8 million for agri. extension-marketing — H 1034, $2,187,600 for agri-experiment stations — H 1045 $1,850,000 for Ellisville school — H 1047, $2,913,000 for state tax commission — H 1050, $650,,000 for vocational rehabilitation — H 1054, $3,700,000 for state board of health — H 1041, $485,000 for teachers retirement — H 1044, $2 million for east Miss. hospital — other bills of interest: H 1065 and 1066, cities buy city transportation lines and hire bus drivers — H 883, repeal law under which 3 coast counties retain 1¾c of state's portion of gasoline tax for seawall protection — HCR 64, amend constitution providing additional disqualification for electors — H 690, counties secure land for sanitary-garbage fills — H 822, require publication names persons seeking register to vote — H 899, insert "good moral" provision in statute on registering to vote — H 905, enforce "good moral character" requirement for voter registration — H 330, appropriator to use established minimum of a stream for industrial purposes — H 530, define legal residence of persons enrolling in junior-senior colleges — H 597, create Harrison-George-Jackson-Stone junior college district, and upgrade vocational training in attendance centers — H 702, counties pay adjoining counties for hospitalization charity cases— H 428, create new junior college commission — H 763, relative issuance gasoline revenue bonds for matching federal funds — H 534, privilege licenses for unincorporated general agents of fire and casualty companies — H 527, privilege licenses for general agents of insurance companies.

SENATE PASSED THESE BILLS — of note: S 2053, require health-accident insurance companies give premium due notices — S 1710, define authority campus police — S 2019, increase authority authority river ports issue bonds — S 2020, river ports execute assurance to borrow federal funds — S 1690, levy additional $1.00 case on liquor and 50c on wine for alcoholics fund — S 2039, rural communities may establish waterworks and sewage systems, receive federal aid — SCR 156, interim committee draft legislation separating office sheriff-tax collector if SCR 109 approved June 5 — SCR 145, Liberty amendment.

SENATE COMMITTEES REPORTED THESE BILLS — favorably, and now on calendar: S 1971, increase minimum surplus retained by domestic insurance companies S 1774, penitentiary commissioners may sell surplus crops — S 1913, for commutation sentence of convicts for good behavior — S 2084, penitentiary commissioners employ business administrator — S 2122, increase membership membership of penitentiary board to five, with overlapping terms — H 238, define method of sale or lease 16th section lands — H 561 state enter southern interstate nuclear compact — H 348, qualified electors within added municipal area not be eligible serve on county board of education — S 1984, establish planned parenthood clinics under State Board of Health — S 1992, interim legislative committee to study insurance laws — H 61, establish grounds and procedure for annulment of marriages — H 316, include right eminent domain for public utility districts — H 342, withdraw all U. S. highways from jurisdiction of constables — H 554, provide judge of county court may perform marriage rites — S 1627, highway commission regulate outdoor advertising — S 1949, uniform commercial code Unfavorably.

HOUSE COMMITTEES REPORTED FAVORABLY — these bills of note: H 884, counties and cities spend $100 for each million dollars assessed valuation for advertising and education and contribute to private agencies — S 1558, penalty for violating county zoning ordinances — H 1021, levy per ton tax on trucks —H 981, create board of physical therepy — H 781, for revocation retail beer license on affidavit of sheriff or law officer, or 25 reputable citizens — S 2059, require safety belts in 1963 cars and subsequent models — S 1784, include teaching American government in public schools.

INTRODUCTIONS OF NOTE — in House, included: H 1070, qualifications for penitentiary commissioners — H 1071, increase penitentiary commissioners to five — H 1073, define school bus and levy high way privilege tag — H 1022, special privilege-use tax on autos and trucks — In Senate: S 2119, raise $25.00 bidders license to $50 and extend to contracts let outside state and performed inside state.

HIGHLIGHTS OF ACTION — in House Friday — Passed 19 bills on general calendar, plus 11 local and private measures — Among most important bills approved were: S 1797, for obtaining permit to operate drug store (amended, goes back to Senate) — H 914, for election by municipality for urban renewal projects — House recommitted H 789, "the bone dry liquor bill."

rally day held at the Tchula Attendance Center on Saturday, April 28. About 1,500 persons viewed the parade held in downtown Tchula that morning and attended the program at the Tchula School.

Rites Held Sunday For Ernestine Grace

Ernestine Siggie Grace, a well known and highly respected Negro school teacher died suddenly on Tuesday, May 1st in the late afternoon at her home in Lexington.

Funeral services were held on Sunday, May 6th at Asia Baptist Church with the Rev. George Hines, Jr. officiating.

"Teen," as she was known to her family and friends had been in ill health for some time but was teaching at the Ebenezer Elementary School at the time of her daeth.

She had many years of teaching experience at Clower, Rose Hill and West Elementary schools and had been a church member since her youth.

"Teen" was the daughter of Narcissus Grace and other survivors are two brothers, Master Sergeant Andrew Grace of Gary, Indiana and Jesse Grace, Jr., Detroit; one sister, Lula Bell Grace, also of Detroit, several aunts, one niece and a host of relatives and friends.

Century Funeral Home was in charge of arrangements.

Wenzell Dickard went to see Mr. A. R. Dickard at the V. A. Hospital in Jackson while here.

Mrs. Carl Rodgers and Mrs. William Cooksey were hostesses for a surprise housewarming party for Mrs. Peggy Edwards Saturday night in Mrs. Edwards' new home. Several amusing games were enjoyed by the guests, then refreshments consisting of sandwiches, pickles potato chips, nuts, mints with Coca-Colas were served. Everyone was amused by Mrs. Edward's delight with each gift she opened. About thirty guests were present for the occasion.

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Mr. and Mrs. Billy Jo Gilmore and baby were Sunday supper guests of his parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Gilmore.

Sympathy is extended to Mrs. McIntosh in her bereavement.

Mrs. Stanley Adams was hostess to the Coxburg Home Demonstration Club workshop on Monday. Six members and Miss Harpole were present. At the noon hour all enjoyed lunch served buffet style. Each member providing one dish for the meal. Two stools were bottomed three cushions started and one dress cut during the work period.

"Smart! . . . with easier cooking, too!"

Famous for speed . . . and long-lasting service . . . gas ranges have so many new easy-cooking features . . . plus easy-to-keep good looks. Buy a Gold Star award-winning gas range during dealers' sales this month.

Doors lift off for easiest cleaning ever.

Thermostat top burner saves pot-watching.

clean thrifty fast blue flame

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GREAT APPLIANCE SALE OF GOLD STAR GAS RANGES AT DEALERS NOW!

Follow the leader...

worship together this week!

Coxburg

COXBURG METHODIST
Rev. Dennis Johnston, Pastor
Sunday School at 10 a.m., R. S. Richmond, supt. Morning Worship each Second Sunday morning at 11:00. Fourth Sunday morning at 9:30 and Fouth Sunday night at 7:00.

COXBURG MP CHURCH
Morning Worship each First and Third Sundays

HARLANDS CREEK BAPTIST CHURCH
Rev. Jimmy Jackson, Pastor
Sunday School, 10:00 a.m. Morning Worship, 11:00 a.m. Training Union 6:00 p. m. Evening Worship 7:00 p. m.
Mid-week prayer meeting each Wednesday at 8:00 p.m.

Cruger

BAPTIST CHURCH
Sunday services:
Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p. m. Training Union at 6:00
The Rev. W. E. Greene, Jr., pastor.

METHODIST CHURCH
Sunday services:
Sunday School at 10 a.m. Worship service is held the first and third Sunday at 11 a.m. and on the second and fourth Sunday at 7:00 p.m.
The Rev. Claude Fleming, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, F. J. Hines, Jr.

Durant

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH
Church School 9:45 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p.m., also Adult and Children Fellowship Groups at 6:00
The Women's Society of Christian Service meets the first, second and fourth Monday of each month. Wesleyan Service Guild on third Monday
The Rev. R. F. Wasson, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent Percy Joyce; Organist Mrs. Walter Odom.

Acona

ACONA METHODIST
Sunday School at 10 a.m. each Sunday with worship hour every third Sunday at 11 a.m. and every first Sunday at 7 p.m.
The Rev. J. E. Young, pastor, Sunday School superintendent K. F. Downer.

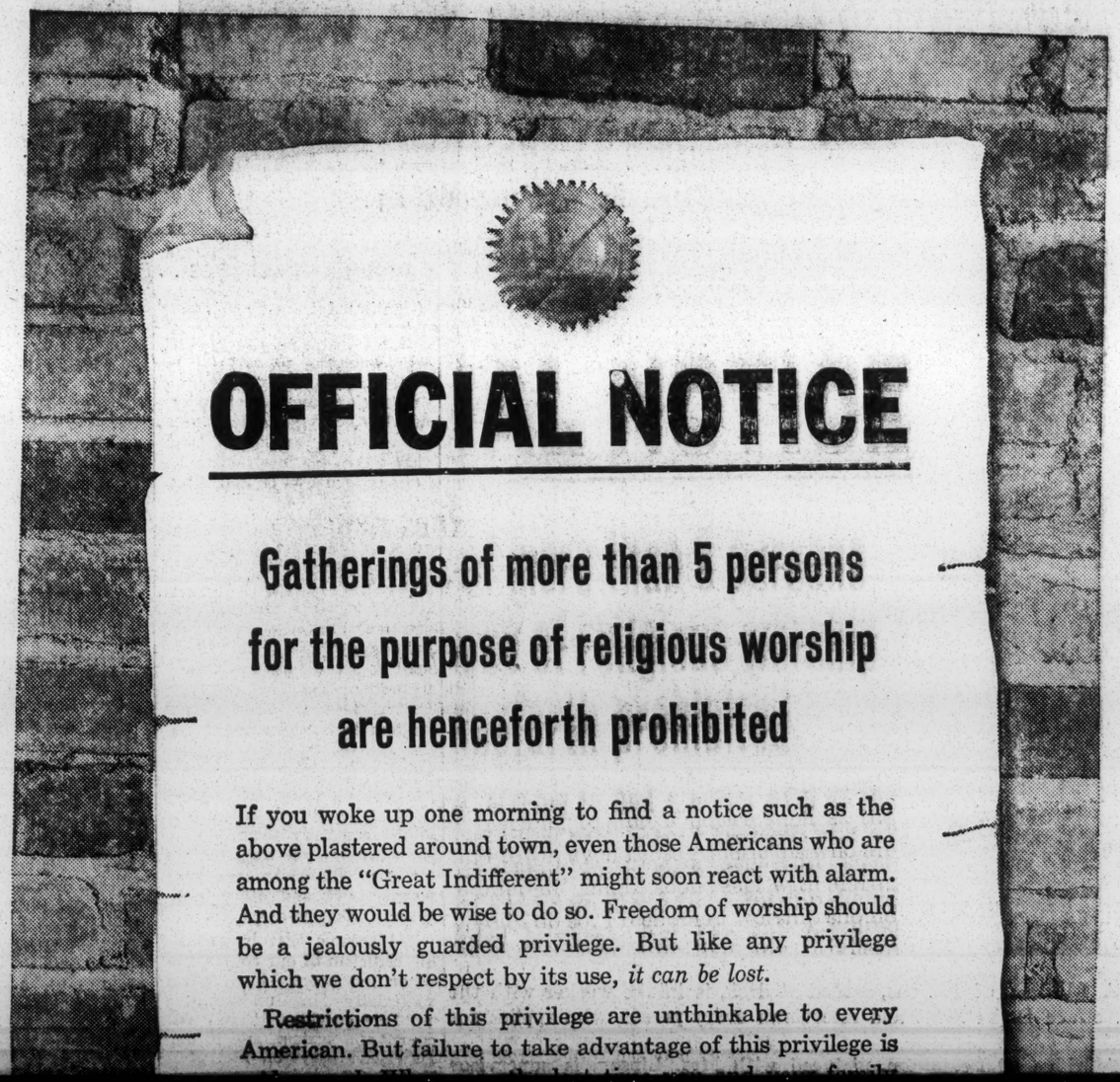
Lexington

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH
Church School, 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a. m. and 7:00 p. m. and Baptist Training Union at 6:00. p. m.
Prayer meeting at 7:30 each Wednesday evening, followed by choir practice.
The Rev. P. D. Bragg, pastor; Louie B. Nichols Sunday School Superintendent; Charles Lee Truitt, Training Union director.
Women's Missionary Society, circles one two and three, meet each Monday afternoon at 3.
Business Women's Circle meets second Monday each month 6 p.m. and Sunbeams each Monday at 3.

OAK GROVE BAPTIST
Rev. Donny Clark, Pastor
Sunday School: 10:00 a.m.
Morning Worship: 11:00 a.m
Training Union: 6:00 p. m.
Evening Worship: 7:00 p. m
Prayer Meeting Wednesday 7:30 p.m.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH
Episcopal Church
Services at 7:15 a.m. Church School, 10.00 a.m. Worship hour at 11:00 a.m.
Ladies' Guilds meet first Monday each month.
The Rev. Reynolds Cheney, vicar; Mrs. Doty Porter, choir director and organist; W. F. Thurmond, senior warden; M. K. Ginn, junior warden.

TEMPLE BETH-EL
Monthly services are conducted by Rabbi Perry Nussbaum of Jackson.
Sunday School is held each Sunday at 10:30
Sunday School Superintendent, Herman Flowers
The Julia Lewis Sisterhood meets the first Monday each month.



Ebenezer

EBENEZER METHODIST
Sunday School 10 a.m. Worship services are held the first and third Sunday at 11 a. m. and 6:30 p.m. also Methodist Youth Fellowship at 5:30.
The Women's Society of Christian Service meets the first and third Monday at 2:30 p.m.
Rev. Dennis Johnston, pastor Sunday School Superintendent, K. D. Hendry; Organist, Mrs. J. E. Jones and Mrs. Harris Humphrey; and M.Y.F. Directors, Mrs. Gene Greer and Mrs. Effie Cock

EBENEZER BAPTIST CHURCH
Rev. James Pugh, Pastor
Sunday School, 10:00 a. m.
Morning Worship, 11:00 a. m
Training Union, 6:00 p. m.
Evening Worship, 7:00 p. m.

Pickens

METHODIST CHURCH
Sunday services:
Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Methodist Youth Fellowship at 6 p.m.
Prayer meeting each Monday evening at 7:30.
Women's Society of Christian Service meets every Monday at 9:30 a.m.
Wesleyan Service Guild every third Monday at 7:30 p.m.
The Rev. G. H. Ledbetter, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent, Hoover Maxwell; Training Union director, Jed Pepper.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
Sunday services:
Sunday School at 9:45 a.m Worship hour on second, fourth and fifth Sundays held at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Young People of the Church meet at 6 p.m.
Prayer meeting at 7:30 each Wednesday.
Women of the Church meet each Monday afternoon.
The Rev. E. Stanley Smathers, pastor, and Sunday School superintendent, Henry McNeese

BAPTIST CHURCH
Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and Union each Sunday at 6:00 p. m.
Wednesday prayer meeting at 7 p.m.

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p. m. Training Union at 6:00

The Rev. W. E. Greene, Jr., pastor.

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. Worship service is held the first and third Sunday at 11 a.m. and on the second and fourth Sunday at 7:00 p.m.

The Rev. Claude Fleming, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, F. J. Hines, Jr.

Durant

FIRST METHODIST CHURCH

Church School 9:45 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p.m., also Adult and Children Fellowship Groups at 6:00

The Women's Society of Christian Service meets the first, second and fourth Monday of each month. Wesleyan Service Guild on third Monday.

The Rev. B. F. Wasson, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent Percy Joyce; Organist Mrs. Walter Odom.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday School, 9:45 with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m.

Prayer meeting at 7 each Wednesday. Catechism class each Saturday at 10 a.m.

The Rev. Robert Glover Shoemaker, pastor;

Sunday School Superintendent C. H. Blanton, Jr.

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

Rev. Durell Makamson, Pastor

9:45 a.m. Sunday School
11:00 a.m. Morning Worship
7:00 p.m. Evening Worship
6:00 p.m. Training Union
7:30 p.m. Prayer Meeting each Wednesday
3:00 p.m. Woman's Missionary Society every Monday

Lindsay O'Rear, Secretary Sunday School Superintendent Leon Engelmann.

Training Union Director, R. J. Dorsett; and Choir Director Lindsay O'Rear.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST

Brian Van der Spuy, Minister

Worship service every Sunday
Morning worship at 11:00 a.m
Evening worship at 7:30 p.m
Bible School 10:00 a.m.
Bible Study each Wednesday at 7:30 p.m.

EASTSIDE BAPTIST MISSION CHURCH

The Rev. H. C. Ellis, pastor

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. Baptist Training Union at 6:00 p.m.

Prayer meeting on Wednesday at 7:30.

Choir Director, Miss Edna Townsend.

CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

Rev. Tommy Loving, Pastor

Sunday School 9:45 a.m. worship hour, 11 a.m. and 7:30 p.m. The Young Peoples group the NYPS meets each Sunday at 7:00 p.m.

Prayer Meeting at 7:30 p.m. each Wednesday.

Sunday School Superintendent Johnny Toten; Choir Director, Mrs. Marion Bishop; NYPS Leader, Mrs. Houie Bishop.

PENTECOSTAL CHURCH

Rev. John Maddox, pastor

Sunday School at 10 a.m.
Morning Worship at 11 a.m.
Evening Worship at 7 p.m.
Prayer Meeting and Bible Study Thursday at 7:30 p.m.
Young Peoples Service at 7:00 p.m. Saturday.

and Catechism each Sunday at 3.

OAK GROVE BAPTIST

Rev. Donny Clark, Pastor

Sunday School: 10:00 a.m.
Morning Worship: 11:00 a.m
Training Union: 6:00 p.m.
Evening Worship: 7:00 p.m
Prayer Meeting Wednesday 7:30 p.m.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH

Episcopal Church

Services at 7:15 a.m. Church School, 10:00 a.m. Worship hour at 11:00 a.m.

Ladies' Guilds meet first Monday each month.

The Rev. Reynolds Cheney, vicar; Mrs. Doty Porter, choir director and organist; W. E. Thurmond, senior warden; M. K. Ginn, junior warden.

TEMPLE BETH-EL

Monthly services are conducted by Rabbi Perry Nussbaum of Jackson.

Sunday School is held each Sunday at 10:30

Sunday School Superintendent, Herman Flowers

The Julia Lewis Sisterhood meets the first Monday each month.

MISSIONARY EASTSIDE BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday School, 10:00 a.m. and worship hour, 11:00 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. with Baptist Training Union at 6:00 p.m.

Prayer meeting is held each Wednesday night at 7 p.m. followed by the Women's Missionary Union and the Brotherhood meeting.

The Rev. Charles Cooley, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent and Church Secretary, G. R. Thompson.

ST. THOMAS CATHOLIC

Morning Mass is held each Sunday at alternating hours. Beginning June 26th, Mass will be held at 10:30, and the following Sunday, July 3, at 8:00 and so on throughout the year.

Members of the clergy are Monsigner John F. Clerico and his assistant, Father Clements both of Greenwood.

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 10:55 a.m. and 7 p.m. Methodist Youth Fellowship at 6 p.m.

Prayer meeting at 7 p.m. each Wednesday, followed by choir practice.

Woman's Society of Christian Service meets each Monday afternoon at 3.

Wesleyan Service Guild meets second and fourth Monday each month at 7:30 p.m.

The Rev. Crawford Ray, pastor; Ben Rathell, Sunday School Superintendent; Woodson Earle Youth Fellowship director.

BEULAH BAPTIST CHURCH

Rev. David Skinner, Pastor

Sunday School, 10:00 a.m.
Morning Worship, 11:00 a.m
Training Union, 6:00 p.m.
Evening Worship, 7:00 p.m
Prayer Meeting on Wednesday night at 7:30.

LIBERTY CHAPEL METHODIST CHURCH

Rev. Dennis Johnston, Pastor

Worship services are held each First and Third Sunday at 3:00 p.m.

Goodman

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. each Sunday with worship hour, held only on the third Sunday, at 11 a.m. and 7:30 p.m.

The Women of the Church meet each Monday at 9 a.m.

The Rev. Stanley Smather, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, Paul Hand.

OFFICIAL NOTICE

Gatherings of more than 5 persons for the purpose of religious worship are henceforth prohibited

If you woke up one morning to find a notice such as the above plastered around town, even those Americans who are among the "Great Indifferent" might soon react with alarm. And they would be wise to do so. Freedom of worship should be a jealously guarded privilege. But like any privilege which we don't respect by its use, *it can be lost.*

Restrictions of this privilege are unthinkable to every American. But failure to take advantage of this privilege is widespread. When was the last time you and your family *enjoyed* the right to worship?

ADVERTISING COUNCIL · PUBLIC SERVICE

Worship together this week You need not walk alone

WORSHIP together this week · you need not walk alone

Goodman

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:30 p.m. Methodist Youth Fellowship meets at 6:30 p.m. The Wesley Foundation, college students' group, meets also at 6:30

Wednesday night prayer meeting is held at 7.

The Women's Society of Christian Service meets each Monday at 3:30 p.m. The Weslevan Service Guild meets at 7:30 on the first Monday of each month.

The Rev. B. F. Lee, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, W. W. Griffin, Jr.; church secretary, Mrs. D. K. Gulledge MYF director, Mrs. Nell Branch Wesley Foundation director, Mrs

BAPTIST CHURCH

Rev.. J. B. Miller, pastor

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 8 p.m.

Training Union at 7:00 p.m.

Prayer meeting at 7:00 each Wednesday night.

Women's Missionary Society meets each Monday at 3:30; Sunbeams at 3:30; G. A's at 4:00; R. A's at 4:00.

Roy McDaniel, Sunday School Superintendent; Leroy Jobe, Training Union Director; William Spell, Choir Director.

125 YEARS · The Lexington Advertiser · TRI-ANNIVERSARY · EDITOR HAZEL BRANNON SMITH 25 YEARS · THE DURANT NEWS · 100 YEARS

This advertisement in the interest of Religion in American Life as a basis of All Our American Freedoms is presented by The Lexington Advertiser and The Durant News and is a Tri-Anniversary Ad made possible by friends of the editor.

West

MT. PLEASANT BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. each Sunday with worship hour, held the first and third Sunday, at 11:00 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. Training Union each Sunday at 6:00 p.m.

Prayer meeting is held each Thursday at 7 p.m. followed by the Women's Missionary Society, the Brotherhood, the RA and GA meetings.

The Rev. James Sadder, Jr. pastor; Sunday School superintendent, Watt Tate; Training Union director, Bob McCreary; choir director, Jimmy McBride.

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m. each Sunday with worship hour, held the first and third Sunday, at 11 a.m. and 5 p.m.

The Women's Society or Christian Service meets each Monday at 2:30.

The Rev. Harold Robertson, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, John David Montgomery.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 10 a.m.

Worship services are held each second and fourth Sunday at 11:00 a.m.

Pastor of the church is Rev. Robert Bullard.

MT. PLEASANT BAPTIST CHURCH

Rev. James Saddler, pastor

Sunday School 10:00 a.m.
Morning Worship 11:00 a.m.
Evening Worship 7:00 p.m.
Training Union 6:00 p.m.

Charles Wolfarth, Training Union director.

HEBRON METHODIST CHURCH

Near Lexington

Rev. Dennis Johnston, pastor

Worship services are held each Second Sunday night at 7:00 and each Fourth Sunday morning at 11:00.

Worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Methodist Youth Fellowship at 6 p.m.

Prayer meeting each Monday evening at 7:30.

Women's Society of Christian Service meets every Monday at 9:30 a.m.

Wesleyan Service Guild every third Monday at 7:30 p.m.

The Rev. G. H. Ledbetter, pastor; Sunday School Superintendent, Hoover Maxwell; Training Union director, Jed Pepper.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday services:

Sunday School at 9:45 a.m. Worship hour on second, fourth and fifth Sundays held at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Young People of the Church meet at 6 p.m.

Prayer meeting at 7:30 each Wednesday.

Women of the Church meet each Monday afternoon.

The Rev. E. Stanley Smathers, pastor, and Sunday School superintendent, Henry McNeese

BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and Union each Sunday at 6:00 p.m.

Wednesday prayer meeting at 7 p.m.

The Women's Missionary Union meets each Monday at 3:30 p.m. Business Women's Circle at 7 p.m.

The Rev. J. Price Brock, pastor; Sunday School superintendent, John Yarborough; Training Union director, George Wynne choir director, Price Brock, Jr.

Tchula

METHODIST CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m. Methodist Youth Fellowship at 6 p.m.

Prayer meeting is held at 7 p.m. each Wednesday, followed by choir practice.

The Women's Society of Christian Service meets each Monday at 3 p.m. The Virgie Hines Guild meets each Monday at 4 p.m.

The Rev. Wilson Ray, pastor

FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour at 11 a.m. and 7:00 p.m. Training Union is held at 6:00 p.m. and Fellowship for Young People at 8:00 p.m.

Prayer meeting is held each Wednesday at 7:30 p.m.

The Women's Missionary Society meets each Monday at 2:30 p.m.

The Rev Roy Raddin, pastor; Sunday School superintendent O. C. Scott;

Training Union director, Bill Bole.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

Sunday School at 10 a.m. with worship hour, held on first, second and third Sunday, at 11 a.m.

The Women of the Church meet on first, second and third Monday of each month at 3 p.m.

The Rev. J. C. Watson, pastor

New Welfare Building Fills Long Felt Need

2,553 Clients To Be Served By Facility

By Hazel Brannon Smith

The attractive new Holmes County Public Welfare Building which opens formally Friday afternoon at 3:00 will fill a long felt need for adequate quarters for an agency that must be regarded as big business.

Welfare is a big business in Holmes County — last year over $1,519,000, in fact.

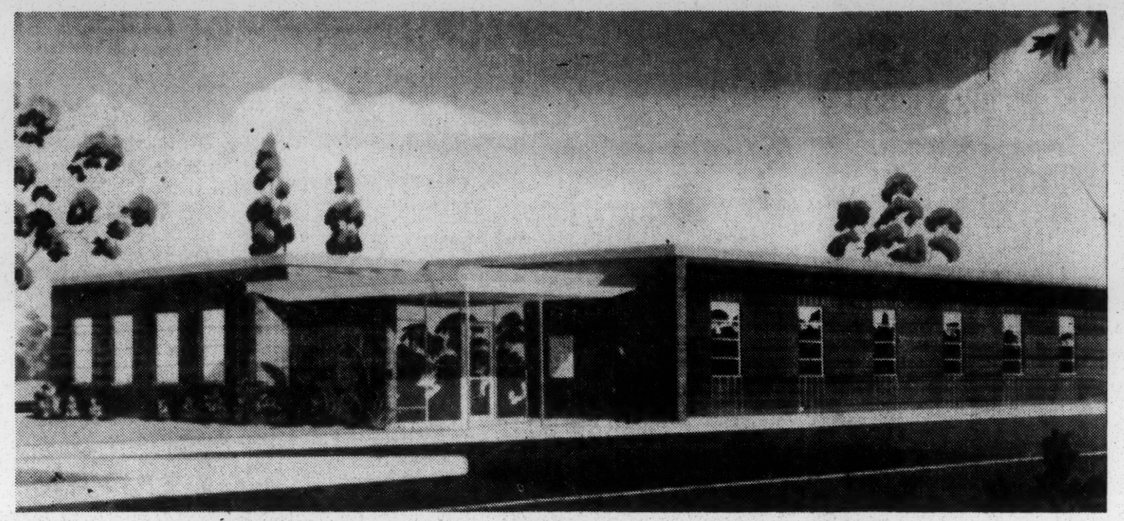
You may like it or not, say what you will, but welfare is here to stay — and we might as well make the best of it. It fills a need that must be met some way for many people of sub-standard incomes, or no income at all. Few informed people would advocate doing away with the welfare department.

The attractive new building which has been built by Holmes County at a cost of $86,000, for which Holmes voters approved a bond issue, may be criticized by some as an extravagance. But the fact is the new building will prove an economy in the long run, paying for itself within a period of ten years in rent saved. The department formerly paid $275.00 per month rent for cramped, inadequate quarters and a warehouse.

Overhead operating costs and maintenance of the new building will be economical and best of all it will be something that can better serve a large segment of Holmes County's population, almost ten per cent as a matter of fact.

More than 2,500 welfare clients are on the active rolls of the county now and each month payments to them runs in excess of $88,000 — and this figure is down from $90,000 to $96,000 average during 1961.

During 1961 a total of $1,136,636 was paid out in Holmes County and this does not include over $383,000 in surplus commodities distributed to welfare clients during



Holmes County's New $86,000 Public Welfare Building

MRS. WILNA LIPSEY of Pickens, seated at desk, is intake worker with the Holmes County Welfare Department and interviews every person who applies for assistance.

Mrs. Edith Aldridge of Lexington, pictured with Mrs. Lipsey, is supervisor

MRS. KETURAH POVALL, right, receptionist and file clerk, and Miss Necie Gwin, clerical worker with the Holmes County Welfare Department, are seated at their desks in the front office which occupies the entire width of the new building. This area controls the flow of applicants and visitors to the several offices.

Other clerical workers (some of whom blinked their eyes spoiling the picture) are Mrs. Joy W. Brooks, Mrs. Betty Maude White and Mrs. Virginia Chrestman, all of Lexington, and Mrs. Gayle Lewis of Durant.

Through Hazel Eyes . .

(Continued from Page One)

mune from criticism, or that we personally support all its decisions. We do not. Some of its decisions we cannot understand. We hope the day never comes when we cannot criticize either a local, state or national court — or Sen. Eastland.

But we can question and criticize the court without impugning the character and patriotism of the men who sit on the bench and who are, without exception, dedicated public servants. The same may be said of all the justices who sit on the U. S. Supreme Court. Certainly they are not traitors to our country.

Many people today wonder why Americans supposedly are not as "patriotic" as we used to be, why it is that the public generally seems not to show the proper appreciation for the American flag, our courts, laws and other institutions long held sacred.

We believe that irresponsible criticism of our courts and other institutions have aided materially in undermining public confidence in our courts and system, and in our American way of life. And

TCHULA NEWS

GARDEN CLUB NORTH DISTRICT MEETING

On Thursday, May 3rd, several members of the Tchula Garden Club attended the North Regional meeting of Garden Clubs in Grenada. Those attending were: Mrs. W. G. Gwin, Mrs. Everarde Jones, Mrs. Ellis Harris, Mrs. Henry Waterer, Mrs. Ned Parrish, Mrs. C. C. Wade, and Mrs. Jack Barwick. Mrs. Jones was moderator of a panel on "Program Planning" those taking part on the panel with her were Mrs. Gwin and Mrs. Waterer.

GARDEN CLUB

Lexington Future Farmers Of America Student Cops Honors In District Meet

A Lexington High School Junior was recent winner of a number of district honors and was named an outstanding member of the Lexington Chapter Future Farmers of America, at the District Four meeting in Tchula.

O. A. Cleveland, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. O. A. Cleveland was first place winner in the District Public Speaking contest after placing first in Council Public Speaking over three council winners in state competition; a district winner of the Farm Mechanics and Electrification Exami-

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Being a district winner in public speaking qualified O. A. for the Farmer Cooperative examination. Material used covered the Cooperative Creamery Association, Electric Power Association, Mississippi Federated Cooperatives, Mississippi Livestock Producers, Mssissippi Milk Producers, Staple Cotton Cooperatve and Federal Land Bank and Production Credit.

As winner of the Farmer Cooperative examination, he was presented a gold wrist watch and a trip to the Ameri

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During 1961 a total of $1,136,636 was paid out in Holmes County and this does not include over $383,000 in surplus commodities distributed to welfare clients during a year's time.

In April there were 2,553 active cases on the Holmes welfare rolls and payments for the month ran $88,011. (See table in adjoining column for schedule of payments made last year.) The 2,553 cases in April were broken down in the following categories: 1,597 Old Age Assistance clients; 110 cases of aid to the needy blind; 528 cases in which aid to dependent children was given; 328 cases of permanently and totally disabled.

$40.00 is the maximum grant since July 1, 1960, that can be given monthly in every classification except dependent children. Prior to this time it was $33.00. A maximum for one child in ADC is now $25.00 and for a second child in the same family, $15.00. Thereafter $10.00 per child is the maximum with a ceiling of $90.00 as the most that could be obtained, if available.

Welfare payments are not handed out indiscriminately. Every case on the rolls is investigated and handled by the welfare workers according to laws enacted by the Legislature and rules promulgated by the State Department. Cases are subject to constant review.

Payments are based on absolute needs, not wants, and in Mississippi only 34 per cent of the established need may be given because of available funds.

Board Pleased

Members of the Welfare Board, appointed by the supervisors, have expressed themselves as pleased with th new building and commodity warehouse which they feel will be assets to Holmes County and enable it to do a better job for our needy people.

W. R. Ellis, board chairman, has served on the board since the inception of the welfare program in Holmes County back in 1935. In those days the department was housed in the Masonic Building — and the late L. W. Rabb was welfare agent. Mr. Rabb resigned in March, 1955 and Mrs. McLellan took over. She had been Child Welfare worker with the agency since September, 1953.

In 1954 the department moved to the Swinney Building owned by Norman Weathersby and on March 19 of this year the third move was made into the new building on Highway 12 east of Lexington toward Durant.

Other members of the board who serve with Mr. Ellis are R. E. Moore of Durant, B. W. Humphrey, Jr., of Ebenezer; T. E. Powell of Howard and W. G. Lowe of Tchula.

Commodity Warehouse

The Commodity Warehouse, located behind the new building is in charge of Joe Evans, distribution clerk. He is assisted by Miss Clarabel Rhyne assistant clerk. Commodities issued include dry milk, meal, flour, lard, rice, beans and lately issued have been chopped meat, cheese, peanut butter and rolled oats.

Andrew J. Noel is the Negro helper at the warehouse and Sarah Harris is the maid who will keep the new building spotless.

Builders

Shannon Engineering Co. of Belzoni was general contractor for the building for which ground was broken Sept. 11.

J. M. Hoff of Lexington is the electrical contractor and Tatum Plumbing and Heating of Grenada is mechanical contractor.

MRS. WILNA LIPSEY of Pickens, seated at desk, is intake worker with the Holmes County Welfare Department and interviews every person who applies for assistance.

Mrs. Edith Aldridge of Lexington, pictured with Mrs. Lipsey, is supervisor of the nine Welfare Visitors who are assigned to areas in the county.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE
HOLMES COUNTY — 1961

Month	Number on Roll	Amt. of Assistance
January	2,780	$96,941.00
February	2,755	96,311.00
March	2,758	96,409.00
April	2,759	96,606.00
May	2,753	96,428.00
June	2,752	96,097.00
July	2,744	95,876.00
August	2,723	95,133.00
September	2,690	93,517.00*
October	2,671	91,924.00*
November	2,643	91,038.00*
December	2,627	90,356.00
Total 12 Months		$1,136,636

* SS benefits increased nationally effecting a reduction in assistance.

HOLMES COUNTY — 1962

January	2,609	$89,580.00
February	2,591	88,964.00
March	2,567	88,401.00
April	2,553	88,011.00
1962 — First Four Months		$354,956

SAE PRESIDENT

Ed Thurmond, Lexington is the new president of SAE fraternity at MSU. He is a junior and secretary of the MSU Student Association.

Four Holmes Students Will Receive Degrees From Miss. State U.

Four Holmes County Students are among the 581 candidates for degrees to be awarded at Mississippi State University's Spring Commencement on May 28th.

Those announced to receive their undergraduate degrees for this area by registrar, Lynn B. Ferguson are:

Homer Alvin Evans, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Evans of Lexington and James Buchanan Hutton, III, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. D. G. Hutton of Tchula, both from the school of Agriculture; William Wesley (Billy) Holder, son of Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Holder of Lexington, from the school of Arts and Sciences; and William Edward Ellington, son of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Ellington of Lexington, from the school of Business and Industry.

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Mattress Renovating
Furniture Upholstered
All Work Called For And Delivered

Free Estimates

Phone 1292 — Wrenn St.
Kosciusko, Miss.

Band Concert By SJC May 18

The Saints Junior College Band will present an open air concert on Friday night, May 18 at 8 p. m. on the Milton Olive farm, located on the Ebenezer road.

The band returned on April 29th from a successful western tour, under the direction of Professor of Music, Jacob W. Porter.

The concert will be sponsored by grades one and two of Saints Elementary School, Estelle Moody Talliaferro, teacher.

Legal Notices

IN THE CHANCERY COURT OF HOLMES COUNTY, MISSISSIPPI

IN THE MATTER OF THE ESTATE OF
MRS. ELLENA G. NORQUIST
DECEASED

No. 10294

NOTICE TO CREDITORS

Letters of Executorship having been granted to Mrs. Donnis Norquist Beckman, Executrix on the 28th day of April, 1962, by the Chancery Court of Holmes County, Mississippi, upon the estate of Mrs. Ellena G. Norquist, deceased, notice is hereby given to all persons having claims against the said estate of Mrs. Ellena G. Norquist, deceased, to present the same to the clerk of the Chancery Court of Holmes County, Mississippi, for probate and registration according to law, within six (6) months from the first publication of this notice, or they will be forever barred.

Dated this April 28, 1962.
Mrs. Donnis Norquist Beckman, Executrix,
Estate of Mrs. Ellena G. Norquist

William A. Bacon
Plaza Building
Jackson, Mississippi
Solicitor

decisions. We do not. Some of its decisions we cannot understand. We hope the day never comes when we cannot criticize either a local, state or national court — or Sen. Eastland.

But we can question and criticize the court without impugning the character and patriotism of the men who sit on the bench and who are, without exception, dedicated public servants. The same may be said of all the justices who sit on the U. S. Supreme Court. Certainly they are not traitors to our country.

Many people today wonder why Americans supposedly are not as "patriotic" as we used to be, why it is that the public generally seems not to show the proper appreciation for the American flag, our courts, laws and other institutions long held sacred.

We believe that irresponsible criticism of our courts and other institutions have aided materially in undermining public confidence in our courts and system, and in our American way of life. And that is not good.

To be noted was the fact that Senator John Stennis did not join in Senator Eastland's criticism of the court. He merely upheld Sen. Eastland's right to criticize the court, as do we.

But criticism should be constructive and for a good purpose, not on an arbitrary set of rules we write ourselves, as Sen. Eastland did.

And we have not said anything here that we have not already said to friend Jim's face.

Attend The Church Of Your Choice This Sunday!

Gwin, clerical worker with the Holmes County Welfare Department, are seated at their desks in the front office which occupies the entire width of the new building. This area controls the flow of applicants and visitors to the several offices.

Other clerical workers (some of whom blinked their eyes spoiling the picture) are Mrs. Joy W. Brooks, Mrs. Betty Maude White and Mrs. Virginia Chrestman, all of Lexington, and Mrs. Gayle Lewis of Durant.

TCHULA NEWS

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GARDEN CLUB SPONSORS PROJECT

The business district of Tchula is taking on a New look. The arden Club has sponsored the placing of shrubs in vacant lots and around buildings.

Attractive potted plants in green tubs have been placed along the side walks in front of all the business places in town.

The merchants of the city have cooperated with the Garden Club in this project.

Roommate Visits

Mrs. James W. Black of Jackson spent Wednesday with Mrs. Thatcher Walt in Tchula. Mrs. Walt and Mrs. Black were roommates at Holmes Junior College. Mrs. Black is the daughter of the former Miss Nettie Ingold of Lexington.

Lexington Future Farmers Of America Student Cops Honors In District Meet

A Lexington High School Junior was recent winner of a number of district honors and was named an outstanding member of the Lexington Chapter Future Farmers of America, at the District Four meeting in Tchula.

O. A. Cleveland, Jr., son of Mr. and Mrs. O. A. Cleveland was first place winner in the District Public Speaking contest after placing first in Council Public Speaking over three council winners in state competition; a district winner of the Farm Mechanics and Electrification Examination; and first place winner in the Farmer Cooperative examination.

He will receive a $50.00 cash prize at the State FFA Convention to be held in June.

The FFA Council includes Holmes, Madison and Attala Counties. Judges for the district contest were from Mississippi State University. Other schools entered in the district were Jefferson High, Leflore and Binford High.

Being a district winner in public speaking qualified O. A. for the Farmer Cooperative examination. Material used covered the Cooperative Creamery Association, Electric Power Association, Mississippi Federated Cooperatives, Mississippi Livestock Producers, Mssissippi Milk Producers, Staple Cotton Cooperatve and Federal Land Bank and Production Credit.

As winner of the Farmer Cooperative examination, he was presented a gold wrist watch and a trip to the American Institute of Cooperatives at the University of Ohio, which he will make in August.

This young man has been a member of the Lexington Chapter FFA for the past four years and being recognized for his outstanding work in this field is not a new experience. In March 1960 he was first place winner in the Big Black Council speaking contest, competing over Ethel, Zama and McAdams.

Congratulations are extended this outstanding FFA member as he goes forward in this worthwhile field.

READ AND USE WANT ADS FOR FAST RESULTS

NOTICE

$$ LADIES $$.
BEAUTY is our business. Why not make it yours? An excellent earning opportunity for women who qualify. Sell a product unconditionally guaranteed and advertised. Yes, it's "Avon Calling" for women who want to earn. For information write to Gertrude Freeman, Winona, Miss.

HELP WANTED — Man or woman wanted to supply Rawleigh Products to consumers in North Holmes County. Good time to start No capital required. See Mrs. W. P. Waldrop, Lexington or write Rawleigh's Dept. MSD-361-815, Memphis, Tennessee. 4-3tp

AGENTS WANTED TO SELL BURIAL INSURANCE. See or call Lindsay's Enterprise Funeral Home, Durant Mississippi, Telephone 337. 37-tfnp

SWARMING TERMITES ARE OUR BUSINESS . . .
Also Complete House Pest Control Service.
FREE INSPECTION SERVICE
Call Or Write To
CRAIG SUPERIOR TERMITE CONTROL SERVICE
O. K. In Business Since 1925
Lexington, Miss., Moccasin St.

WANTED AT ONCE: Second hand mule-drawn cotton poisoning equipment in good condition.
Write E. D. Poe, Rt. One, Lexington, Mississippi

SKIN ITCH
DON'T SCRATCH IT!
Scratching spreads infection, causing MORE pain. Apply quick-drying ITCH-ME-NOT instead. Itching quiets down in minutes and antiseptic action helps speed healing. Fine for eczema, insect bites, foot itch, other surface rashes. If not pleased, your 48c back at any drug store. TODAY at Peoples Drug Store.

FOR RENT

FOR RENT: Private apartment near court square, with garage attached. Day phone 666, night phone 1098, Mrs. Ruth Flower

MONUMENTS
Why pay undertakers and catalog salesmen 40% commission when you can buy direct from a manufacturer.
You will be better satisfied when you select from our display yard.
We will be glad to send our manager, Mr. Harold R. Sides or answer by mail or telephone.
DAVIDSON MARBLE & GRANITE WORKS
Kosciusko, Miss.

FOR SALE

FOR SALE: Eighty acres of land on E. G. Saxton place near Pickens. Write G. L. Saxton (Midway) Benton, Miss. or phone 6938.
48-tfr.-np

HOUSE FOR RENT OR SALE — Three bedroom home at 107 Odom Street in Durant. Phone 462 or write Mrs. J. T. Vines at above address.

ATHLETE'S FOOT GERM HOW TO KILL IT. IN 3 DAYS
If not pleased with strong, instant-drying T-4-L, your 48c back at any drug store. Watch infected skin slough off. Watch healthy skin replace it. Itch and burning are gone. TODAY at Peoples Drug Store and Henrich Drug Store

Men and Women To Train For
Civil Service Jobs
Home Study Course
The complete secret of how to get a civil service job is fully revealed in this course.
ROSE TRAINING SERVICE
Box 201
Tallahassee, Florida
51-tfnp

MAN HAD BRICK IN HIS STOMACH FOR 10 YEARS

One man said that for 10 years he felt like he had a brick in his stomach, due to undigested food he always had inside of him. Recently he started taking V.I.H. and says the "brick-feeling" disappeared. Now he is like a new man, eats anything.

V.I.H. is a new, scientific formula. It is taken before meals and works with your food. It not only relieves gas; it also gives the bowels a great cleansing; it brings out impurities that cause headache, foul breath, coated tongue and worn out feeling. Miserable people soon feel better all over. So don't go on suffering! Get V.I.H. at all leading Drug Stores.

Rita Jo
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Jackson, Miss.
Enroll Now For Spring Classes
Now Open And Fully Accredited
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Directors

"Principles and Men: Truth—the Weapon we use in their Defence."

THE LEXINGTON ADVERTISER

ESTABLISHED IN 1837

LEXINGTON, MISSISSIPPI

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH
EDITOR

May 15, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director, SRC
Room 205, 5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I want to express my sincere appreciation for your interest and that of Will Campbell in us and your courtesy to me when I was in your office last week. Smitty and I both feel that your interest and assistance will help us some way to work this situation out.

If we can find strength and money to get us through another year (and a little more courage, too) I believe that we will have it made. First of all, with the increased business we have already worked up; secondly, next year is election year which will mean two things, more local business and printing in spite of the Citizens' Council and even more important, a chance to get the main offenders out of office by having someone run against them. As things stand now we will lose one and possibly two of our county representatives in the Legislature. This means Mr. Hooker, the local founder of the Citizens' Council and a member of its State Executive Board and of the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission, probably WILL NOT BE REELECTED.

It is being widely reported here that Mrs. Hooker is entering a suit for separate maintenance against her husband (Wilburn Hooker) because of his extra curricular activities in Jackson. Whether this proves out or not doesn't matter. People in the county, who already know about it, are talking it openly. They know it is true.

I am telling you this not to repeat local gossip but to let you know how it affects my position. Hooker was one of the founders of the CC newspaper in Lexington, The Holmes County Herald, and is keeping it going out of his own pocket. Once his political career is over certainly he will have no reason to keep on pouring money into the Herald.

Am enclosing , or rather sending under separate cover, copies of The Advertiser and also including a copy of the Mississippi Free Press carrying the organization story on the Human Relations Council and the latest issue of The Baptist Observer.

Did you see the story carried in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch by Hodding Carter about me? I don't remember but I thought you said something about national publicity would help. Whether this will do any good or not I don't know, but it will give you some additional background possibly, so am enclosing clipping.

If you look in your files you have some material on the Citizens' Council which I prepared for you right after they were organized -- but whether there is anything in there that can help now or not, I do not know. I rather doubt it.

I hope the resume enclosed is adequate. If not let me know what else you need. Again, thank you for everything.

Most sincerely,

Hazel

Hazel Brannon Smith

Copy to
Will Campbell

ITEM NO. I

Since January 4, 1962, the Mississippi Citizens' Council and the State Sovereignty Commission have conspired in an open attack upon me which has been well publicized in the state and national press. This attack came because I am printing a new newspaper for Negroes, the Mississippi Free Press, which is dedicated to working for Negro rights and freedom.

I am only the printer for this paper. I have no financial interest in it and (actually) no control over it. I am vitally interested in seeing it survive because it is badly needed. The men who have put their money into this paper, business and professional men of Jackson, have implicit confidence in me and are guided a great deal by what I tell them in the line of newspapering. I very much would like to be in a position financially where I could have the time to help more with this paper and make it into a quality paper of statewide distribution. This could be done if the money could be made available. I have the know-how and the willingness to do the job.

ITEM No. II

THE BAPTIST OBSERVER, now a monthly but already with authority to go weekly when funds are available, is strictly a church and religious paper. But the Negro ministers sponsoring this paper are keenly aware of the need of promoting greater participation for Negroes in the life, economy and government of our state. This paper will help ministers to develop leadership among themselves and their congregations to the end that some day they can speak with one voice. This they desire to do -- but naturally it will take time. They must get their own people together. We have in mind that some day The Observer will go into every Baptist home in the state. Adequate financing could make this a reality NOW.

ITEM NO. III

Organized labor is viewed with suspicion in Mississippi by the Governor on down. This is an attitude deliberately fostered by the top officials as labor leaders know. Labor needs a better press in Mississippi and better public relations. It has no paper of its own at the present time-- although it once did. A statewide weekly newspaper which would report labor news fairly, honestly and accurately could be of great assistance in educating Mississippians about the facts of life on labor -- about which they know very little at the present time. If Mississippi is to grow and progress industrially our attitude toward organized labor is going to have to change.

In our Jackson suburban paper, The Northside Reporter, we have a paper that already has a good following in Jackson. It could be enlarged and extended citywide first and then statewide -- if my husband (Walter D. Smith) and I had enough financial backing. We are able and what's more important, willing to do this job. We feel it would be making a contribution to the growth and development of our state and I have some definite ideas about how this could be done if anyone is interested.

ITEM NO. IV

We need money NOW.

(Note: If we could get our hands on $15,000 it would get rid of the one big note that is on our backs as well as the past due bills--leaving us still the $16,200.00 note in Jackson on which we pay 6 per cent and $200.00 monthly--when we have it)

$1,400.00	for past due taxes and insurance, now critical
2,000.00	on $6,200 loan from 1st National Bank of G'ville --also now critical. Entire loan must be liquidated soon.
1,000.00	must pay on paper bill, (Now $4,500.)
2,000.00	for assorted miscellaneous accounts including a partial payment on $1,800.00 engraving bill.

ALL OF ABOVE DESPERATELY NEEDED NOW
(We still have the $20,000.00 note to be repaid to Mr. Harrison --not worrying about it now)

RECEIVED
MAY 23 1962

The Lexington Advertiser

"Principles and Men: Truth—the Weapon we use in their Defence."

Volume 125 | Lexington, Mississippi — Thursday, May 17, 1962 | Number Seven

Through Hazel Eyes

By Hazel Brannon Smith

A strong United States prepared and willing to defend itself and human freedom everywhere is the principal hope for a peaceful world. Personally, we feel it is the only hope of the world.

We must not be reckless or foolish. We must proceed with caution as indeed we have, But we must be willing to fight, if necessary. And we must convince the communists that we can and are willing to fight.

Strength or force is the only thing the communists respect — and we must command their respect. Otherwise they will walk all over us — and the entire free world.

President Kennedy has shown commenable caution in his dealings with the communists and been roundly criticized for it. But he is well aware what another war would mean to America and the world and he will do everything possible in an honorable way to try to prevent it. This is not appeasement as claimed by his irresponsible critics, only common sense.

Let us hope the trouble in Laos can be settled around the conference table and at once — for little wars grow into big ones.

But the invited buildup of a 5,000-man American fighting force, including 1,800 U. S. Marines, in Thailand indicates that the Kennedy administration is determined the communists shall be stopped.

Let us hope the communists realize we mean business, as do our SEATO Allies.

Southeast Asia is not the only hot spot on the globe now.

What has been a cold political battle for Congress is warming up and threatens to be quite a conflagration before the June 5th Democratic Primary when Congressmen Frank Smith and Jamie Whitten collide.

As all of our readers know, the editor of this newspaper never seeks to influence their vote for any political office whether local, county, state, or national. This has always been our policy and we do not plan to change it — ever.

So we were a little suprised (and quite flattered) that Congressman Jamie Whitten saw fit to give us some attention within the past week saying this editor "approves" Frank Smith's policies and does not "approve" his (Whitten's) policies. (We didn't even know Whitten had policies.)

If Jamie Whitten can't figure out a better way than that to get votes he might as well withdraw right now — because all of our friends and foes know we never try to influence their vote.

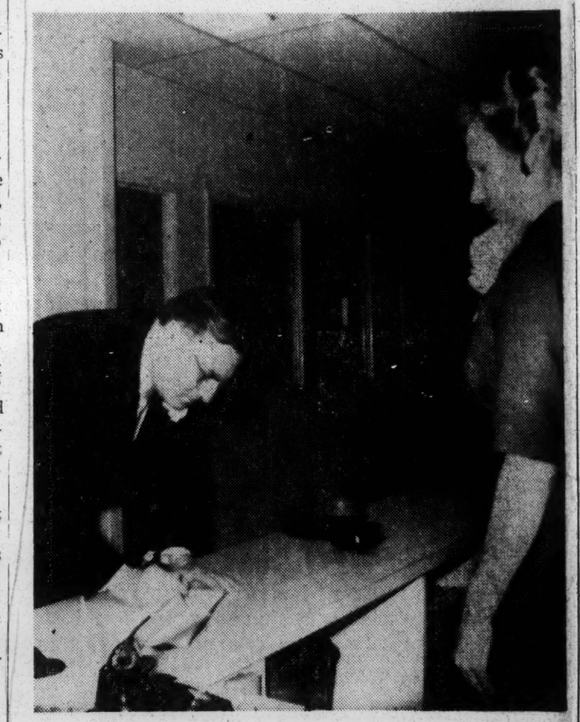
But does Jamie really think that some people would vote FOR HIM because HAZEL SMITH is AGAINST HIM — that is, if we were against him?

If so, he must have a pretty low opinion of the intelligence of Holmes County people — for only an idiot would vote for a person just because someone else was against him — and idiots are not allowed to vote in Mississippi. Or, are they?

Anyway, we'll know come June 5th.

Lexington Clean-Up

New Buildings Dedicated At HJC



GOVERNOR ROSS R. BARNETT signs register at formal opening and dedication of Holmes County Welfare Department on Friday afternoon, as Mrs. Keturah Povall, receptionist, looks on.

Gov. Barnett Speaks At Formal Opening Of Holmes Welfare Building On Friday

Approximately 225 interested persons attended the formal opening, dedication ceremonies and open house of the Holmes County Welfare Department.

Second on the guest list to be recognized was Mrs. Georgia Pitchford of Green

$133,000 Library Honors McMorrough; Boys' $104,000 Dorm Is Attala Hall

"Without education our nation would perish and we would lose our way of life," George Thornton, Kosciusko attorney, told a crowd assembled at Holmes Junior College Wednesday afternoon for the dedication of two new buildings, McMorrough Library and a boys' dormitory, "Attala Hall."

Mr. Thornton, a widely known and highly respected citizen of Attala County, was one of two speakers appearing on the afternoon program. He spoke relative to the dedication of Attala Hall.

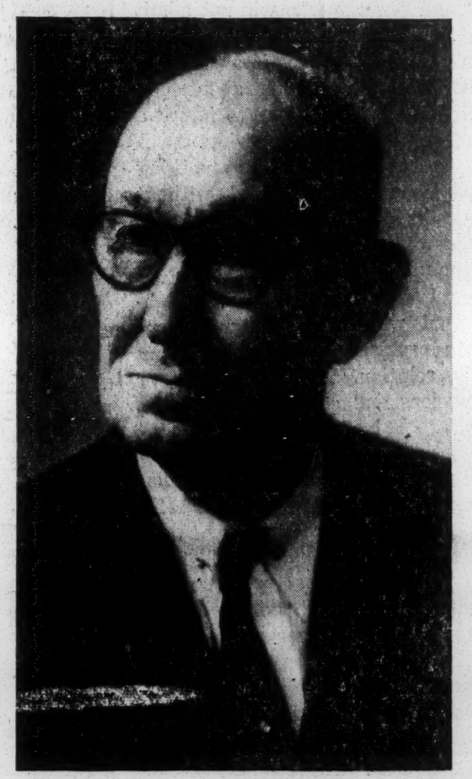
The other speaker was Edwin White of Lexington, well known attorney and former member of the Legislature who paid an eloquent tribute to another Lexington attorney, the Hon. G. H. McMorrough, for whom the new HJC Library is named. Mr. McMorrough currently is serving as President of the HJC Board of Trustees.

President Frank B. Branch served as master of ceremonies for the event in Carroll auditorium which was attended by about 200 persons throughout the county and a number of visitors from supporting counties. These counties, in order of their association with the Holmes institution, are Carroll, (since 1925), Attala (since 1956), Montgomery (1958), Grenada (1959), and Madison (1961).

Members of the boards of supervisors, boards of education and trustees from all of the counties were presented by Mr. Branch.

Mr. Branch

"If the boys and girls of your county have the ability



G. H. McMorrough

Tchula Graduation Program Scheduled Tonight At 8:00 P M

Sullivan Will Make Address On Athletic Field

Twenty Tchula High School seniors will receive diplomas at graduation exercises tonight (Thursday) at 8:00 p. m. on the Tchula Athletic Field.

Featured speaker for the commencement program will be Charles Sullivan of Clarksdale.

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President Kennedy has shown commenable caution in his dealings with the communists and been roundly criticized for it. But he is well aware what another war would mean to America and the world and he will do everything possible in an honorable way to try to prevent it. This is not appeasement as claimed by his irresponsible critics, only common sense.

Let us hope the trouble in Laos can be settled around the conference table and at once — for little wars grow into big ones.

But the invited buildup of a 5,000-man American fighting force, including 1,800 U. S. Marines, in Thailand indicates that the Kennedy administration is determined the communists shall be stopped.

Let us hope the communists realize we mean business, as do our SEATO Allies.

Southeast Asia is not the

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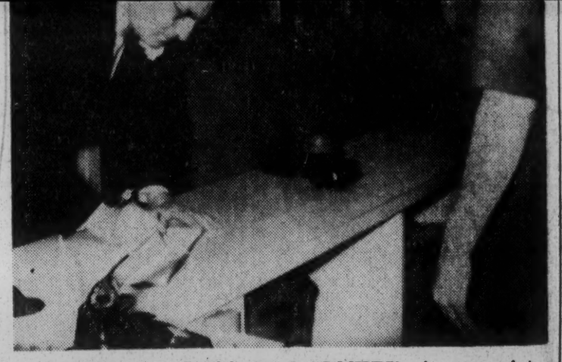

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Approximately 225 interested persons attended the formal opening, dedication ceremonies and open house of the Holmes County Welfare Department's new building Friday afternoon at 3.

Following the invocation by the Rev. Roy D. Raddin, pastor of the Tchula Baptist Church, Mayor W. B. Kenna welcomed the visitors and guests. Mr. Kenna speaking on behalf of the City of Lexington and entire area, said it was his privilege to welcome Governor Barnett and other visitors. The city and county is proud of its Welfare Department, its agent and all its associates. He said, "Holmes County could boast the best Welfare Department that can be found in the State of Mississippi."

Visitors Recognized

William H. Moses, member of the Lexington Board of Aldermen and Colonel on Governor Barnett's Staff, recognized special guests.

First to be recognized was M. H. Brooks, of Carthage, acting commissioner of State Public Welfare. Mr. Brooks, in his brief talk, praised the department and workers of the present and past and said, "I feel no better any place in the world than at a meeting of a Public Welfare Department."

Second on the guest list to be recognized was Mrs Georgia Pitchford of Greenwood, supervisor of Holmes County Welfare Department. Mrs. Pitchford will retire in August.

Others recognized were the County officials, Wilburn Hooker, County Representative; Mrs. Andrew P. Smith, Sheriff of Holmes County; Mrs. Denton Rosamond, Tax Assessor; Henry B. McClellan, Circuit Clerk; and L. R. Thompson, Superintendent of Education. And the group responsible for having the new building, the Holmes County

(Continued on Page Eight)

Lexington Clean-Up Parade Held Friday

Lexington's Clean-Up Campaign was launched with a colorful start Friday afternoon with a parade around court square.

Leading the line of attractive and appropriate floats were city officials, Mayor W. B. Kenna and the Lexington Police Force.

Brownie Troop 214 received first place prize of $5.00 for having the most original and attractive posters. This group is under the leadership of Mrs. Herbert Hyman and Mrs. Mike Lammons.

Second place winner, $3.00 cash, was Girl Scout Troop 61, led by Mrs. Jack Dunn and Mrs. Joe Stern.

And winning third, $2.00 cash, was Boy Scout Troop 69, Harden Ervin, leader.

One of the attractions was the Berman Brokerage Float featuring Jamye Carson as Miss Clean-Up, Brenda Berman, Miss Paint-Up and Wanda Power, Miss Fix-Up.

W. P. Zemp was winner of the case of Dial soap given by Berman Brokerage Company. Mr. Zemp's estimated number of bars of soap was 142 and the container held 135.

Adine O'Reilly was second with her guess of 144 bars of soap. She received six bars of Dial.

The Lexington Junior High School Band, under the direction of Mrs. Geraldine Wheeler and led by Suzanne McLellan, made an excellent performance.

Various other floats sponsored by merchants, the Holmes County 4-H Clubs, and school students participated in this big event.

Mr. Berman, chairman of the campaign committee, wishes to express his thanks to fellow committee members, Mrs. Dora Pearl Tidwell, J. E. Goss, Phil Cohen and Mrs. Juanita Smith, and all others whose cooperation and tireless efforts made the parade a success.

FIRST PLACE POSTER WINNER: Brownie Troop 214 received first prize of $5.00 cash for having the most original and attractive posters in the Clean-Up Campaign Parade in Lexington Friday afternoon.

Members of the troop are: Ann Rutledge, Faye Lawrence, Susie Bylsma, Bonnie Davis, Karen Lammons, Cindy Smith, Debbie Hathcock, Mary Agnes Hathcock, Sara Ellison, Suzanne Yates, Sandra Green, Becky Stark, Celia Ann Dunn, Cindy Frost, Pamela Rutledge, Barbara Hyman, Laura Elizabeth Hammett, Jackie Carnathan and Fran Wynne. Troop leaders are Mrs. Herbert Hyman and Mrs. Mike Lammons.

Lexington Man Killed Monday

J. C. Thomas Is Victim Of Wreck On Highway 12

A Lexington man was killed in a one-car accident about two miles west of Durant on Highway 12 at 11:00 a. m. Monday, May 14.

Dead on arrival at District Two Hospital in Durant was James Curtis Thomas, 42-year-old salesman at O. L. Ellison's store in Lexington.

Rayford Torry, 26-year-old Negro, also an employee of Ellisons, was in the car with him and was not injured.

The two men were returning from Big Black River where they had been fishing during a vacation from the store where they were employed.

Investigating officer was Highway Patrolman R. A. Salley of Durant.

The 1953 automobile, belonging to Mr. Thomas, was overturned when it went out of control in a sharp curve and struck a bank.

J. C., as he was known to his friends, was born in the Sand Hills, son of Mr. Eugene Thomas and the late Mrs. Ezma Tate Thomas. He was a member of the Bowling Green Baptist Church and a veteran of World War II.

In addition to his father, he is survived by a sister, Mrs. Floyd (Anna Lynn Thomas) Autry, Lexington; two brothers, Kelly Thomas, Tchula and Hubert Thomas, Kosciusko.

Interment will be in Bethesda Cemetery. Funeral services will be held at Southern Funeral Home chapel upon arrival of his father, who is en route from California.

to the dedication of Attala

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Featured speaker for the commencement program will be Charles Sullivan of Clarksdale.

Gloria Powell, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. T. E. Powell, will give the valedictory address and Mary Lou Jones, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Jones, will deliver the salutatory address. Awards and diplomas will be presented by W. R. Huddleston, principal.

Members of the graduating class are:

Chester Baker, Gertrude Baker, Paul Baker, Jo Ann Holeman, Sam Hutton, Jr., Mary Lou Jones, Betty Sue Killebrew, Mary Ann Killebrew, Walterine Kuhn, Jack Lee, Linda McRae, Brenda McRae, Kenneth Newman, Gloria Powell, Kenneth Rutledge, Shirley Ann Shelton, Patricia Simon, Billy Ray Tutterow and Peggy Winstead.

Baccalaureate Service

Baccalaureate services were held Sunday night at 7:30 at the Tchula Methodist Church with the Rev. Wilson Ray delivering the message.

Special music was presented by the High School Glee Club under the direction of Mrs. Sam Hutton, with Miss Bonnie Shelton and Mrs. Ellis Harris accompanying at the organs. This group sang "Praise Ye The Father" and "The Lord Is My Light."

Ushers were Jimmy Barrett, Vernon Mathias, Rod Holeman, Milton Thornton, Kenneth Howard, Marion Upchurch, Allen Johnson and Charles McWade.

Combined Bible School Set For May 28-June 1

The First Presbyterian Church, the First Methodist Church and St. Mary's Episcopal Church of Lexington will join together in holding their annual Daily Vacation Bible School immediately after school is out.

This school, which will have departments meeting in all three churches, will begin on Monday, May 28th and continue through Friday, June 1. Classes will meet each day from 8:00 to 11:00 a. m.

Miss Fan Sadler and Miss Ann Shepherdson, trained leaders in this field, will be in charge of the young groups and local teachers will teach the Intermediates.

Superintendents of the various departments are as follows:

Mrs. Roy Young, Beginners; Mrs. Dan Pepper, Primary; Mrs. Edwin White, Junior; Mrs. Parham Williams, Jr., Intermediate.

Committee chairmen are:

Hospitality, Mrs. M. K. Ginn; Refreshment, Mrs. Gor-

(Continued on page eight)

The other speaker was Edwin White of Lexington, well known attorney and former member of the Legislature who paid an eloquent tribute to another Lexington attorney, the Hon. G. H. McMorrough, for whom the new HJC Library is named. Mr. McMorrough currently is serving as President of the HJC Board of Trustees.

President Frank B. Branch served as master of ceremonies for the event in Carroll auditorium which was attended by about 200 persons throughout the county and a number of visitors from supporting counties. These counties, in order of their association with the Holmes institution, are Carroll, (since 1925), Attala (since 1956), Montgomery (1958), Grenada (1959), and Madison (1961).

Members of the boards of supervisors, boards of education and trustees from all of the counties were presented by Mr. Branch.

Mr. Branch

"If the boys and girls of your county have the ability and the need, we will see to it that they get a two-year education at Holmes Junior College," President Branch told the officials.

HJC has only "scratched the surface" in the service it is possible to give people of the supporting area, Mr. Branch contends.

"By expanding and having the necessary funds to carry on such a program, we can take care of anything needed in technical and vocational education to fill the state's growing industrial needs," he asserted.

Holmes Praised

Mr. Branch paid high tribute to all the supporting counties and told about the wonderful spirit of cooperation. He then said: "And I can't say enough for the people of Holmes County. They have supported the school tremendously. All buildings on the campus were built by the people of Holmes County except the new library which was built with money appropriated by the legislature. ($133,000 of a $350,000 appropriation from the Legislature went for the library, the remainder for much needed repairs and improvements).

Mississippi, along with Cali-

(Continued on Page Eight)

G. H. McMorrough

HJC, HAHS Combined Commencement Set Sunday; 113 Will Receive Diplomas

Ninety-one college sophomores and twenty-two high school seniors will receive diplomas at combined graduating exercises Sunday, May 20th at Holmes Junior College in Goodman.

The commencement program will be held on Branch Field at 3:00 p. m. Dr. Donald B. Roark, Executive Assistant and Personnel Director of Mississippi Chemical Corporation of Yazoo City will be featured speaker.

Diplomas and awards will be presented by President Frank B. Branch.

Baccalaureate Service

The Baccalaureate service will be held on Sunday also at 11:00 a. m. in Carroll Auditorium with the Rev. Clifton Perkins, pastor of the First Baptist Church of West Point bringing the message. Rev. Perkins is a former pastor of the Goodman Baptist Church.

LHS Baccalaureate Service Set Sunday

The 1962 Baccalaureate sermon, honoring the graduating seniors of Lexington High School will be held Sunday, May 20th at 11:00 a. m. at the First Baptist Church of Lexington.

The Rev. P. D. Bragg, pastor of the church, will preach an inspiring message directed to the thirty-three members of the class.

Ushers will be Hugh Johnson, David Miles, Jr., Thomas Edwards, Don Barrett, Dale Russell and Donald Edwards.

The public is extended an invitation to attend.

Baptist VBS Set For May 28-June 1

Beginning Monday, May 28 and continuing through Friday, June 1st Vacation Bible School will be held at the First Baptist Church in Lexington. Preparation activities and enrollment will be at 3:00 p. m. on Friday, May 25th at the church.

Mrs. Sidney Henley will serve as principal of the school, which will meet during the hours of 8:00 and 11:00 a. m. each week day.

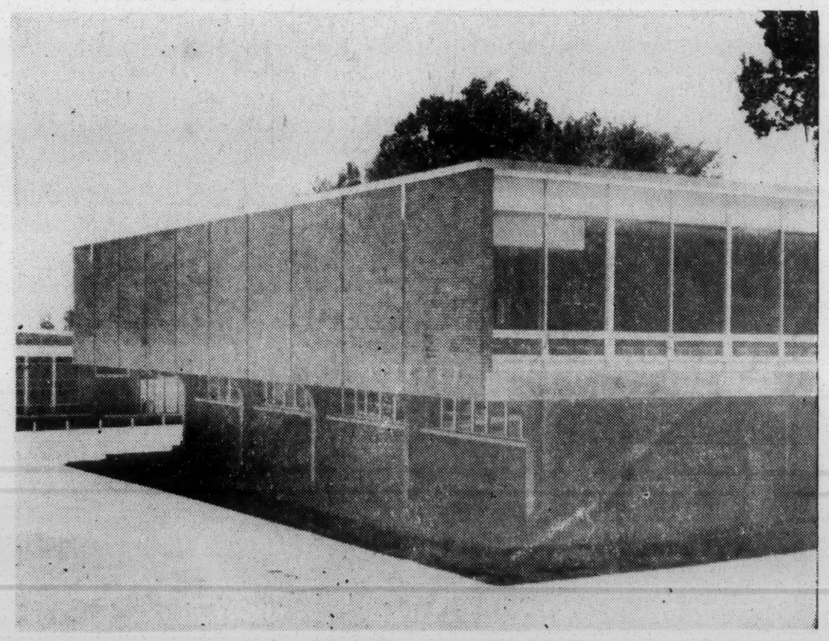
Those serving as department superintendents are:

Mrs. Reuben Netherland, Nursery; Mrs. Ross Willoughby, Beginner; Mrs. Mike Lammons, Primary; Mrs. Henry McClellan, Junior; and Mrs. Duane Tucker, Intermediate.

Children between the ages of four and fifteen years of age are invited to attend.

In Hospital

Mrs. Annie Ford Stewart is a patient in the Holmes County Community Hospital.



McMORROUGH LIBRARY at Holmes Junior College was dedicated Wednesday with appropriate ceremony. The $133,000.00 structure is named for G. H. McMorough, veteran Lexington attorney who has been identified with the school for more than fifty years, presently serving as president of the Board of Trustees.

Editorials

A Positive Approach

Mississippi Council On Human Relations

A Mississippi Council On Human Relations has been organized by white and Negro leading citizens representing every area of the state.

The purpose of the Council is to work toward understanding and better relations between the races in Mississippi.

None will question that both understanding and better relations are needed and few are who will not admit present relations are at a new, low ebb.

The mere fact there is a group of citizens who care enough about our state and its people to try to improve human relations is encouraging.

It is a well known fact nothing worthwhile can be achieved without understanding — and there can be no real understanding when people cannot communicate. This is basic to all human relations. It is also well established that when people do not communicate problems arise which seem to defy solution. An atmosphere of fear envelops and conflict becomes inevitable.

Only when we bring our problems out in the open and examine them, discuss them freely, is there hope for solution.

Thus the Mississippi Council On Human Relations should provide a vehicle whereby people of good will may work toward solving our problems by bringing them out in the open and discussing them and coming to understand each other. This kind of positive action offers Mississippi's only hope for preserving racial peace and preventing certain future conflict.

Mississippi cannot afford the type of racial conflict now in progress in other southern cities, such as Birmingham, Alabama. Our whole state tax structure is based on not only maintaining our present economy but increasing it. We are skating now on thin ice. Any serious racial disturbance will upset our economy and anticipated income will not only fail to materialize but actually decrease. (Mail order fear who never knew it before. It has divided and confused us as never before. For the future the Citizens' Council offers only defiance of law and order and closing of public schools and other public facilities which means a return to ignorance and the Dark Ages. The Citizens' Council also is a ready-made political machine for the political control of the people by demagogues who are interested only in exploiting us and advancing their own personal and political fortunes. They are a threat to every independent citizen who wishes to think and act for himself.

We do not know what the Mississippi Council On Human Relations may do — but could it do worse?

* * * *

State daily newspapers we have seen did not print anything about the Mississippi Council On Human Relations except a brief mention of officers elected. We have seen no editorial comment at all in any state newspaper.

In order that readers of this newspaper may be informed on the subject we have secured a copy of its declaration of purpose and a statement of its objectives which we believe you will find of interest.

The declaration of purpose formally adopted by the group said, and we quote:

Believing that all men are of equal worth in the sight of God, and drawing our inspiration and guidance from the Judaeo-Christian continuity of prophetic witness for social justice, and desiring to support in the State of Mississippi those objectives in this direction which elsewhere within our nation have won general recognition and acceptance, we hereby propose to form in Mississippi an organization to be known as The Mississippi Council On Human Relations.

Positive Approach

Stressing the positive approach to be used by the Mississippi Council in an effort to better human relations in

Through The Years

Items of interest from the past taken from our files of The Lexington Advertiser and The Durant News.

By Ruth B. Flower

TEN YEARS AGO

NATIONAL HOSPITAL DAY WILL BE OBSERVED

National Hospital Day, Monday, May 12th will be observed as visitation day at the Holmes County Community Hospital in Lexington.

Every citizen in the county interested in seeing the improvements made to the hospital during the past twenty months is given a cordial invitation to visit the hospital on that day.

Hostesses for the visiting hours will be representatives of all churches with Mrs. E. W. Hooker serving as general chairman.

They are Mrs. Will D. Wilson, Mrs. Tom Shepherd, Miss Cecile Samaha, Mrs. W. Allan Ramsey, Mrs. Herman F. Flowers, Mrs. Allie Povell, Mrs. Joe Berman, Mrs. Edwin White, Mrs. William R. Ellis, Mrs. M. E. Blake, Mrs. Pat M. Barrett, Miss Eve Blake, Mrs. Parham H. Williams, Mrs. Sidney P. Rhyne and Miss Joyce Williams.

The Lexington Garden Club, with Mrs. J. F. Williams, president, will furnish flowers for the occasion.

The latest addition to the memorial rooms is one honoring the late Miss Tommie Foster of Tchula. Other memorial rooms which have now been transferred to the new wing honor Dr. R. M. Stephenson, Theresa Fritz, R. E. Wilburn, Dr. J. Thad and Alice K. Buck.

The incubator in the nursery was given by Lexington BPW Club, and the special lighting in the nursery was purchased with a Christmas vesper choir offering from St. Mary's Episcopal Church.

TWENTY YEARS AGO

BIRTHDAY PARTY FETES LITTLE SONIA GILLIAM

Little Sonia Chason Gilliam daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Hal Gilliam celebrated her fourth birthday anniversary on Saturday afternoon, May 2nd at the home of her parents at 205 Clifton Street.

Fourteen little guests enjoyed her hospitality, playing games such as pinning the ear on the rabbit and fishing for souvenirs which were balloons and whistles.

A May pole was used in the party decorations and Sonia's birthday cake was cut and served with Dixie cups at the conclusion of the games.

Mrs. Gilliam was assisted in serving by Mrs. Herbert Steele of Lexington, Mr. and Ed Stigler and Miss Mary Elizabeth Stigler all of Tchula.

EUROPEAN ATTACHE IS LEXINGTON VISITOR

Dewitt T. Warner, acting inspector in charge of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, Mobile, Alabama was in Lexington Friday visiting his brother, J. H. Warner and Lexington friends.

Mr. Warner has recently returned from Europe where he spent ten years in England and Germany. He was attached to the American Consular Service office in Berlin and was in Europe when World War II was declared.

While in Germany, Mr. Warner met Rudolph Hess and other high German officials and heard several speeches made by Adolph Hitler.

THIRTY YEARS AGO

MARRIAGE LICENSES SHOW BIG DECLINE

June is generally known as the month of roses and weddings but unless the demand for marriage licenses picks up says J. D. Weeks, Circuit Clerk, the roses will have little to bloom for, unless business gets better.

ADVERTISER HONORED ON 95TH BIRTHDAY

The Advertiser acknowledges a beautiful basket of flowers from Mrs. W. W. Wilburn of this city, bearing the message "Many Happy Returns for The 'Tiser", as a gift and remembrance on the Ad-

Guest Editorial

An Assassination Attempt

(Reprinted from the Greenwood Commonwealth)

The vicious foes of Frank Smith are trying in every conceivable way to discredit one of the most outstanding Congressmen in the nation. They're trying it in the only way their crowd knows, guilt by association. Over the years they have found it an effective tool.

We predict that this time, though their efforts will backfire on them. Frank Smith towers above scurrilous attacks from behind.

The latest under-the-counter nip at the leading man's heels comes in the form of a reprint from a column by Tom Etheredge of the Jackson Clarion Ledger. Etheredge has long run with the pack in Jackson which is pouring money, time, energy, lies and other forms of venom into the North Delta campaign.

Under the guise of being fair-minded. the columnist presents excerpts from editorial comment in four newspapers, two supporting Frank Smith and two supporting Jamie Whitten.

But which newspapers does he quote? Not the Commonwealth. That would have been fair editorial comment. But reprinting statements from the Delta Democrat Times in Greenville and The Lexington Advertiser, he reasons, will instantly discredit the man who stands for independence of mind and spirit within the framework of service to his people.

Independence, straight forward honesty in the face of tribulation, is a virtue that the crowd which the Jackson columnist serves as an organ, can't stomach. Independent thinking fill them with fear for their political security Independent thinking, honest action against the winds of hostility if allowed to impress Mississippians, will undermine this crowd's stranglehold on the people, erode their power, destroy their jobs. Frank Smith must be assassinated politically no matter what the cost, rumbles the drum beat from Jackson.

But the Jackson columnist's effort, as reprinted by the forces opposed to honest and straightforward representation in Washington, will fail. Sophisticated voters in this area will read the veiled attack carefully and note the following:

Hodding Carter doesn't write that Frank Smith is a man after his own way of thinking on the racial issue. He doesn't say that he and Frank are friends or that Frank ever worked on his newspaper.

He merely states that political bossism is trying to stab Frank Smith in the back because he has consistently refused to play along with them in their demagogic quest to strangle Mississippi. He merely says that Frank Smith exercises an independence of judgment in representing his people that certain forces cannot live with.

Regardless of what Hodding Carter and his newspaper stand for Carter is a man who admires and respects independence and honesty.

Likewise, Hazel Brannon Smith of The Lexington Advertiser writes only that Congressman Frank Smith strikes fear in Jackson because of his independence and that he can do more good for Mississippi in Washington than any of our other Congressmen.

That is precisely the Commonwealth's position.

We feel that wise voters in this area won't allow themselves to be stampeded by emotional tirades of the most vicious sort and turn on a man against whom his enemies can find only one charge — that he refused to go along with them.

The Lexington Advertiser

Thursday, May 17, 1962

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH (Mrs. Walter D.)_____Editor and Publisher
Established in 1837 — Published Every Thursday — Subscription rates: Anywhere in Holmes County, $3.00 per year; Outside Holmes County $3.50 per year.
Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Lexington, Mississippi.

fear envelops and conflict becomes inevitable.

Only when we bring our problems out in the open and examine them, discuss them freely, is there hope for solution.

Thus the Mississippi Council On Human Relations should provide a vehicle whereby people of good will may work toward solving our problems by bringing them out in the open and discussing them and coming to understand each other. This kind of positive action offers Mississippi's only hope for preserving racial peace and preventing certain future conflict.

Mississippi cannot afford the type of racial conflict now in progress in other southern cities, such as Birmingham, Alabama. Our whole state tax structure is based on not only maintaining our present economy but increasing it. We are skating now on thin ice. Any serious racial disturbance will upset our economy and anticipated income will not only fail to materialize but actually decrease. (Mail order houses do a tremendous business in Mississippi already.)

State business and professional men and women have long recognized and privately admitted the need for some kind of a constructive approach toward relieving the stress and strain existing now in race relations throughout Mississippi. The problem has long dominated the business and social life and government and affected industry. These business and professional leaders would do well now to join the newly formed Mississippi Council On Human Relations and help to give it strength and direction. Voluntary action now would be easier and of greater moral force and benefit than later action compelled by the crisis of dire necessity — as has been the case in many other places.

Governor Ross Barnett could add to his role as our leader and Chief Executive by giving encouragement and moral support to these people who are attempting to help our state move forward rather than backward through the Mississippi Council On Human Relations.

The white Mississippi Citizens' Councils have brought us steadily worsening relations between the races incited by fear, uncertainty, suspicion, and intimidations, both economic and social. They have brought us to the present impasse in race relations, a point of no return. We have been led down a blind alley and now have no place to go. People have come to know

ment at all in any state newspaper.

In order that readers of this newspaper may be informed on the subject we have secured a copy of its declaration of purpose and a statement of its objectives which we believe you will find of interest.

The declaration of purpose formally adopted by the group said, and we quote:

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Positive Approach

Stressing the positive approach to be used by the Mississippi Council in an effort to better human relations in the state, the organizational group formally adopted support of the following:

1. The traditional freedom of speech including its class-room counterpart of academic freedom for all teachers.

2. The basic freedom of assembly in which men who believe in democratic institutions may meet together without anxiety.

3. Absolute impartiality as to race in the enforcement of law by police and courts and in the selection of jury members.

4. The application of one set of requirements in one manner to all individuals who seek registration for voting, regardless of race.

5. Employment in industry and agriculture on the basis of merit.

6. Wise compliance with the spirit of the Supreme Court decision of 1954 within the living context of the situation in Mississippi through:

a. Voluntary removal of state and local laws enforcing segregation.

b. Prompt acceptance of qualified Negro applicants on the part of colleges and graduate schools.

c. Initiation on the part of men of good will of both races within local communities of plans for compliance in the lower schools in advance of compulsory action by federal courts.

d. Immediate representation by qualified Negroes on local and state boards of education where these posts are appointive.

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Fourteen little guests enjoyed her hospitality, playing games such as pinning the ear on the rabbit and fishing for souvenirs which were balloons and whistles.

A May pole was used in the party decorations and Sonia's birthday cake was cut and served with Dixie cups at the conclusion of the games.

Mrs. Gilliam was assisted in serving by Mrs. Herbert Steele of Lexington, Mr. and Ed Stigler and Miss Mary Elizabeth Stigler all of Tchu-

Dewitt T. Warner, acting inspector in charge of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, Mobile, Alabama was in Lexington Friday visiting his brother, J. H. Warner and Lexington friends.

Mr. Warner has recently returned from Europe where he spent ten years in England and Germany. He was attached to the American Consular Service office in Berlin and was in Europe when World War II was declared.

While in Germany, Mr. Warner met Rudolph Hess and other high German officials and heard several speeches made by Adolph Hitler.

the Delta Democrat Times in Greenville and The Lexington Advertiser, he reasons, will instantly discredit the man who stands for independence of mind and spirit within the framework of service to his people.

Independence, straight forward honesty in the face of tribulation, is a virtue that the crowd which the Jackson columnist serves as an organ, can't stomach. Independent thinking fill them with fear for their political security Independent thinking, honest action against the winds of hostility if allowed to impress Mississippians, will undermine this crowd's stranglehold on

Likewise, Hazel Brannon Smith of The Lexington Advertiser writes only that Congressman Frank Smith strikes fear in Jackson because of his independence and that he can do more good for Mississippi in Washington than any of our other Congressmen.

That is precisely the Commonwealth's position.

We feel that wise voters in this area won't allow themselves to be stampeded by emotional tirades of the most vicious sort and turn on a man against whom his enemies can find only one charge — that he refused to go along with them.

THIRTY YEARS AGO

MARRIAGE LICENSES SHOW BIG DECLINE

June is generally known as the month of roses and weddings but unless the demand for marriage licenses picks up says J. D. Weeks, Circuit Clerk, the roses will have little to bloom for, unless business gets better.

Only three licenses for white couples were sold in Holmes County during the month of March, and during the month of April the amount sold was doubled, making a total of nine for both months.

The record shows licenses for Negro couples numbered twenty-nine for each month, making a total of 58 for both months.

BOBBY SWITTENBERG MAKES FAMOUS DRIVE ON GOLF COURSE

Bobby Swittenberg, young golfer and member of Lexington Country Club, joined the ranks of the famous the past week when he made a hole-in-one on Number 3 of the local links in a game with several friends.

The number 3 green is a shot of 116 yards and has been the means of one other player, H. L. Nichols attaining such a perfect shot.

Bobby is one of the younger players and has improved his game which placed him in the hall of fame with the more experienced players.

ADVERTISER HONORED ON 95TH BIRTHDAY

The Advertiser acknowledges a beautiful basket of flowers from Mrs. W. W. Wilburn of this city, bearing the message "Many Happy Returns for The 'Tiser", as a gift and remembrance on the Advertiser's ninety-fifth birthday. The beautiful blossoms were from the flower yard at her home, that is always an inspiring sight to flower lovers.

We also wish to thank others for their kind expressions and best wishes contained in letters mailed to the office.

Jack O'Kelly Will Receive BS Degree From Memphis State

Jack O'Kelly of Route 5, Lexington, is a candidate for a bachelor of science degree from Memphis State University on Saturday, May 26.

Commencement exercises will be at 10 a. m. in the University Field House.

Dr. C. C. Humphreys, MSU president, will confer degrees on some 325 students, including 32 graduate students, in one of the largest spring commencements in Memphis State's history.

Addressing the group will be General Alfred M. Gruenther, president of the American National Red Cross and former Supreme Allied Commander in Europe.

A reception for graduates, their families and friends will be held in the student center after the exercises. General Gruenther also will attend the reception.

Mr. O'Kelly, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. W. O'Kelly, is majoring in secondary education.

The Lexington Advertiser

Thursday, May 17, 1962

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH (Mrs. Walter D.)_____Editor and Publisher
Established in 1837 — Published Every Thursday — Subscription rates: Anywhere in Holmes County, $3.00 per year; Outside Holmes County $3.50 per year. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Lexington, Mississippi.

Legislative Bulletin

Monday begins 20th week of a session still difficult to characterize — Most predict two more weeks, with adjournment "around the 25th — Next two weeks will be hazardous ones, in an atmosphere not conducive for the most deliberate, sound-thought-out actions — solons are understandably tired and weary with it now apparent no more major money is in legislative reapportionment, however, in case of deadlock on this, most special session within next 12 months — how ever some mighty important legislation hanging in balance at present, and deserves your attendtion! — Senate adjourned for weekend on Thursday. See last paragraph of this report for actions in House Friday morning.

During 19th week Governor signed these bills of note: S 1571, requires banks to have in actual cash or due from banks, 15 per cent of demand deposits and seven per cent of time and savings deposits — S 1575, fix pay of jurors — S 1620, provide for partial payment of group policies premiums — H 143, providing for non profit dental service corporations — H 68, fix qualifications of jurors.

Bills clearing final hurdle and awaiting action of governor, unless otherwise indicated, during week were: S 1784, include teaching of American government in high schools — S 2039, rural communities organize non-profit corporations to service residents with water and sewage systems (amended in House, now goes back to Senate) — S 1577, for publication of school board proceedings in newspapers or post on bulletin boards — S 1888, additional powers for county port commissions — S 1903, permit defendants in suits on public contractors bond to require known claimants under bond to be joined as parties — 597, creating Gulf Coast junior college district — H 135, medical scholarship recipient may serve in city under 5,000 — H 348, certain electors ineligible serve on county board of education — H 403, board trustees institutions of higher learning may study on overlapping of facilities — H 82, authority for junior colleges to borrow funds from federal agencies to build dormitories and pay bonds with revenues from buildings — H 530, define one year legal residence for resident students in institutions of higher learning.

H 767, insurance agents may petition insurance commission or commissioner for hearing on rates and other matters affecting them (held on motion) — H 443, remove necessity for county executive committee allocate poll managers for citywide election municipal officials — S 1871, remove disability of minority of married minors for acquiring, selling and conveying homestead — H 238, revisions in 1961 action on sale or lease 16th sections lands to permit use such lands for underground storage and provide election feature in counties if not required by A & I Board — H 195, municipalities clean lands on its own motion — H 342, withdraw U. S. highways from arrest jurisdiction of constables (held on motion) — H 580, authorize domestic insurance companies make additional investments — H 561, Mississippi enter Southern Interstate Nuclear compact — H 709, junior colleges may establish accident contingent fund — H 862, general legislative investigating committee may meet during sessions — H 61, establish grounds in law for annulment of marriages — H 231, prohibit false use of "wholesale" advertising — H 316, eminent

(continued on page five)

MEDITATION

May 17

By their fruit ye shall know them. (Matthew 7:20)

The above saying is ideally illustrated in the Apostle Paul's remembrance that Timothy's unfeigned faith dwelt first in his grandmother Lois and in his mother Eunice. To my continuing wonder, I note regularly in my own church, and in others I visit from time to time, that there are generally two women to one man in the regular Sunday congregation.

Like the women of the Bible, women of the present day are, as a rule, more earnest in spiritual outlook. Like "waiting Mary" and "bustling Martha" they energetically use their talents in many ways to serve God and their fellowmen.

Ruth's devotion to God lives eternally bright in the lines of David and her other glorious descendants. Esther exhibited greatness in relieving the distress of her fellow Jews through her influence on a great king of Persia. The devotion of the women mentioned in the New Testament is well illustrated by the going of "Mary Magdalene and the other Mary to see the sepulchre" on the first Easter morning.

PRAYER: Father in heaven, we are inspired by the works of faith of famous women mentioned in the Bible. May their examples serve to strengthen our faith. In Jesus' name, Amen.

THOUGHT FOR THE DAY

The lives of godly women impel us to greater works of faith.

Guy E. Snavely, (Florida)

ONE YEAR AGO — Durant graduates were, first row, reading from left to right: Dale Lewis, Dianne Weaver, Betsy Gardner, Diane Wells, Irene Belcher, Jimmye Lois McNeer, Minnie Ola Ammons, Estell McGehee, Charlotte McCrory; Second row: Miriam Alexander, Mary Ann Stapleton, Lena Rhyne, Johnny McCreary, Carl English, Johnny Vaughn, Carolyn Musslewhite, Mackie Huddleston; Third row: Benny Joel McBride, Wesley Lepard, Larry Ellis, Jerry Gilmore, Charles Myers, Jimmy Rigby, Donnie Browning and Charles McBride.

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Editorials

A Positive Approach

Mississippi Council On Human Relations

A Mississippi Council On Human Relations has been organized by white and Negro leading citizens representing every area of the state.

The purpose of the Council is to work toward understanding and better relations between the races in Mississippi.

None will question that both understanding and better relations are needed and few are who will not admit present relations are at a new, low ebb.

The mere fact there is a group of citizens who care enough about our state and its people to try to improve human relations is encouraging.

It is a well known fact nothing worthwhile can be achieved without understanding — and there can be no real understanding when people cannot communicate. This is basic to all human relations. It is also well established that when people do not communicate problems arise which seem to defy solution. An atmosphere of fear envelops and conflict becomes inevitable.

Only when we bring our problems out in the open and examine them, discuss them freely, is there hope for solution.

Thus the Mississippi Council On Human Relations should provide a vehicle whereby people of good will may work toward solving our problems by bringing them out in the open and discussing them to understand each other. This kind of positive fear who never knew it before. It has divided and confused us as never before. For the future the Citizens' Council offers only defiance of law and order and closing of public schools and other public facilities which means a return to ignorance and the Dark Ages. The Citizens' Council also is a ready-made political machine for the political control of the people by demagogues who are interested only in exploiting us and advancing their own personal and political fortunes. They are a threat to every independent citizen who wishes to think and act for himself.

We do not know what the Mississippi Council On Human Relations may do — but could it do worse?

* * * *

State daily newspapers we have seen did not print anything about the Mississippi Council On Human Relations except a brief mention of officers elected. We have seen no editorial comment at all in any state newspaper.

In order that readers of this newspaper may be informed on the subject we have secured a copy of its declaration of purpose and a statement of its objectives which we believe you will find of interest.

The declaration of purpose formally adopted by the group said, and we quote:

Believing that all men are of equal worth in the sight of God, and drawing our inspiration and guidance from

bringing them out in the open and discussing them and coming to understand each other. This kind of positive action offers Mississippi's only hope for preserving racial peace and preventing certain future conflict.

Mississippi cannot afford the type of racial conflict now in progress in other southern cities, such as Birmingham, Alabama. Our whole state tax structure is based on not only maintaining our present economy but increasing it. We are skating now on thin ice. Any serious racial disturbance will upset our economy and anticipated income will not only fail to materialize but actually decrease. (Mail order houses do a tremendous business in Mississippi already.)

State business and professional men and women have long recognized and privately admitted the need for some kind of a constructive approach toward relieving the stress and strain existing now in race relations throughout Mississippi. The problem has long dominated the business and social life and government and affected industry. These business and professional leaders would do well now to join the newly formed Mississippi Council On Human Relations and help to give it strength and direction. Voluntary action now would be easier and of greater moral force and benefit than later action compelled by the crisis of dire necessity — as has been the case in many other places.

Governor Ross Barnett could add to his role as our leader and Chief Executive by giving encouragement and moral support to these people who are attempting to help our state move forward rather than backward through the Mississippi Council On Human Relations.

The white Mississippi Citizens' Councils have brought us steadily worsening relations between the races incited by fear, uncertainty, suspicion, and intimidations, both economic and social. They have brought us to the present impasse in race relations, a point of no return. We have been led down a blind alley and now have no place to go. People have come to know

Believing that all men are of equal worth in the sight of God, and drawing our inspiration and guidance from the Judaeo-Christian continuity of prophetic witness for social justice, and desiring to support in the State of Mississippi those objectives in this direction which elsewhere within our nation have won general recognition and acceptance, we hereby propose to form in Mississippi an organization to be known as The Mississippi Council On Human Relations.

Positive Approach

Stressing the positive approach to be used by the Mississippi Council in an effort to better human relations in the state, the organizational group formally adopted support of the following:

1. The traditional freedom of speech including its class-room counterpart of academic freedom for all teachers.

2. The basic freedom of assembly in which men who believe in democratic institutions may meet together without anxiety.

3. Absolute impartiality as to race in the enforcement of law by police and courts and in the selection of jury members.

4. The application of one set of requirements in one manner to all individuals who seek registration for voting, regardless of race.

5. Employment in industry and agriculture on the basis of merit.

6. Wise compliance with the spirit of the Supreme Court decision of 1954, within the living context of the situation in Mississippi through:

a. Voluntary removal of state and local laws enforcing segregation.

b. Prompt acceptance of qualified Negro applicants on the part of colleges and graduate schools.

c. Initiation on the part of men of good will of both races within local communities of plans for compliance in the lower schools in advance of compulsory action by federal courts.

d. Immediate representation by qualified Negroes on local and state boards of education where these posts are appointive.

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

MJ - attached for Campaign
Story for B.Y. type
my note below on lay

PRV
PAV
JMV
MCV
WBV

Think this a
most interesting
statement coming
from Truman

LD

The Lexington Advertiser

"Principles and Men: Truth—the Weapon we use in their Defence."

Volume 125 | Lexington, Mississippi — Thursday, June 7, 1962 | Number Ten

2,147 Holmes Voters Ballot Tuesday

Whitten Wins Holmes County By Slender Margin Of Seventeen Votes

Approximately 55 per cent of Holmes County's qualified voters, a total of 2,147 went to the polls Tuesday to help elect a United States congressman to serve the newly created 24-county Second District for a two-year term beginning in January, 1963. There are 3,909 qualified voters in the county.

The electorate also approved, 1,326 to 802, a change in the constitution that will permit the separation of the offices of sheriff and tax collector thereby allowing the sheriff to succeed himself.

The vote was Congressman Frank E. Smith, incumbent of the old Third District, 1,065; and Congressman Jamie Whitten, incumbent of the old Second District, 1,082.

By a slender margin of 17 votes Mr. Whitten captured Holmes County in his column, although leading in only five of the county's fifteen precincts and tying in two others.

Mr. Whitten led by 21 votes in Lexington where the vote was Smith, 303, and Whitten, 324 for a total of 627 votes cast out of a possible 1,207, the total number of qualified electors in the precinct.

In Durant, where Mr. Whitten had an active organization led by Dr. C. E. Patton, his county campaign manager, Mr. Whitten polled 292 votes to 165 for Mr. Smith. This was a total of 630 votes cast out of a possible 803, the total number of qualified voters.

Other precincts in which Mr. Whitten led were Acona, 22 to 8; Thornton, 40 to 21; and Tchula, 148 to 87.

The precincts giving Mr. Smith a majority included all

HON. JAMIE WHITTEN

In Tuesday's Democratic primary Whitten won a 3 to 2 victory in the Second Congressional District over Frank Smith in the state.

R. L. Peaster Rites Held On Monday

Robert Lee Peaster, well known prominent businessman and planter of Quofaloma Plantation at Tchula, died at 9 p. m. Saturday at King's Daughters Hospital in Yazoo City, after suffering a heart attack a week before.

He was 89 years of age and an active member of the Methodist Church.

Mr. Peaster is survived by his widow, Mrs. Mabel Cunningham Peaster and a son, Dixon Peaster of Tchula. Their daughter, Laura Lee preceded him in death several years ago.

Five sisters surviving are Mrs. E. M. Thompson, Tchula; Mrs. W. C. Pollard, Miss Lela

Cancer Fund Totals Listed For Holmes

With practically all campaign funds reported, Holmes County today is some $58.00 short of its $2,500 goal in the 1962 Cancer Crusade.

A total of $2,442.73 has been turned in to W. A. Ramsey, fund drive chairman, and only a few community chairmen have not reported. Anyone having funds not yet turned in is asked to do so immediately. It is hoped that at least $60.00 will be realized additionally to put the county

"MISS HOSPITALITY" AND ALTERNATES: Joyce Faye King, center, lovely 20-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert King, will reign as Lexington's "Miss Hospitality" for 1962.

First alternate is Mary Thurmond, right, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Thurmond and second alternate is Margaret Rush, left, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ed Rush.

Miss King will represent Lexington in the state contest at Biloxi in July.

Joyce F. King Is Miss Hospitality

Mary Williams Is Lexington's Little Miss Hospitality

Miss Joyce Faye King and

"Little Miss Hospitality" for 1962.

Miss King, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert King and Miss Williams, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Parham H. Williams, Jr. were selected Sat-

Miss Fonville Camp Castalian Program Director

Through Hazel Eyes

By Hazel Brannon Smith

One of the most absorbing programs presented at the Mississippi Press Association convention at Biloxi last weekend was a panel in which the new $200 million Mississippi Test Facility planned for Hancock County and the southern part of the state was discussed.

Appearing on the program were Bart J. Slattery, chief of Information of the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center of Huntsville, Alabama; David Newby, Assistant Deputy for Administration, also of the Huntsville center and Phil Claybourne, Assistant Saturn Project Officer of the NASA Launch Operations Center at Cape Canaveral, Florida.

We have written a rather lengthy editorial (sorry it couldn't be shorter) based on information given by the gentlemen named which we know our readers will find of interest. It is mostly factual information about the test facility which every Mississippian should have in order to be informed on the most important development ever planned for our state.

The Jackson Citizens' Council, setting itself up as prosecuting attorney, jury and judge, (which is standard procedure for the Citizens' Council organization), says information has been presented now which "tends to cast doubt as to the (forged) telegram's authenticity."

Why don't the leaders in the Citizens' Council just come out like men with an honest statement saying they made a mistake and, in fact, committed a terrible injustice and are sorry for it? And apologize to the persons they have wronged?

We are referring of course, to the shameful incidents of May 16, 17 and 18 when the Jackson Citizens' Council sought to take over WLBT-TV, discredit a Jackson Episcopal rector, and intimidate the Mississippi Legislature — all in three consecutive days' time and in that order.

On our editorial page last week we printed Dick Sanders' "Comment" which he presented over WLBT on May 24th in which he protested treatment he received at the hands of a Citizens' Council employee, saying he was "unfairly used" and the facilities of WLBT taken advantage of

(Continued on Page Two)

Mississippi Woman Editor Named As National Headliner By Theta Sigma Phi

Highest Honor Of Professional Frat Given Hazel Smith

Indianapolis, Indiana, June 7 —(Special) — Two Washington news reporters and a crusading weekly newspaper editor from Mississippi have been named 1962 national Headliners by The Theta Sigma

Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter

As a member of the Vice President's staff, Elizabeth Carpenter handles all arrangements for his foreign visitors, often edits his speeches, deals with an average of 150 telephone calls a day, and takes care of innumerable details which she describes as ranging from "so important it's frightening" to "so trivial it's

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Miss King will represent Lexington in the state contest at Biloxi in July.

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Indianapolis, Indiana, June 7 —(Special) — Two Washington news reporters and a crusading weekly newspaper editor from Mississippi have been named 1962 national Headliners by Theta Sigma Phi, the professional fraternity for women in journalim.

This year's winners of the coveted awards, highest honor bestowed by the fraternity, were announced today by Mrs. Robert R. Surgeon, Nashville, Indiana, national president of the fraternity. They are:

Elizabeth S. (Mrs. Leslie) Carpenter, for more than 15 years a Washington, D. C. newspaperwoman and now serving as executive assistant to Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson, the first woman ever named to such a post.

Ann M. Corrick, radio and television news reporter for the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company in Washington, D. C.

Hazel Brannon (Mrs. Walter D.) Smith, editor and publisher of The Lexington Advertiser and three other weekly newspapers in Mississippi, winner of numerous citations for her continuing fight against injustice and crime.

The three women, all members of the fraternity, will be honored at Theta Sigma Phi's national convention in San Antonio, Texas, Thursday, June 21, when they will be featured speakers at a Headliner Dinner.

Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter

As a member of the Vice President's staff, Elizabeth Carpenter handles all arrangements for his foreign visitors, often edits his speeches, deals with an average of 150 telephone calls a day, and takes care of innumerable details which she describes as ranging from "so important it's frightening" to "so trivial it's almost insulting."

She accompanied Vice President and Mrs. Johnson on their around-the-world trip last year, when they conferred with heads of government in a number of Southeast Asian nations.

For the 15 years prior to her appointment by the Vice President, Mrs. Carpenter and her husband, Leslie Carpenter operated a Washington News Bureau, serving a number of newspapers in several Southwestern states. Her husband continues to run this business.

In 1954 she was the youngest correspondent to be elected president of the Women's National Press Club. In 1956, she was the first newspaperwoman to be selected by the Department of State to represent the U. S. in a journalists' tour sponsored by the NATO nations of Europe.

She is a journalism graduate of the University of Texas and the mother of two children, ages 12 and 15.

Miss Ann M. Corrick

Ann M. Corrick, a broadcast journalist in Washington, D. C. since 1943, is serving as president of the Radio-Television Correspondents Association, the first woman

(Continued on Page Two)

Joyce F. King Is Miss Hospitality

Mary Williams Is Lexington's Little Miss Hospitality

Miss Joyce Faye King and Little Miss Mary Martha Williams will reign as Lexington's "Miss Hospitality" and "Little Miss Hospitality" for 1962.

Miss King, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Herbert King and Miss Williams, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Parham H. Williams, Jr, were selected Saturday night at the "Miss Hospitality" contest held in Kenna Auditorium.

First alternate for "Miss Hospitality was Miss Mary Thurmond, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Thurmond and second alternae was Miss Margaret Rush, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ed Rush.

The program began with a prelude of soft music by Mrs. Necie Povall at the organ and Rob Henley and Bill McLellan at the piano.

The Rev. Crawford Ray, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Lexington, gave the invocation.

Mel Chrestman served as master of ceremonies.

During the two intermission periods entertainment was presented by Miss Marilyn White of Canton, who gave a reading entitled, "I Am An American"; a tap dance

(Continued on Page Eight)

Cottage Prayer Services Set For Next Week Here

Cottage Prayer Meetings will be conducted on Monday, Tuesday and Thursday nights of next week in six sections of Lexington in preparation for the forthcoming revival at the First Baptist Church in Lexington.

These sessions of prayer and devotional will be held from 7:00 to 7:30 p. m. in various homes, with appointed leaders conducting the service.

Regular prayer service will be held at the church at 7:30 on Wednesday evening, with the pastor, Rev. P. D. Bragg officiating.

Revival services are scheduled at First Baptist beginning Sunday, June 17 and concluding Sunday, June 24. Guest preacher will be the Rev. Malcolm Oliver Tolbert of Slidell, Louisiana and guest music director will be Dennis P. Bucher of New Orleans.

All members and visitors are urged to attend these prayer services.

Miss Fonville Camp Castalian Program Director

Miss Anita Fonville will serve on the staff as Program Director at Camp Castalian Springs. Nita comes from Cleveland High School where she was Physical Education teacher.

The girls' camp will begin with a two-week period, June 10 to 23, with a second and third period, June 24th-July 7th and July 8-14.

Boys camp opens July 15th with a two-week camping period ad two one-week sessions. The schedule for boys is July 15-18; July 29-August 4; and August 5-11.

W. S. "Monk" Fowler is chairman of the camp committee of the State YMCA, and Joe E. Pasley is camp director.

JOHN DOWNER RECEIVES DEGREE

John Gelston Downer received a BA degree, with a biology major at the University of Mississippi on Sunday, June 3rd. Members of his family attending his graduation were his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Downer, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Scott all of Lexington; Mr. and Mrs. Tommy Gelston of West; Mr. Paul Baldwin and daughter, Mary Ann of Atlanta, Georgia.

Impressive GA Coronation Held At Tchula Church

The First Baptist Church of Tchula was the scene of a very impressive Girls Auxiliary Presentation and Coronation Service Sunday night, May 27th.

The pulpit was arrayed to carry out G. A. colors of gold, green and white. Two baskets of white stock with a gold mum were placed on either side. Garlands of green ivy with small gold crowns were the background. On the table in the center were three large candles, one of gold, green, and white flanked by two floor candelabra each with twelve white tapers. Candidates carried a candle which was lighted at the end of the service.

Candidates were as follows:

Queens — Sandra Ables, Linda Brantley, Doris Bridgers, Dianne Henderson, Patricia Henderson, Jean Johnson, June Simmons and Brenda Wade.

Princess' — Patsy Shanks, Mary Jane Beeson and Debbie Gosnell.

Lady-In-Waiting — Linda Thomas, Debbie Dickard and Angelea Taylor.

Mrs. H. L. Nichols, Jr. is G. A. Counselor.

The Rev. Roy D. Raddin presented the awards and Queen's pages were David Raddin and Jack Bridgers.

GA CORONATION: Girls participating in the Girls Auxiliary Coronation at Tchula Baptist Church on Sunday, May 27 were: left to right standing, Doris Bridges, June Simmons, Diane Henderson, Patricia Henderson, Mrs. Hugh Nichols, Jr., Jean Johnson, Linda Brantley, Brenda Wade, and Sandra Ables.;

Seated: Debbie Gosnell, Linda Thomas, Mary Jane Beeson, Jack Bridgers, David Raddin, Angelea Taylor, Debbie Dickard and Patsy Shanks.

The vote was Congressman Frank E. Smith, incumbent of the old Third District, 1,065; and Congressman Jamie Whitten, incumbent of the old Second District, 1,082.

By a slender margin of 17 votes Mr. Whitten captured Holmes County in his column, although leading in only five of the county's fifteen precincts and tying in two others.

Mr. Whitten led by 21 votes in Lexington where the vote was Smith, 303, and Whitten, 324 for a total of 627 votes cast out of a possible 1,207, the total number of qualified electors in the precinct.

In Durant, where Mr. Whitten had an active organization led by Dr. C. E. Patton, his county campaign manager, Mr. Whitten polled 292 votes to 165 for Mr. Smith. This was a total of 630 votes cast out of a possible 803, the total number of qualified voters.

Other precincts in which Mr. Whitten led were Acona, 22 to 8; Thornton, 40 to 21; and Tchula, 148 to 87.

The precincts giving Mr. Smith a majority included all the four precincts in Beat Three, Pickens, 129 to 37 out of a possible 260 votes; Coxburg, 47 to 40, out of a possible 237; Ebenezer, 35 to 29 out of 138; Richland, 12 to 7 out of 34.

Cruger Scores

In the strictly Delta district of Cruger, Mr. Smith received the majority, 68 to 45 for a total of 113 votes cast. There are only 156 qualified voters in the precinct. This was the largest percentage vote recorded in the county in proportion to the total number of qualified electors.

Mr. Smith also received a majority in three precincts of Beat Two: West, where the vote was 112 to 29; Emory, 8 to 5; and Edsville, 7 to 1.

In two other Beat Two precincts, Goodman and Bowling Green, the men tied, with 58-all cast in Goodman and five each in Bowling Green. Goodman has 20 qualified voters and Bowling Green 24.

The complete unofficial vote in both the congressional race and the constitutional amendment is printed in a table elsewhere on this page.

An official canvass of election returns will be made today (Thursday).

Complete, Unofficial Vote

Holmes County

Tuesday, June 5, 1962

Precinct	Total No. Qualified Voters	Congressman Lindsey	Smith	Whitten	Amendment For	Against
Lexington	1207	0	303	324	381	247
Acona	63	0	8	22	7	22
Durant	803	0	165	292	338	105
West	226	0	112	29	96	41
Goodman	206	0	58	58	81	36
Bowling Green	24	0	5	5	0	11
Edsville	12	0	7	1	0	8
Emory	25	0	8	5	0	13
Pickens	260	0	129	37	97	69
Coxburg	237	0	47	40	50	39
Ebenezer	138	0	35	29	14	51
Richland	34	0	12	7	2	16
Thornton	116	0	21	40	34	30
Tchula	402	0	87	148	156	75
Cruger	156	0	68	45	66	48
	3,909	0	1,065	1,082	1,326	802

R. L. Peaster Rites Held On Monday

Robert Lee Peaster, well known prominent businessman and planter of Quofaloma Plantation at Tchula, died at 9 p. m. Saturday at King's Daughters Hospital in Yazoo City, after suffering a heart attack a week before.

He was 89 years of age and an active member of the Methodist Church.

Mr. Peaster is survived by his widow, Mrs. Mabel Cunningham Peaster and a son, Dixon Peaster of Tchula. Their daughter, Laura Lee preceded him in death several years ago.

Five sisters surviving are Mrs. E. M. Thompson, Tchula; Mrs. W. C. Pollard, Miss Lela and Mss Hattie Peaster, all of Yazoo City and Mrs. E. Sledge of St. Petersburg, Florida.

Funeral services were held at the plantation home at 10 a. m. on Monday, with the Rev. Wilson Ray and the Rev. Karl Foster officiating.

Interment was in Odd Fellows Cemetery here.

MORRIS SCHUR RECEIVES DEGREE

Mr. Nathan Schur attended graduation on Sunday, June 3rd of his son, Morris Schur from the University of Mississippi. Morris received a degree in Bachelor of Public Admnistration in City Management and also receved a commission of Second Lieutenant in the Army Air Force Reserve. He is a member of Beta Gamma Sigma honorary fratenity, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Schur.

Mrs. Schur is at the bedside of her father, Mayor Harry Applebaum of Yazoo City in Oschner's Clinic in New Orleans.

HON. JAMIE WHITTEN

In Tuesday's Democratic primary Whitten won a 3 to 2 victory in the Second Congressional District over Frank Smith in the state.

Cancer Fund Totals Listed For Holmes

With practically all campaign funds reported, Holmes County today is some $58.00 short of its $2,500 goal in the 1962 Cancer Crusade.

A total of $2,442.73 has been turned in to W. A. Ramsey, fund drive chairman, and only a few community chairmen have not reported. Anyone having funds not yet turned in is asked to do so immediately. It is hoped that at least $60.00 will be realized additionally to put the county over the top.

Of the $2,442.73 total the Negro citizens of the county contributed $478.03, Mr. Ramsey said. The Rev. C. L. Clark and the Rev. S. G. Carey headed the Negro drive in Holmes County.

Mr. Ramsey said he wished to thank all community chairmen, the Negro leaders and everyone in the county who contributed, white and colored.

The complete report from Mr. Ramsey shows the following contributions.

Lexington	$551.47
Durant	454.96
West	106.00
Goodman	188.30
Pickens	145.47
Tchula	202.00
Cruger	117.50
Ebenezer	37.25
Thornton	113.50
Acona	36.00
Bowling Green	12.25
Negro Citizens	478.03
TOTAL	$2,442.73

In the Negro community

(Continued on page eight)

"LITTLE MISS HOSPITALITY": Little Miss Mary Martha Williams, four-year-old daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Parham H. Williams, Jr. was crowned "Little Miss Hospitality" by Jimmy Ray, son of the Rev. and Mrs. Crawford Ray, Saturday night at the Miss Hospitality contest held in Kenna Auditorium.

Editorials

Man On The Moon

Mississippi Moves Into Space Age — With Test Facility

Mississippi is going to help put a man on the moon and bring him safely back to earth — and within the decade.

Regardless of how one may feel about tampering with that ole man in the moon we've been seeing for years, we must confess the picture presented by America's manned lunar program is awesome in scope and thrilling to the heart and mind.

Let all Mississippians plan now to meet the needs of the Space Age in which we live and welcome this tremendous challenge to become an integral part of the nation we love whose citizenship we claim. Let us all open our eyes to the marvelous opportunity presented our state and its people to go forward and become part and parcel of this new day of progress, peace and prosperity.

Look and see what is happening in south Mississippi today:

Land is being purchased for the $200 million Mississippi Test Facility in Hancock and Pearl River Counties and in St. Tammany Parish Louisiana, an area of some 141,950 acres. The land being acquired through outright purchase is roughly about five miles square and contains 13,550 acres. The easement area, to be used as a buffer zone for dissipating the loud and low-frequency sound waves emanating from the test site, surrounds the purchased land area for about six miles and contains about 128,400 acres.

Total cost of purchased lands and easements acquired will be approximately $16 million. Land purchases will be completed this summer, by August 1, and the easement area by July 1, 1964, by a Corps of Engineer personnel operating out of a real estate

which it will be considered an integrated complex or part for the manufacture and test of manned lunar landing vehicles.

At Michoud the Chrysler Corporation and Boeing Company have already received contracts to manufacture and assemble the advanced Saturn boosters — and by mid-1964 the Boeing Company will use its personnel at the Mississippi Test Facility to conduct test firings of the Saturn Booster (S-1C).

Two other important factors in the decision to locate the test facility in Mississippi, other than its nearness to Michoud, was the available water transportation and the sparseness of the population, the latter meaning that fewer families would be compelled to move.

Only one hundred families reside in the area where the facility will actually be constructed. About 750 residences and other buildings are in the easement area with the total being only 850 residences, churches, business establishments, etc., which must be displaced or relocated. Farming, grazing, timbering or mineral operations may continue in the easement area if desired by landowners.

Business and manufacturing firms throughout the state and area will gain.

Hundreds of individual and private firms will be necessary to provide the needed services and supplies at the Mississippi Test Facility. These will be privately contracted for under prescribed rules and regulations, standard government procedure. They will be in the fields of reproduction, photographic service as well as printing; communications, operation of telephone and teletype exchanges; food service,

Through The Years

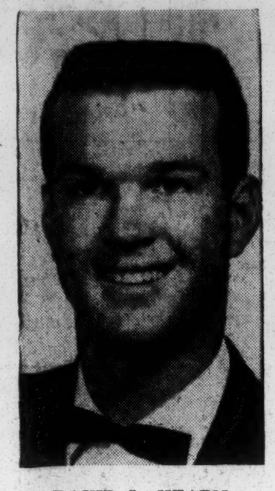
Items of interest from the past taken from our files of The Lexington Advertiser and The Durant News.

By Ruth B. Flower

ONE YEAR AGO — A former Coxburg school boy set a new record this week.

David L. Hearn, son of Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Hearn, became the first graduate of Coxburg High School to obtain a Master's degree from an institution of higher learning.

On Sunday, June 4, David received a master's degree in Business Education at the University of Mississippi. He had previously obtained his bachelor's degree in Business Administration at Delta State College where he attended two years following his graduation from Holmes Junior College.



DAVID L. HEARN

TEN YEARS AGO

TOM THUMB WEDDING

A Tom Thumb Wedding was held Monday in the Grammar School Auditorium at 7:30 sponsored by the Beacon staff, under supervision of Mr. James Reedy.

Sandra Hammett was the bride and Chris Myers the groom. Sarah Trotman was the jilted bride. Queens were Cynthia Heath, Tallulah King and Elizabeth Holder. Country cousins were Janie Moses, Patsy East, Steve Herring and Robert Autry.

John Murphy as Churchill and the rich uncle from Texas, Kim Kimbrough were wedding guests.

Bridesmaids were Lynn and Carol Holloman and Pat Slack; preacher, Don Barrett; best man, Wyche Hooker; ring bearer, Kirkham Povall; father of the bride, Jerry Fite; mother of the bride, Clara Sue Minyard; mother of the groom Janet Horseman; ushers, Tommy Taylor and Edward Lewis Schur; maid of honor, Amanda Povall; matron of honor, Ann Flowers; flower girls, Renee Gilliland and Virginia Hawkins.

Patsy Smith, soloist, sang, "I Love You Truly" and "At Dawning" with Mrs. Doty Porter at the piano.

A large and appreciative crowd witnessed the ceremony.

TWENTY YEARS AGO

BROCKS NOTE HUMOROUS SIDE TO HARD LUCK

"It's not so bad but that it couldn't be worse" is the attitude of Mr. and Mrs. Harold Brock of Lexington route one, who brought in the following letter, after having suffered two heavy losses by fire in recent months.

Letter to a businessman in answer to his creditors:

Dear Friend:

In reply to your request to send a check, I wish to inmention a marriage license, dog license, hunting license and fishing license.

I am also required to contribute to women's relief, unployment relief, golddiggers relief, also Red Cross, Blue Cross and Double Cross.

I am required to carry life insurance, property insurance, liability insurance, tornado insurance, fire insurance, crop insurance and burial insurance. I am inspected, expected, suspected, disrespected, examined, reexamined, in-

Sovereignty Commission PR Chief Asks For Racial Cooperation

Only Way To Keep Segregation In Schools, Johnston

Grenada — (UPI) — Erle Johnston, Jr., public relations director of the State Sovereignty Commission, said Friday night Mississippi's only hope of maintaining school segregation rests in the cooperation of its Negroes. He said extremists on both sides are preventing that cooperation.

"We already have many allies among the colored school teachers, bus drivers and other employers who want to preserve their employment. We can earn the cooperation of others with consideration and recognition and an honest attempt to provide colored citizens with facilities to which they are entitled."

Johnston, who edits the Scott County (weekly) Times at Forest, addressed gradutes of Grenada high. He described himself as neither "an extremist, liberal or moderate" but a "practical segregationist."

"Mississippi needs more white people who will publicly speak out for recognition without being branded as liberal leftists and more colored people willing to cooperate without being branded as Uncle Toms," he said. "We can be practical without being radical. We can be realistic without being ridiculous."

"I have often thought that if the extremists at both ends of this racial situation would quit wildly wagging their tongues and suspiciously pointing their fingers we could restore some racial harmony in Mississippi and make better progress."

* * * *

Johnston, without mentioning either group by name, had harsh words for the NAACP and the Citizens Councils.

The Negro group, he said, has clamored for special privileges rather than better treatment and has thrived "on "strained relations to strengthen their appeals for more funds from the North."

The white organization, he said, "believes in threat and intimidation." He said its members "mean well. They are dedicated to their cause able to take that mile whenever they please.

"It would seem far better to offer an inch of consideration across a table of harmony than to be forced to retreat further in an atmosphere of friction and bitterness."

Johnston, who was president of the Grenada Class of 1935, told the graduates:

"My generation, which is past the halfway mark, has been dedicated to educating the colored people and raising their standards of living. Many thousands have improved themselves educationally, morally and hygienically. As this number increases, it will become your decision as to how they should be treated in the future.

"Our colored people know about the hypocricies of the north. They know there is discrimination. They know attitudes cannot be legislated.

"Our separate school system of the future depends on our ability to earn and retain the cooperation, trust and confidence of the colored race in Mississippi. There are militant hot heads in both races. They must restrain theirs and we must restrain ours.

"As you contemplate the decisions you graduates may be called on to make, let me suggest that courtesy is better than coercion, interest is better than intimidation, recognition is better than retribution and friendship is better than force."

Johnston has been public relations director of the Sovereignty Commission since 1960. As part of his job with the official state agency he travels to the North speaking in defense of Mississippi views.

The trips have been effective, he said, but "we can expect no national movement of any strength which would support the Southern tradition of segregated societies.

Through Hazel Eyes—

(Continued from Page One)

to report "an out and out falsehood." The report was that a visiting segregationist minister, the Rev. Robert Ingram of Houston, Texas, had been "threatened and intimidated" if he appeared in Jackson to speak at the Citizens' Council annual meeting on

Mississippi Woman—

(continued from page one)

president in the 22-year old organization.

Before joining Westinghouse Broadcasting Company in 1958 as assistant chief of its Washington News Bureau, she was producer of the NBC radio and television programs "American Forum of the Air" and "Youth Wants To Know." As Washington correspondent for station WDCU-TV, she produced and moderated her own program, "Dateline Washington," which won a Sylvania citation for public service.

In addition to her daily spot news broadcasts, she produces and moderates a half-hour weekly radio interview program which frequently develops front page stories. She has reported every Democratic and Republican national convention since 1944.

Miss Corrick is a journalism graduate of the University of Texas, where she was president of Theta Sigma Phi student chapter.

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith

Hazel Brannon Smith, Lexington, Mississippi, has been campaigning the past 25 years for the equal rights of all men under the constitution and for freedom and responsibility of newspapers to publish the truth.

She purchased her first paper, The Durant News, in 1936. With her purchase of The Lexington Advertiser in 1943, she stepped up her fight against slot machine operators, liquor racketeers, gamblers and corrupt officials who were finding easy money and little opposition in her county. In 1946, principally due to her persistence, a grand jury voted 64 indictments after investigating organized crime in Holmes County.

Later, she was found guilty of contempt of court for interviewing a witness — the widow of a Negro murder victim — and was fined $50.00 and sentenced to 15 days in jail. The sentence was suspended and she was put on probation for a year. The Mississippi Supreme Court reversed the decision on appeal.

In 1954 she criticized the Holmes County Sheriff in a front-page editorial and was promptly faced with a $57,500 libel suit. The trial jury awarded him $10,000 but this decision, too, was reversed by the state's Supreme Court.

Her fight against injustice

presented our state and its people to go forward and become part and parcel of this new day of progress, peace and prosperity.

Look and see what is happening in south Mississippi today:

Land is being purchased for the $200 million Mississippi Test Facility in Hancock and Pearl River Counties and in St. Tammany Parish Louisiana, an area of some 141,950 acres. The land being acquired through outright purchase is roughly about five miles square and contains 13,550 acres. The easement area, to be used as a buffer zone for dissipating the loud and low-frequency sound waves emanating from the test site, surrounds the purchased land area for about six miles and contains about 128,400 acres.

Total cost of purchased lands and easements acquired will be approximately $16 million. Land purchases will be completed this summer, by August 1, and the easement area by July 1, 1964, by a Corps of Engineer personnel operating out of a real estate project office in Bay St. Louis.

The test facility will take two years to build and is expected to be operational by the middle of 1964. In the interim workers will be used, beginning this fall, to construct the facility which includes stands for research and development and acceptance tests of stages to be used in support of the manned lunar program. In addition to the test towers there will be built an office or administration building, an engineering building, central data facility, and control center. The test support area will include shops, sheds, and warehouses for preparation facilities and for maintenance. A railroad spur and fuel storage area will also be required.

Cost of operating the Mississippi Test Facility after it is fully completed will be around $22 million annually. This figure is subject to revision, probably upward. Two thousand people will be employed. It will be a facility of and operated under the direction of the George C. Marshall Space Flight Center at Huntsville, Alabama by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), with Dr. George N. Constan in charge.

The Mobile (Alabama) District, Corps of Engineers, is responsible for all design and construction at the Mississippi Test Center after criteria has been approved by the Marshall Center at Huntsville. Area development planning for the Mississippi Test Facility has been contracted (by NASA) with a St. Louis architect-engineer firm, Sverdrup and Parcel.

Mississippi was selected as the site of the test facility primarily because of its location near the big Michoud Operation in New Orleans of

pelled to move.

Only one hundred families reside in the area where the facility will actually be constructed. About 750 residences and other buildings are in the easement area with the total being only 850 residences, churches, business establishments, etc., which must be displaced or relocated. Farming, grazing, timbering or mineral operations may continue in the easement area if desired by landowners.

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There will be hundreds of employment opportunities available from Boeing for highly skilled and educated personnel, all paying excellent salaries. To qualify for these positions persons must hold degrees in one of the following fields: Aeronautical Engineering, Architectural Engineering, Chemical Engineering, Civil and/or Structual Engineering, Electrical and/or Electronic Engineering, General Engineering, Industrial Engineering, Metallurgy, Mathematics and Physics.

The type of positions to be filled by Boeing include structural design, stress analysis, dynamics, acoustics, propulsion system design, propulsion systems analysis; industrial engineers in the fields of analyst, forecaster, procedure writers, schedulers and statistician; analysists for mechanical, electrical and electronic systems.

We believe we have told our readers enough for them to recognize the enormous potential offered by the Mississippi Test Facility in South Mississippi — and it is our fervent wish and hope that Mississippi people will make the best possible use of the opportunities presented to serve our nation and state in a most credible manner.

This is truly our golden opportunity.

The Lexington Advertiser

Thursday, June 7, 1962

HAZEL BRANNON SMITH (Mrs. Walter D.)_____Editor and Publisher
Established in 1837 — Published Every Thursday — Subscription rates: Anywhere in Holmes County, $3.00 per year; Outside Holmes County $3.50 per year. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office at Lexington, Mississippi.

of Mr. James Reedy.

Sandra Hammett was the bride and Chris Myers the groom. Sarah Trotman was the jilted bride. Queens were Cynthia Heath, Tallulah King and Elizabeth Holder. Country cousins were Janie Moses, Patsy East, Steve Herring and Robert Autry.

John Murphy as Churchill and the rich uncle from Texas, Kim Kimbrough were wedding guests.

Bridesmaids were Lynn and Minyard; mother of the groom Janet Horseman; ushers, Tommy Taylor and Edward Lewis Schur; maid of honor, Amanda Povall; matron of honor, Ann Flowers; flower girls, Renee Gilliland and Virginia Hawkins.

Patsy Smith, soloist, sang, "I Love You Truly" and "At Dawning" with Mrs. Doty Porter at the piano.

A large and appreciative crowd witnessed the ceremony.

TWENTY YEARS AGO

BROCKS NOTE HUMOROUS SIDE TO HARD LUCK

"It's not so bad but that it couldn't be worse" is the attitude of Mr. and Mrs. Harold Brock of Lexington route one, who brought in the following letter, after having suffered two heavy losses by fire in recent months.

Letter to a businessman in answer to his creditors:

Dear Friend:

In reply to your request to send a check, I wish to inform you that the present condition of my bank account makes it almost impossible. My financial condition is due to federal laws, state laws, county laws, city laws and corporation laws, liquor laws, mother-in-laws, sister-in-laws and outlaws.

Through these laws I am compelled to pay business tax, amusement tax, food tax, gas, light and water tax, carpet tax, income tax, furniture tax and excise tax. I am required to get a business license, truck license, not to mention a marriage license, dog license, hunting license and fishing license.

I am also required to contribute to women's relief, unployment relief, golddiggers relief, also Red Cross, Blue Cross and Double Cross.

I am required to carry life insurance, property insurance, liability insurance, tornado insurance, fire insurance, crop insurance and burial insurance. I am inspected, expected, suspected, disrespected, examined, reexamined, informed, required, summoned, fined, commanded and compelled.

If I refuse to donate to something I am boycotted, talked about, lied about, held up, held down, and robbed until I am almost ruined. I can tell you honestly that except for the miracle that happened this morning, I could not enclose this check.

The wolf that comes to everybody's door these days just had pups in my kitchen. I sold them and here is the money.

THIRTY YEARS AGO

STIGLERS WANT OTHERS TO ENJOY FINE ARTICLE

Mr. and Mrs. G. W. Stigler received an article written by Henry Ansley that appeared in the Amarillo News and sent to thtem by their daughter, Mrs. G. D. Lightner of Welasco, Texas.

As follows:

"I like the depression. No more prosperity for me. I have had more fun since the depression started than I ever had before in all my life. I had forgotten what it was like to have real friends or to eat common food. In fact I had become a little highhat.

It's great to drop into a store and feel you can spend an hour or two or three, without wasting anybody's time. Three years ago I ordered several tailor made suits at a time and was always dressed up, now I am mighty proud of my one Sunday-go-to-Meetin' suit and feel really dressed up. Three years ago I played golf on Sunday, now I go to church. I like the depression. I was so darn smart there wasn't a preacher in all Texas that could tell me anything. I go to church regularly and if this depression keeps on I may even be going to prayer meeting.

I am becoming acquainted with my neighbors who have lived next door for years. Three years ago I was so busy and my wife was so busy, we had no time for each other. My wife belonged to all the clubs and organizations in town, including the Young Mother's Club, and we have no children, but it was something for her to join.

We were so hifalutin' we took down the old family bed and bought twin beds. When I came home late she was already in hers and I crawled ino mine with a hot water bottle. Now we have discarded the twin beds, put the old bed back up as it requires only one pair of sheets. My wife has replaced the hot water bottle. I like the depression.

My digestion is better. Instead of breast of guinea hen, we have sow bosom with buttons. I like the depression."

Editor's Letter Box

Jackson, Miss.
364 Lee Circle
May 31, 1962

Dear Editor:

A few days ago one of the Jackson papers published a news story from Houma, Louisiana to the effect that a young science teacher of that town had been arrested and placed under bond for criticizing Governor Jimmie Davis and the Louisiana Legislature for building a million dollar mansion for the Governor of that state and his family to live in and refusing to give the poorly paid teachers a small raise. The 23 year old teacher's name was one Prof. Motto.

When I read of the arrest of that teacher I sat up and rubbed my eyes in utter astonishment. I wondered if there had been a misprint and the article had really referred to some incident in Communist Russia. Perhaps some correspondent had lost his sanity and had written the truth about some happening in Castro's Cuba. Surely a thing like that couldn't happen here in the South, the only true interpreter of the Constitution, especially the freedom of speech.

I had thought the only people who were trying to take our liberties away from us were the Kennedy's and the Supreme Court. Now here comes this incident in a neighboring state of a citizen arrested for daring to criticizing the governor. No, the offending teacher, as the news story shows, was not a colored man or a member of the NAACP. Here we have been criticizing the President and the United States Supreme Court whenever and wherever we pleased and I haven't heard of any white man being jailed for it. Why we have even said some pretty mean things about our governor's $10,000.00 bath room and a few other things and so far as I know nobody is in jail for those criticisms. If Governor Davis can get away with such usurpation of the freedom of speech and set up a kind of dictatorship just across the river from us, we here in Mississippi may be next.

W. J. Houston,
364 Lea Circle
Jackson, Miss.

liberal leftists and more colored people willing to cooperate without being branded as Uncle Toms," he said. "We can be practical without being radical. We can be realistic without being ridiculous."

"I have often thought that if the extremists at both ends of this racial situation would quit wildly wagging their tongues and suspiciously pointing their fingers we could restore some racial harmony in Mississippi and make better progress."

* * * *

Johnston, without mentioning either group by name, had harsh words for the NAACP and the Citizens Councils.

The Negro group, he said, has clamored for special privileges rather than better treatment and has thrived "on "strained relations to strengthen their appeals for more funds from the North."

The white organization, he said, "believes in threat and intimidation." He said its members "mean well. They are dedicated to their cause. But they have agitated the friction and bitterness and there is some question as to whether this attitude is a help, a hindrance, or merely creates hysteria."

Persons who want to keep segregation by "organizing and fighting" have only four courses to take, he said.

"They can fight through the courts, with weapons, with violence, or with boycott.

"Our attorney general and his staff are already doing an excellent job in the courts, but all litigation eventually reaches the dark corridors of the Supreme Court.

"Mississippians are courageous but not foolish. I don't believe we will open fire on U. S. marshals or soldiers in uniform.

"Mississippians are not barbarians. We will not don the sheets of an ancient era and inflict harm on colored people or destroy their property.

* * * *

"Boycotts would be ineffective because white employers are not going to fire colored workers from certain jobs and I don't believe retailers are going to refuse to sell merchandise to colored customers."

Some segregationists heatedly argue that to give up an inch is to give up a mile, Johnston said. "Yet they conveniently disregard the fact that the colored people of Mississippi, with the federal government and courts ready to support them, soon may be called on to make, let me suggest that courtesy is better than coercion, interest is better than intimidation, recognition is better than retribution and friendship is better than force."

Johnston has been public relations director of the Sovereignty Commission since 1960. As part of his job with the official state agency he travels to the North speaking in defense of Mississippi views.

The trips have been effective, he said, but "we can expect no national movement of any strength which would support the Southern tradition of segregated societies.

Through Hazel Eyes—

(Continued from Page One)

to report "an out and out falsehood." The report was that a visiting segregationist minister, the Rev. Robert Ingram of Houston, Texas, had been "threatened and intimidated" if he appeared in Jackson to speak at the Citizens' Council annual meeting on May 17 and that the telegram threatening him was sent by a Jackson Episcopal minister, the Rev. Edward H. Harrison.

It turned out that the telegram was not sent by Rev. Harrison — and that even if it had been — it could not have been construed as a threat or attempted intimidation wording.

Despite the fact that a vestryman of St. Andrews Episcopal Church told John Wright, president of the Jackson Citizens' Council, before the CC meeting started that Rev. Harrison had said he did not send the telegram, Mr. Wright permitted the telegram to be read and photostatic copies of it distributed to those attending. Mr. Wright also promised to permit the Vestryman to speak at the meeting but did not, later saying he "changed his mind."

The next day copies of the telegram were distributed to members of the Legislature in a further effort designed to smear the Rev. Harrison and intimidate the Legislature, possibly to keep it from selling a plot of land to the Episcopal Church for a day school. Fortunately the truth was learned and the Legislature was not intimidated.

But the whole truth has either not yet been learned, or told.

Responsible officials of the Citizens' Council should not stop until the person who sent the faked telegram is found and exposed.

paper, The Durant News, in 1936. With her purchase of The Lexington Advertiser in 1943, she stepped up her fight against slot machine operators, liquor racketeers, gamblers and corrupt officials who were finding easy money and little opposition in her county. In 1946, principally due to her persistence, a grand jury voted 64 indictments after investigating organized crime in Holmes County.

Later, she was found guilty of contempt of court for interviewing a witness — the widow of a Negro murder victim — and was fined $50.00 and sentenced to 15 days in jail. The sentence was suspended and she was put on probation for a year. The Mississippi Supreme Court reversed the decision on appeal.

In 1954 she criticized the Holmes County Sheriff in a front-page editorial and was promptly faced with a $57,500 libel suit. The trial jury awarded him $10,000 but this decision, too, was reversed by the state's Supreme Court.

Her fight against injustice and crime has been costly. Her husband lost his job as administrator of the county hospital in 1956 solely because Mrs. Smith had become "a controversial figure." Her opponents organized a concerted advertising boycott and in 1958 founded and subsidized a competing weekly newspaper in Lexington.

Among her honors are the National Editorial Association's Herrick Award for "editorial writing, embracing the highest type of American principles and ideals" in 1956; a citation from the Fund for the Republic to "an American whose actions have made an unusual contribution to advancing the principles of freedom and justice and the Bill of Rights" in 1957; a commendation from the Mississippi Press Association for "her epochal fight in the interest of freedom of the press" in 1957 and the 1960 Elijah Parish Lovejoy Award for Courage in Journalism from the University of Southern Illinois for "demonstrating the ability to perform under great stress — her role as editor of the community's newspaper so effectively as to win the approval and support in growing numbers of the right-thinking people of her town and county."

Return From Wedding Trip

Dr. and Mrs. Johnny Yarborough returned today from a southern wedding trip.

MEDITATION

June 7th

Read Ephesians 3:14-21

We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works. (Ephesians 2:10.)

After the early worship service in a chapel one morning, I remained in the pew and meditated for some time. At first lost in thought. I did not notice the man who was placing hymnals in the racks and collecting copies of the order of worship left in the pews. As he approached I saw a profound smile in his old rugged face. Shining rays of willing and blessed service seemed to radiate around him.

Each of us has responsibilities of stewardship to face. We have work to do which may generally be considered menial. However, our responsibilities in daily life become rare privileges for honoring God when we put ourselves into our work with willing hearts, pleasant attitudes, and thoughts — with a spirit like Christ's.

Yes, such stewardship not only becomes a privilege but also a beacon to all and sundry to Christian action, dedication, and service.

PRAYER: Let Christ shine in us, O Lord. May whatever we do, think, and say this day help those around us to feel the greatness of His love and see the beauty of His life. In His name. Amen.

THOUGHT FOR THE DAY:

It is Christ's spirit in us which makes our stewardship meaningful.

Natty G. Barranda,
(Philippines)

STATE OF MISSISSIPPI

COUNTY OF HINDS

AFFIDAVIT

Personally appeared before me, the undersigned authority in and for said state and county, Albert Jones and A. L. Hopkins, who, being by me first duly sworn, stated on oath as follows:

On Friday night, December 15, 1961 at 8:20 P. M., affiants being together at the time, observed a meeting at an office building at 1072 West Lynch Street in Jackson, Mississippi, the window of which bore the name of "Mississippi Free Press." Those attending this meeting were William L. Higgs, a white Jackson attorney, Hazel Brannon Smith and her husband Walter Dyer Smith, both white, Medgar Evers, Negro Mississippi Field Representative for the NAACP, and two or three other Negroes that were not recognized. Affiant A. L. Hopkins definitely recognized Hazel Brannon Smith, William L. Higgs and Medgar Evers, while affiant Albert Jones definitely recognized Hazel Brannon Smith, Walter Dyer Smith and William L. Higgs.

Affiants further state that the said Hazel Brannon Smith was observed by them to be in conversation with one of the Negroes in said group, and that while in such conversation, she was standing facing the said Negro and was apparently emphasizing her statements by use of head and arms.

Affiants further state that a small compact white automobile with damage to the left front thereof was parked a few feet east of the above Lynch Street address and on the same side of the street, which automobile affiants believe was the automobile of the said Hazel Brannon Smith and Walter Dyer Smith, however, the affiants were unable to verify the ownership of the car due to the fact that a green tree, apparently a cedar Christmas tree, was in the trunk thereof and was tied to the rear bumper over the tag, making tag identification difficult.

Affiants further examined the Charter of Incorporation and Report of Incorporation of Hico Publishing Company in the office of the Secretary of State of the State of Mississippi which reveals that it was incorporated by Robert L. T. Smith, Jr. and William L. Higgs of 2203 Barret Street and 707 N. Congress Street, Jackson, Mississippi, respectively, September 30, 1960 and that its purpose, among others, was to publish a newspaper, and issues of the said paper reveal that the said company publishes Mississippi Free Press at the above address on Lynch Street in Jackson, Mississippi with Paul E. Brooks as Editor. Report of Organization of said corporation shows the Directors thereof to be Robert L. T. Smith, Jr., Dr. A. B. Britton, Jr., W. J. Thompson, Cornelius Turner and Nolan Tate, and the officers thereof are said Robert L. T. Smith, Jr., President, Cornelius Turner, Vice-President, W. J. Thompson, Secretary and Dr. A. B.

Britton, Jr., Treasurer all of Jackson, Mississippi and the records further reveal that said corporation had authorized common stock of $20,000.00.

Albert Jones

ALBERT JONES

A. L. Hopkins

A. L. HOPKINS

Sworn to and subscribed before me this the 2nd day of January, 1962.

Helen Godwin

NOTARY PUBLIC

My Commission Expires:

January 1964

BACKGROUND

Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
Editor and Publisher
The Lexington Advertiser and The Durant News
Lexington, Mississippi
(Holmes County)

PERSONAL: Mrs. Smith is the daughter of Mr. D. B. Brannon of 2812 Sansom Avenue, (Alabama City) Gadsden, Alabama. Her mother was the late Georgia Freeman Brannon of the same address-who passed away in April, 1954. All of her family, on both sides, are Southern in origin. Mrs. Smith, the former Hazel Brannon, was born and reared in Alabama City (which has now been consolidated with Gadsden since about 1931) and is a graduate of Gadsden High School (1930). She worked two years on The Etowah Observer, a weekly newspaper there, for two years before resigning to enter college at the University of Alabama There she majored in journalism and was active in campus activities-was elected, by popular vote, as Women's Editor of The Crimson-White, U. of A. student weekly, and held other campus honors.

After graduation from Alabama (at Tuscaloosa) Miss Brannon went to Durant, Mississippi, where there was a weekly newspaper for sale. On borrowed money Miss Brannon bought this paper and paid it off in monthly notes. About two years after paying this paper off she obtained a loan and bought out the county site paper, The Lexington Advertiser, and combined operations in the same plant. (Both are in Holmes county, Miss.)

As editor of the two papers in Holmes county Miss Brannon has consistently upheld law and order, fought organized crime, and corruption in office, since 1943, earning for herself a number of bitter enemies, but also a large following. The papers have prospered and she has done exceedingly well for a small town publisher.

Marital: In 1950 Miss Brannon was married to Walter Dyer Smith, a native of Philadelphia, Penn. whom she met while on a trip around the world in 1949. Mr. Smith was working as a purser with the American President Lines at the time. He holds a bachelor's and a master's degree in education from Arizona State University-during the war did specialized educational work for the government and later specialized photographic work on the atomic bomb project at Los Alamos.

Because the editor did not want to give up her newspaper properties they agreed he would take a year's leave of absence from his company and see how things worked out for them to live in the small town (3,400 pop.) of Lexington and both work on the newspapers.

About three months later, however, the board of trustees of the Holmes County Community Hospital, asked Mr. Smith if he would take over the post of the Administrator of the hospital which was at the time being enlarged from a 25-bed to a 47-bed institution. Since this gave him an opportunity to establish his own identity in the community and county, they agreed it would be better in the long run-although the salary was not large. So he accepted the position.

Mr. Smith proved to be an able and a popular administrator. He took the hospital through its building program, built up a splendid staff, applied good administrative experience to putting it on a sound business basis-and took it out of the red into the black. The trustees showed their appreciation by advancing his salary periodically without being asked to, and by letting him run the hospital without any interference of any kind, taking his recommendations without question for hospital policy. This was the case until January of 1956-at which time they had already told him his salary would be advanced from $5200 to $6,000. Instead they fired him outright, without reason, stated or otherwise, and despite the fact that the entire medical staff of the hospital had unanimously gone on record asking that no change whatsoever be made in the office of administrator by the new board of trustees which went into office in January of 1956. (Only two of the old board members were still on-the new county board of supervisors having appointed three new trustees for the hospital.

The medical staff took this action because they wanted Mr. Smith to remain in the hospital where he had done in their own words "an outstanding job" and not let the hospital become involved in politics.

The reason Smith was fired was because, in the meantime, from July of 1954 specifically, his wife, Hazel Brannon Smith, had become a "controversial figure," in Holmes county. One of the old trustees, friendly to Smith and to his wife, told a Jackson Daily News reporter this and was quoted on it in the state press.

How Mrs. Smith became a controversial figure is stated as briefly as possible below:

1. In July of 1954 Mrs. Smith published a straight news story about the white sheriff of Holmes county, Richard F. Byrd, shooting a 27-year-old Negro man in the back. The Sheriff left town when he found she was investigating the shooting and didn't come back until the weekly paper was out. Mrs. Smith withheld any editorial comment the first week, leaving word for the Sheriff to contact her when he came back to town. He never did.

2. Without any word from the Sheriff the next week Mrs. Smith wrote an editorial criticizing the Sheriff's action in shooting the Negro-pointed to the abuse of six or seven other Negro citizens during the same evening, and ended the editorial by saying he was not fit to be sheriff and ought to resign.

3. The editor recognized the Sheriff as a menace to the peace and security of the community and county in which they lived-because of his racial bias and brutality. She actually feared what his official policy was doing to race relations in the county-which heretofore had always been good. (The Negro population in Holmes county is roughly 3-to-one then and now.) What she hoped to do was put the fear of God in his heart and make him exercise more care in the way he discharged his duties.

4. So much feeling against the Sheriff was aroused by the editorial that his friends told him he must "shut up the editor" or he would be forced to resign. A libel suit was agreed upon as the best means to silence the press.

5. The sheriff filed a libel suit for $57,500. which he claimed as "actual and punitive damages" from the news story and editorial as published in the two county papers.

All of this was in July, 1954, and followed the U. S. Supreme Court de-segregation decision by only two months-people in this area generally were beginning to be greatly concerned and fearful because of the court decision. However, no one seemed to take the lawsuit seriously-laughed about it, saying that it would never come to trial-that he was just trying to shut the editor up so he wouldn't have to resign, etc.

6. The editor did not discount the lawsuit or take it lightly-but she did not scare or back down either, because she knew that she had printed the truth-told her readers that she had and that when the time came to prove it the truth would be her defence.

7. In the meantime the Citizens' Council was organized in Holmes county, the latter part of July, 1954, the first Council to be organized outside of the original Citizens Council in Sunflower County (Indianola, Miss.)

8. The libel suit came up at the regular October term of Circuit Court in Holmes county, 1954, and the jury returned a verdict 10-2 in the amount of $10,000 for the Sheriff. Immediately appealed by attorneys for Mrs. Smith, to the Mississippi State Supreme Court.

What the lawyers for the editor found out was that lies circulated about her (the foremost of which was that she had a local Negro woman college president as a dinner guest in her home-) had done their dirty work. The case was not considered on its merits at all by the jury-but a racial case was made out of it. The editor had produced in court the Negro who was shot, the white doctor who treated him, a town marshal (white) who testified as to the good name of the Negro, etc. The jurors examined the scars on the front and back of his thigh where the bullet went through, etc.

9/ In September of 1955, one or two weeks before the appeal case was to be argued before the Miss. Supreme Court, a group of Citizens Council leaders in Holmes county called a mass meeting in which they "voted" that the white doctor who had treated the Negro and his associate, another white man, and their families "leave the county." This was because it was thought by the majority of those present that the two men were not in sympathy with the prevailing way of life in the South--they were believed not to believe in segregation, etc.

This mass meeting was a direct effort to intimidate the Mississippi State Supreme Court which was to hear the case appealed by Mrs. Smith. CC leaders also used this meeting to get a white minister fired (see below)*
The doctor (David Minter) was a high type professional man, a member of the hospital staff in Lexington and highly regarded by all of the scotors in Holmes county-he had a clinic in a rural area of Holmes county where he was engaged in a mission type of clinic, treating those who could not pay, etc.

Mr. Smith at the hospital and other doctors on the staff went all out to keep Dr. Minter and his family in the county-realizing the pattern was being set of getting rid of anyone and everyone who did not agree 100 percent with the status quo. This battle went on from the latter part of September until up in February, 1956, before it settled down. The families stayed on until the summer of 1956-and could have stayed indefinitely as far as economics were concerned-but they felt they would be happier elsewhere and left-the Minters' for Arizona and the other family for Tennessee.

* Dr. Marsh M. Callaway, pastor of the Durant Presbyterian Church. His offense was to stand up and condemn the mass meeting as "unchristian and unAmerican." He's now in Louisiana.

10. In November, 1955, the Mississippi State Supreme Court handed down its decision which was unanimous in favor of Mrs. Smith, dismissing the case and saying"the Sheriff by his own admission was guilty of an illegal assault upon the person of the Negro." She had proved her case.

In the year that had gone by between the Circuit Court trial and the appeal to the Supreme Court the Citizens Council had virtually taken over Holmes county-and friends of the Sheriff, members all of a Lexington political machine, had control of the offices in the Councils-and they were and still are uniformly hostile to Mrs. Smith because she is opposed to their principles and their methods and tactics.

This group had believed they were going to win the Supreme Court case-when it backfired on them their number one objective became to get revenge. Since that time this is some of the things they have done:

a. They had her husband fired from his job at the hospital-which would put them in a more vulernable spot economically. At the same time they circulated rumors all over the county they were going to put on an all-out boycott of her papers and force her out of business. This was printed in a newspaper published in the central Mississippi area, (Four-County News)

b. They pressured the three new supervisors, who took office in January, 1956, to award the county's contract for legal proceedings to a new publication (The Four-County News) published in a remote corner of the county by people who live in an adjoining county. This paper has a total circulation of less than 1,000 and claims only 600 in the Pickens and Holmes county area. (The Advertiser and Durant News have 4,200 circulation.) It had just been in business a little over a year and was trying to get business from a four county area that came together at a point about 20 miles distant from Lexington.

c. A group of seven CC members who were and are members of the Lexington Rotary Club, met and decided they didn't want Mrs. Smith to come to the Rotary meetings any more. She had been, on the club's invitation, a sort of honorary member of the Club and attended all their weekly meetings and gave them excellent publicity. They wrote her a nice little note and thanked her for her services and said someone else would now take care of the publicity for the club. Many other little things like this were done to try to make life miserable for the editor.

d. Some members of the CC went around to merchants and tried to get them to enter into a conspiracy against The Advertiser-to stop all local advertising in it. For some reason this failed-although it did make a big inroad on local advertising and commercial job printing. Still there were some eight or ten of the main local advertisers who continued to have their ads fairly regularly, although everything became harder to do. Many of these regulars have never come back-and are not expected any time soon.

e. Another crisis developed when it became known that Mrs. Smith was the subject of a prize-winning letter written by Hodding Carter of Greenville, Miss. in the American Democracy contest sponsored by The Fund for The Republic--this was a contest to honor those Americans who have made an outstanding contribution to the American Traditions of freedom, justice, etc. This was saved by an editorial written by Major Fred Sullens of

The Jackson Daily News-who pointed out the "fine way in which the Holmes county editor has upheld the freedom of the press in this state and in the nation" and lauding the editor for that worthwhile contribution, etc."

Mrs. Smith had also been awarded the Herrick Award for outstanding examples of American Democracy in action, etc. This is an award given by the National Editorial Association, the largest non-metropolitan newspaper group in the U. S. The latter award was in June of 1956--the Fund for The Republic Award was in February of 1957. No money was involved-just plaques and the honor.

Mrs. Smith also won the award for the best editorial written by a woman in the National Federation of Press Women in 1948 and again in 1955-the only women in the country to win this award twice. This second citation was the editorial criticizing the Sheriff of Holmes county for his abuse of the Negro.

Ever since the Holmes editor has been in business she has stood for racial justice and understanding-for equal rights in the courts, etc. Her efforts toward better race relations have been recognized by Negroes of the state as far back as 1948 when she was given the Certificate of Merit from Mississippi Negro School Teachers, who voted her as that white person in the state who had done the most toward better racial understanding, "for her outstanding service to Mississippi in the field of Human Relations."

f. The latest crisis to develop in Lexington was October 17, 1957, when the November issue of Ebony magazine was placed on the news stand. It carried a picture of Mrs. Smith as a person who had "campaigned for justice for all, regardless of race." It borrowed the picture from Time magazine which had published it in November of 1955 when Mrs. Smith won her case in the Miss. Supreme Court. The Ebony picture was used with an article and pictures of other white women in the South which, by suggestion or implication, made them all integrationists. The picture was published without the knowledge or consent of Mrs. Smith.

The same group of Citizens Councils members have brought copies of the magazine in from the outside of the county (only 7 copies were bought by the one news stand in the county which handles it) and passed these copies around, especially to all of the advertisers. Now more pressure than ever is being exerted against Mrs. Smith as a result of the picture in Ebony and the tactics of those who are using this incident to further smear her.

It is too early yet to ascertain how long this present intimidation will last-but merchants are definitely fearful.

Hazel Brannon Smith, Editor & Publisher

The Lexington Advertiser and The Durant News

Lexington, Mississippi

Background: Mrs. Smith is a native of Alabama City, Alabama, a graduate of Gadsden High School and the University of Alabama. Prior to attending the state university she worked for two years on The Etowah Observer, a weekly in Gadsden.

On graduation from the university in 1936, Hazel Brannon arranged a loan and bought the small weekly, The Durant News of Durant, Mississippi. In 1943, with the aid of a second loan, she bought The Lexington Advertiser and combined the operation of the two papers in the Lexington plant. Lexington, county seat of Holmes County, has a population of 3,400. Of the 33,300 persons in the county in 1950, 73.5 per cent were non-white.

As editor of the two Holmes County papers Miss Brannon upheld law and order, fought organized crime in the County and corruption in public office. While attracting the expected opposition she never-the-less earned for herself a large following and a stable place in the ~~local~~ community. The papers prospered and she did exceedingly well for a small town publisher.

In 1950, Miss Brannon was married to Walter Dyer Smith of Philadelphia, a purser on the American President Lines, whom she met on a trip around the world in 1949. Mr. Smith, who holds A. B. and M. A. degrees from Arizona State University, ~~During the war he~~ did specialized educational work for the government during the war and later photographic work on the atomic bomb project at Los Alamos. Because the editor did not want to give up her newspaper properties it was agreed that Mr. Smith would take a year's leave of absence from his company and come to Lexington where both would work on the newspapers.

Some three months after coming to Lexington, Mr. Smith was asked by the Board of Trustees of the Holmes County Hospital to serve as Administrator of the hospital which was then being enlarged. Mr. Smith accepted the position and served as an able and popular administrator until January 1956.

BACKGROUND: Mrs. Smith is a native of Alabama City, Alabama. On graduation from the University of Alabama in 1936, Hazel Brannon arranged a loan and bought the small weekly, The Durant News of Durant, Mississippi. In 1943, with the aid of a second loan, she bought The Lexington Advertiser, and combined the operation of the two papers in the Lexington plant.

As editor of the two Holmes County papers, Miss Brannon upheld law and order, fought organized crime in the county and exposed corruption in public office. While attracting the expected opposition she never-the-less earned for herself a large following and a stable place in the community. The papers prospered and she did exceedingly well for a small town publisher.

In 1950, Miss Brannon was married to walter Dyer Smith of Philadelphia. Because the editor did not want to give up her newspaper properties it was agreed that Mr. Smith would take a year's leave of absence from his company and come to Lexington where both would work on the newspapers. Some three months after coming to Lexington, Mr. Smith was asked to serve as administrator of the Holmes County Hospital Mr. Smith accepted the position and served as an able and popular administrator until January 1956.

July, 1954: In July of 1954 Holmes County Sheriff Richard F. Byrd shot in the back a 27-year-old Negro man who was not under arrest or resisting arrest. On learning that Mrs. Smith was investigating the incident the Sheriff left town. Mrs. Smith published a news story of the shooting, withholding editorial comment. She left word for the Sheriff to contact her on his return to town. He did not do so.

On the following week, ~~without any word from the Sheriff~~, Mrs. Smith wrote an editorial criticizing the Sheriff's action in the shooting and pointing to the abuse of six or seven other Negro citizens during the same evening. The editorial ended by saying the sheriff was not qualified to hold his office and should resign. This editorial was cited by the National Federation of Press Women as the best editorial written by a woman during 1954.

Commenting on her action and its aftermath, Mrs. Smith says, "The editor recognized the Sheriff as a menace to the peace and security of the community and the county in which he lived - because of his racial bias and brutality. What she hoped to do was put the fear of God in his heart and make him exercise more care in the way he discharged his duties."

Considerable community feeling was aroused by the editorial. The sheriff was told by his friends that he must prevent future editorials of this nature or resign. At this point a libel suit was agreed upon and the Sheriff filed suit for $57,500 "actual and punitive damages" from the news story and editorial as published in the two county papers. The community did not take the law suit seriously. It was treated as a humorous incident which would never reach court. The editor did take the lawsuit seriously but had no doubt that she would win the case in local court.

These incidents were taking place some two months after the Supreme Court desegregation ruling, a decision which was beginning to cause grave concern in the community. During July, 1954, a White Citizens' Council unit was organized in the County; the first to be organized after the original group in Sunflower County.

Mrs. Smith and her attorneys were to learn that a number of rumors were being circulated about her, the foremost of which was that she had a local Negro woman college president as a dinner guest in her home. Her major offense, however, was to defend the rights of Negroes when the whites of Holmes County had to "stand together".

The libel suit came up at the regular October term of Circuit Court. The editor produced in court the Negro who was shot, Dr. David Minter who treated him and a town marshall who testified to the good name and character of the victim. The jury, after deliberation, returned a 10-2 verdict in favor of the sheriff for payment of $10,000 damages by Mrs. Smith. The case was immediately appealed to the Mississippi Supreme Court. In November, 1955, the Mississippi State Supreme Court gave a unanimous decision in favor of Mrs. Smith. The case was dismissed and the Court commented," the Sheriff, by his own admission, was guilty of an illegal assault upon the person of the Negro." Mrs. Smith had won her case, but in doing so she had incurred some $5,000 in attorneys fees and related costs.

In September 1955, several weeks before the appeal case was to be argued before the state Supreme Court, a group of Holmes County White Citizens Council leaders called a mass meeting. At this meeting it was "voted" that Dr. Minter and his associate, Eugene Cox, and their families "leave the county". Dr. Minter, in addition to his regular professional duties, conducted a mission-type clinic in a rural areaof the county for persons, Negro & white, who could not otherwise afford medical services. The WCC felt these men did not believe in segregation or "the Mississippi way of life." Realizing the pattern being established, Mr. Smith and the other doctors on the hospital staff did everything possible to keep the two families in Holmes County. Some five months later, however, the families decided to leave; the Cox family for Tennessee and the Minters' to Arizona. (Insert I)

Sheriff Byrd, supported by the White Citizens Council, had expected a favorable verdict from the appeal. When this proved not to be the case an organized campaign of revenge was undertaken, against the local "supporter of Negroes' rights."

January 1956: By January, 1956 Hazel Brannon Smith had become a "controversial" figure in Holmes County. Walter Smith continued his work as hospital administrator. He had taken the ~~hospital~~ institution through its building program, built up a well-qualified staff and had, through good administrative procedures, placed the operation on a non-deficit basis. The trustees showed their appreciation by ~~advancing~~ increasing his salary periodically without being asked to do so and by accepting, without question, all recommendations from him regarding policy and administration. In January, a new hospital board, consisting of two old and three new ~~appointed~~ trustees appointed by the ~~newly elected~~ county board of supervisors, was to take office. The entire medical staff of the hospital, fearing that politics were about to be injected into the administration of the hospital, unanimously went on record asking that no changes be made in the office or administrator ~~of the by the new board~~. Smith, however, had been told that his salary was to be advanced from $5,200 to $6,000. At the ~~meeting~~ January meeting of the hospital trustees Smith was fired without reason being given. One of the old trustees, friendly to the Smiths, stated to a Jackson Daily News reporter that the action was taken because of Mrs. Smiths politics. The trustee was quoted to this effect in the state press.

The firing of Walter Smith marked the beginning of an economic boycott against the Smiths and ~~the~~ their newspapers. The WCC leadership openly stated that they were beginning a boycott to force Mrs. Smith out of business. ~~and a newspaper~~ The Four-County News ~~in~~ a nearby small newspaper ~~the county~~ published stories of the boycott and its sponsors. The Delta-Democrat Times quoted a Lexington WCC member as saying, "we want to buy the paper from that woman and bring in a young man with the right attitude."

The firing of Walter Smith marked the beginning of an organized economic boycott against the Smiths and their newspapers. There had been earlier attempts, spasmodic efforts at having merchants withdraw advertising, but though felt these attempts had not seriously affected the paper. As of January, however, the WCC leadership openly stated they were beginning a boycott to force Mrs. Smith out of business. The Four-County News, a nearby small newspaper, published stories of the boycott and its sponsors. The Delta-Democrat Times quoted a Lexington WCC member as saying, "we want to buy the paper (the Advertiser) from that woman and bring in a young man with the right attitude."

The three new ~~county~~ supervisors did not review the contract ~~withdrew its~~ contract with the Advertiser. The contract for publishing the county's legal proceedings was awarded to The Four-County News, published in a remote corner of the County by persons who live in an adjoining county. The Four-County News had a circulation of less than 1,000, 600 in Holmes and Pickens Counties. The Advertiser and Durant News have 4,200 circulation.

WCC members visited local merchants in an effort to have them withdraw all advertising and job printing from Mrs. Smith's firm. The boycott was not completely effective although a number of accounts were lost. The peak effectiveness of the boycott was probably reached in August 1956 when the firm, for both advertising and job printing, failed to take in enough money to meet the monthly payroll. This month was atypical but since that time Mrs. Smith's object has been ~~to remain in business rather than make a profit on her publishing operation.~~ one of survival; to remain in business with little hope of significant profit in the foreseeable future.

The Smiths have ~~also~~ been ~~the object of~~ subjected to social as well as economic ~~boycott~~ reprisal. Typical is the siutation with the Lexington Rotary Club. For years Mrs. Smith has been, at the invitation of the club, an honorary member attending all weekly meetings and giving the club excellent publicity. After the boycott was begun, however, Mrs. Smith recieved a note from the club requesting that she not attend future meetings. The note thanked her for her past interest and stated that someone else would now take care of the publicity for the group. ~~Number 2 forever friends, acquaintances no longer speak to the Smiths.~~

Since the beginning of the boycott a series of crisies have developed for Mrs. Smith. Ironically, these have usually arisen from national publicity or awards for her newspaper work. One ~~of these~~ such crisis occured when the Fund for the Republic ~~awarded~~ made Mrs. Smith ~~one of its~~ a recipient of the American Traditions Award, on the basis of a letter written about Mrs. Smith and her newspaper work by Hodding Carter, Editor of the Delta-Democrat Times. On this occasion Major Fred Sullens, Editor of the Jackson Daily News ~~and~~ noted for his ~~segregation views~~ Johnson B, wrote of the "fine way in which the Holmes County editor has upheld the freedom of the press in this state and in the nation." Mrs. Smith has also been the recepient of the Herrick Award given by the National Editorial Association and has twice been awarded by the National Federation of Press Women.

The latest crisis to develope in Lexington occured on October 17, 1957 when the November issue of Ebony magazine was placed on the news stand. This issue carried an article of Southern women ~~engaged in campaining for equal justice in. among the women pictured was Mrs. Smith~~ engaged in ~~working~~ the current struggle for equal rights. ~~among the women~~ Among the women pictured was Mrs. Smith, ~~with the article. The magazine~~ described ~~Mrs. Smith~~ as being a person who had "campaigned for justice for all, regardless of race." This ~~article~~ magazine is now being distributed throughout Holmes County, especially to all advertisers. The article is considered ~~as~~ proof that ~~Mrs. Smith and her newspaper~~ the Lexington Advertiser & its editor are detrimental to the community.

Insert I

Subsequently a minister, Dr. Marsh M. Calloway, Pastor of the Durant Presbyterian Church was forced to leave the area. Dr. Calloway called the mass meeting which attacked Minter and Cox as "unChristian and unAmerican." ~~Mex~~ Dr. Calloway is now in Louisiana.

— some many months ago — Mrs. Smith was attempting to raise funds against a mortgage on her newspaper plant in Mississippi, or on her home. Estimates were at that time furnished to us by Mrs. Smith that the combined value of these properties was approximately $100,000. We were unable to secure anybody here who would lend a substantial amount to the Smiths on Mississippi property, but I then advised [redacted] that Mrs. Smith's borrowing problems would be minimal if she sought the funds from a lending institution in the South — fully aware, as we were, that in seeking that type of loan she would be revealing her need for funds, and would also encounter hesitancy on the part of an average Southern lending institution in light of the history of her need for funds.

However, when she seeks "contributions", the matter takes on a somewhat different aspect. It is my feeling that there would be a disinclination on the part of most national agencies to make substantial contributions either toward the $2500 fund or toward the still larger funds she will need during 1958. This is not to say that there is any lack of sympathy with her plight; on the contrary, we think she has been very courageous in the face of outrageous difficulties, and certainly we should like to see her continue publication of her paper. But we share with some other agencies with which we have discussed the matter a doubt that we could ever justify making a substantial contribution to people who have unencumbered property worth about $100,000. Moreover, it is the belief of one of the agencies that about $500 had been contributed toward the reduction of the legal fee. I have an idea that you might want to look into that, as well as into the other prospects of fund raising through mortgage, in the South rather than in the North.

Certainly I agree that the principle here is important, and the NCC should not be permitted to prevail. But we must also be hard-headedly practical about it, and not allow a more or less ready source of funds to be overlooked in our quest for contributions which, at best, will be very slow in accumulating — because they will come from relatively few agencies, if the information I received this morning is to be given credence.

(From a memo by Val L. HQ of NJC — file Hazel B. Smith

File

Subject: Mrs. Hazel Brannon Smith
Lexington, Mississippi

Editor and Publisher of Four Weekly Newspapers in Mississippi
The Lexington Advertiser, Holmes County, Lexington, Miss.
The Durant News, Holmes County, Durant, Miss.
The Banner County Outlook, Madison county, Flora, Miss.
The Northside Reporter, Hinds County, Jackson, Miss.

Background: (Professional)

President of the Mississippi Federation of Press Women, an Affiliate of the National Federation of Press Women, 1957-1958

Mississippi State Chairman of the National Editorial Association (for past three years and current year also), an organization of some 10,000 non-metropolitan newspapers in the United States. Mrs. Smith has been an active member of this organization since 1940 and has regularly attended its meetings. The result has been a very wide acquaintanceship with other newspaper people throughout the country.

Active member of the Mississippi Press Association and the Inter-American Press Association, the latter an organization of leading newspapers in the U. S. and South America and Canada-the purpose of which is to promote good will, peace and understanding among the countries of this hemisphere.

Member and past president of the Business and Professional Women's Club; also past district chairman. Currently a member of the Lexington, Miss. BPW Club and chairman of its Public Affairs Committee.

Phi,
Member of Theta Sigma, women's journalism sorority, national honorary organization.

Background: (Personal)

Daughter of D. E. Brannon and the late Georgia Freeman Brannon of 2812 Sansom Avenue, Gadsden, Alabama-Mr. Brannon a native of Georgia; Mrs. Brannon a native of Chattanooga, Tenn.

Born and reared in Alabama City (now incorporated in Gadsden) on Feb. 4, 1914; attended schools of Alabama City, Ala. and graduated from Gadsden High School in 1930 at age of 16; talented in public speaking and dramatics; considered an outstanding all-around student and student leader.

Worked two years on The Etowah Observer in Gadsden, a weekly newspaper, before resigning to go to the University of Alabama where she finished college, majoring in journalism, in three years. Active in campus life and received many honors, including being elected Women's Editor of The Crimson-White, University weekly newspaper, and most popular girl in her social sorority, Delta Zeta; elected to Chi Delta Phi, national literary honorary honorary.

Hazel Brannon Smith
(Personal background con't.)

Following graduation from the University of Alabama the then Hazel Brannon came to Durant, Mississippi, where she bought The Durant News (on borrowed money) and worked it out until she got it paid for. Seven years later she borrowed (again on the signature of a friend) money to buy The Lexington Advertiser and worked it out-in about five years time. Both papers are in the same (Holmes) county and printed now in the one shop at Lexington. Also printed in the Lexington shop is The Outlook, the Flora, Miss., paper which Mrs. Smith acquired in early 1954. The Outlook has possibilities of expansion into a countywide paper with the employment of additional personnel. At the present time the income from this paper is small, only from national ads and a few small local ads, but a greater potential definitely exists.

After getting her paper paid for in 1948 Miss Brannon traveled extensively in Mexico, Canada, South America, and Europe, having already in the earlier part of her life visited every section and almost every state in the Union. In 1950, October, she left for a 4-months trip around the world from San Francisco, and on this trip she met the man who later became her husband, Mr. Walter Dyer Smith, a native of Philadelphia, Penn. who was a purser with the American President Lines and stationed on the SS President Monroe, on which Miss Brannon was traveling.
The couple was married on March 21, 1950, at the First Baptist Church in Durant, Mississippi, of which she was, and is, a member.

Mr. Smith, whose parents are dead, was a Lutheran-but since there is no Lutheran Church in Holmes county he has become a member of the Durant Baptist Church-which they now attend. Durant and Lexington are only 12 miles apart and free telephone service between the two towns makes it very easy to work the two papers out of one office-especially since Miss Brannon lived in Durant up until 1950 when she married.

Since the newspapers were making very good money the couple decided for Mr. Smith to take a year's leave of absence and work on the newspapers-to see how he liked living in a small town like Lexington (3,400 population) before quitting the American President Lines. (He holds a Master's in Education from Arizona State, as well as a bachelor's degree, and has done some work on a PhD, specializing in audio-visual education. During the war he also did specialized photographic work on the atomic bomb project at Los Alamos, New Mexico.

After coming to Lexington Mr. Smith was offered (he did not apply) the post of administrator of the Holmes County Community Hospital in Lexington which was at that time being enlarged from a 25-bed to a 47-bed hospital-and they needed a full-time, trained administrator, to run the hospital. He accepted the post and filled it with distinction until January, 1956, when he was fired by the board of trustees because his wife had become "a controversial figure" in Holmes county. (The Medical Staff unanimously

praised Mr. Smith personally, and as an administrator, saying he had done an outstanding job and asked "that no change whatsoever be made in the office of administrator." This was in the form of resolutions adopted by the Medical Staff before Mr. Smith was fired-and the resolutions were published in the county newspapers and in the daily newspapers of Jackson and throughout the state).

Mr. Smith has since January, 1956, been helping Mrs. Smith on the papers.

Professional Distinctions: Among the outstanding honors accorded this Mississippi newspaper woman are:

1. May, 1957: Mississippi Press Association in annual convention in Biloxi unanimously voted commendation to Mrs. Smith "for her outstanding contribution to a free press in Mississippi and the nation."

2. February, 1957: The Fund for the Republic invited Mrs. Smith to be one of four guests of honor at a banquet in Washington, D. C., Mayflower Hotel, in recognition of her efforts to maintain a free and impartial press. She was the subject of a prize-winning letter written by Editor Hodding Carter of the Greenville, Miss. Delta-Democrat Times in the American Traditions Contest which was sponsored by The Fund for The Republic.
   Judge Samuel I. Rosenman said: "In recent years, to maintain a free and impartial press in the deep South, to be an editor and a reporter in the American tradition, has required extraordinary devotion and courage; and, often in the face of deep-seated community opposition, Mrs. Smith has continued to exhibit both of these qualities. She has printed the news honestly and fearlessly as she saw it; she has refused to pass incidents over, even when reporting them has subjected her to great criticism and pressure." Award: Certificate and the right to designate a $500 gift from The Fund-(sent to American Friends Service Comm.)
3. June, 1956, at the national convention of the National Editorial Association held in Louisville, Ky., Mrs. Smith was awarded the HERRICK EDITORIAL AWARD, the prestige editorial award of the NEA for a series of editorials written throughout the year (1955-56) which best expressed the meaning of the American Way of Life, such as protection of the rights of minorities, the protection of our traditional freedoms, etc. Award: A plaque.

4. Spring, 1955: Mrs. Smith won first place for the best editorial written by a member of the National Federation Of Press Women-presentation of the certificate was made at the national convention held in New Orleans. This is the second time Mrs. Smith won this editorial award-and she is the only woman in the nation to win the coveted editorial award twice.

Hazel Brannon Smith
(Professional distinctions con't.)

5. In 1948 Miss Brannon was presented a Certificate of Merit by the Mississippi Association of Colored Teachers, in a program in Jackson which was attended by thousands of Negro teachers in the state. This award was given in recognition as "that white person who had contributed the most to the improvement of relations between the races" during that year in the entire state.

6. Stories on the work of this Mississippi editor have appeared in numerous magazines, books and other periodicals: Time, in November, 1955; Saturday Evening Post, Fall, 1955; Carl Rowan's "Go South To Sorrow," May, 1957 (Random House); The American Weekly, largest magazine supplement in the world; "Editor of the Week" in Publisher's Auxiliary in 1947 or 1948, newspaper that goes to every newspaper office in the nation--the "editor of the week" is usually not given anyone until they're very old, etc.; Damon Runyon wrote column on this editor back in 1940; INS feature writers have done stories on her.

7. Mrs. Smith has won too many awards in Mississippi Press Assoc- and Miss. Federation of Press Women circles to even name how many (she doesn't really know) as well as prizes for editorials on the state fair, etc. Among the citations she has won repeatedly however, are for the best newspaper published by a woman, for best news coverage, for editorials, service to agriculture, and for feature stories. She has won at least 60 or more of these during the past 12 years.

8. Mrs. Smith is probably the best known woman editor in the South- if not the nation. She is probably second only to Hodding Carter in Mississippi among all Mississippi editors who state their beliefs and fight for them against popular opposition, when necessary.

9. Mrs. Smith has twice been nominated for the Pulitzer prize, in 1956 and in 1955-for editorial integrity.

Political Background: Mrs. Smith is, and always has been, strictly an Independent.

Although she has served as a delegate to two national Democratic conventions and several terms as the Secretary of the Holmes County Democratic Executive Committee, Mrs. Smith is at heart an independent in everything political, or otherwise.

She believes in deciding each case or each issue on its merits and not by hide bound tradition. She judges political candidates the same way, which one is best for the country.

She supported General Eisenhower in his first bid for election and supported his bid for reelection. She is now a member of the Eisenhower Committee in Holmes county.

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CREED OF MRS. SMITH! Almost every person has his own set of ideals and principles by which he lives, whether he is a Christian or not. Mrs. Smith, as a newspaper woman, has always felt keenly her responsibility to report the news of her community and county in a clear, unbiased way and give both sides on any controversial subject. She believes in tolerance for the viewpoints of all peoples-and for this reason she bitterly opposes the Fascist tendencies of the Citizens Councils and their completely closed minds on the subject of segregation and integration.

Because Mrs. Smith has practiced what she believes, and applies it to her profession, she has been the victim of two law suits, both within the past ten year period--both suits she has won unanimously in the Miss. State Supreme Court after being over-ruled in the lower court.

THE FIRST SUIT

The first suit, of some ten years ago, was when this editor was cited for contempt of court in a Holmes county Court by the Circuit Court Judge, the late B. F. Davis. Mrs. Smith, who was also correspondent for the Commercial-Appeal of Memphis, was questioning a Negro woman, wife of a Negro man who had been beaten to death by a group of six or seven white farmers of Holmes county for allegedly stealing a saddle. Judge Davis cited the then Miss Brannon for contempt of court for questioning a witness who "was under the rule of the court", a provision of which the editor was unaware because she had not been in the courtroom at the precise moment the Judge had instructed the witnesses.

What Miss Brannon was trying to do was to get a straight, unbiased news story in order that her readers and the readers of the largest daily newspaper in the entire tri-state (Arkansas, Tennessee and Mississippi) area could have the facts in the case.

At this time some white people in the county thought it very improper for a young white woman to be talking to Negroes, even if it was in the line of her duty as a newspaper editor. This attitude did not bother Miss Brannon in the least as she has always done what she thought to be her duty even if it did mean criticism, spoken or implied.

Miss Brannon had to appeal this case to the Supreme Court and one year later a unanimous verdict was returned in her favor.

The Judge came back only once to Holmes county-afterward he got some one else to sit for him, stating he was ill. In about two years he died-and mention of the "famous trial" was made even in the account of his death which appeared in the daily newspapers of the state.

(The white men were found "not guilty" by the all-white jurors of Holmes county. Ironically, several weeks later it was found that the step-son of the man was the one who had taken the saddle and he knew nothing what ever about it.)

But this case probably marked Miss Brannon as a "Negro lover" in the minds of some people in the county at least.

THE SECOND SUIT

On the weekend of July 4, 1954 Sheriff Richard F. Byrd of Holmes county, accompanied by a state Highway Patrolman, his own Deputy-Jailor and the Constable of beat 5 in Holmes county, drove up to a group of Negroes standing near a Negro Cafe on the highway near the town of Tchula, Miss. and told them all to clear out and go on home-- and in the course of doing this he pulled out his gun and told one of the Negroes to "get goin' " which he did--and as the Negro ran the Sheriff shot him in the back. The Negro was shot through the thigh, the bullet entering from the back of the leg and going clear through the front. The Negro was not drunk or disorderly-the Sheriff was not trying to arrest him for anything--he just, "made the

mistake of being around when the Sheriff drove up." And that was the way Editor Hazel Brannon Smith put it when she criticized the Sheriff's conduct in an editorial. This editorial was instrumental in arousing widespread resentment against the Sheriff and his brutal methods-rumors of which had been heard before, but never could be verified.

Mrs. Smith went to work and investigated the incident-getting all the facts--and then she publicized them fully in a news story in the first paper that was published following the shooting incident. Sheriff Byrd left town and could not be found.

The next week the editorial was written and the editor said in effect that Mr. Byrd was not fit to be sheriff of Holmes county and should, in fact, resign. She said people of Holmes county did not approve of the abuse of people "just because their skins were black."

This editorial aroused public opinion in the county to such a pitch that Byrd's friends told him he either had to resign or find some way to "shut that editor up." Although physical threats have been made against the person of Mrs. Smith, threatening telephone calls, etc., the Sheriff knew he could not get away with violence on her person-so he filed a lawsuit for libel for "actual and punitive damages " he had suffered at the hands of Mrs. Smith. He was suing her for $57,500.

This law suit amazed everyone in the county and state-but no one took it seriously, except Mrs. Smith. No one believed it would ever come to trial, even Mr. Byrd's friends, because they knew the editor did not print a thing unless she knew it to be true.

But in the meantime in a nearby Delta county of Sunflower, some 45 miles from Lexington, county site of Holmes county, the first Citizens Council was organized--the same month as the lawsuit, July, 1954.

The first county organized in the CC outside of the Mother County, home county of Senator J. O. Eastland, was Holmes county--home of the editor.

Friends of the Sheriff were naturally members of the newly formed Citizens Council in Holmes county, but not in control of it-they were in the background. But they were very busy from the time the lawsuit was filed in July, 1954 until it was tried at the October term of Circuit Court, 1954. All kinds of rumors were put out, including one that Mrs. Smith had Negro people in her home socially; and rumors were revived from the previous lawsuit when Mrs. Smith "had taken up for a Colored man against the white men", etc. etc.

The atmosphere was such that the Sheriff won a 10-2 verdict of $10,000 against the editor-which she promptly appealed to the State Supreme Court.

One year went by as the principals awaited the outcome of the lawsuit. Meanwhile Mr. Byrd was really "wheeling and dealing." He was kicking everyone around to his heart's content, particularly the county's Negro citizens. (Holmes county is 3-to-1 Negro in population makeup with one third of the county's area being considered Delta country, with the remainder hills. Lexington is in the hills). Also in the meantime the selling of illegal whiskey and operation of illegal slot machines was brought out into the open and the Sheriff was making a pot of money.

Mrs. Smith, throughout her entire 21-year career as a community newspaper editor has believed in and consistently supported law-enforcement, believing that any government should be based upon laws, rather than the whims of men. She had continually fought bootlegging, vice, corruption in office and other evils-for she believed that it is the duty of the newspaper to try to build a better community and a better world for its readers.

But Sheriff Byrd had her tied in this instance-because as far as she knew the lawsuit might be brought back to the Holmes court for another trial-and in the meantime anything she had written against the Sheriff would be taken by the readers (potential jurors of the future) as malice, even though it would not have been so. So for a year Mrs. Smith was intimidated into silence and the Sheriff ruled with an iron hand.

In the meantime the Citizens Councils were spreading and growing like wildfire--and the idea behind each one was to get rid of everyone in the community who did not favor segregation, or was even suspected of not quite believing in segregation.

PROVIDENCE FARMS

Another weird aspect of the case was that a white doctor, Dr. David R. Minter of Providence Farms, near Tchula, had been the doctor who had treated the Negro, Henry Randle, who had been shot by the Sheriff. The 27-year old man's father had first taken him to a doctor right in Tchula but he was away from home-so they took him to Dr. Minter's Clinic which was nearer to where they lived, anyway.

Providence Farms, a cooperative project, had long been SUSPECT as far as the people of Tchula and Holmes county were concerned. There had been various rumors that these people were practicing "race-mixing" and that they didn't believe in segregation like other Southerners, etc. Some thoughtthey were Communists, or at least said they thought it whether they did or not, etc.

Well, all of these rumors were revived when ~~it~~ it became known that Dr. Minter had treated Henry Randle. And they went the rounds of the county, circulated by all of the sheriff's good friends who were also tried and true friends of the CC. They played a significant part in the jury's verdict.

After the first trial, which the Sheriff had won, he told another doctor in Lexington that he was "Going to get Dr. Minter" before he left office if it was the"last thing he did."

SUPREME COURT DECISION

The appealed case of Hazel Brannon Smith vs. Richard F. Byrd in the Supreme Court of Mississippi was to be heard and was heard the second Monday in October, 1955, in Jackson, Miss.

About two weeks before this time an incident happened in the Tchula neighborhood -of a group of Negro teenagers, about three boys, who allegedly made "obscene remarks" to a little white school girl who was on her way to the Tchula School. She happened to live out at Providence or near there.

Because of the prevailing tensions this incident was blown all out of proportion, magnified beyond belief, and used by the Sheriff and his buddies (who by now had secured control of the Citizens Councils in the county) to try to run Dr. Minter and his associate, Mr. A. E. Cox, and their

families out of the county. (The sheriff had threatened to get rid of him as we have said before-although practically no one knew this.)

The Sheriff andCounty Attorney (who was head of the Lexington CC), the head of the county CC, who happened to be the sheriff's best friend, and the legal advisor for the CC in the county got together a made a tape recording of the questioning of these Negro teen age boys--and then they called a mass meeting, through the seven chapters of the CC organized throughout Holmes county, which was held in the Tchula school house just two weeks before the Supreme Court was to hear the Smith-Byrd case.

THE MASS MEETING

The idea of the mass meeting was to kill several birds with one stone-get rid of the Minters and Coxes from the county because they "didn't think right" and at the same time, by discrediting Dr. Minter they figured they could discredit the appeal of Hazel Smith to the Supreme Court. What it amounted to was an attempt to influence the thinking of the Supreme Court of the State of Mississippi--and when the Sheriff's attorney stood up before the Supreme Court to argue the case he attempted to intimidate the court by mentioning the mass meeting and saying that "he doubted Henry Handle was ever shot" (although he did not question the shooting in Circuit Court-Henry Handle was there with two bullet scars on his legs from the shooting).

The Attorney, S. R. King, told the Court "that it seems more likely that this whole thing is a pure fabrication of some subversive elements working in Holmes county."

The attempted intimidation of the court was 100 percent unsuccessful because a unanimous verdict was handed down for Mrs. Smith about the second week in November, 1955, following the oral argument. The case was completely thrown out and the court said "the Sheriff by his own admission was guilty of an illegal assault upon the person of Henry Handle."

At the mass meeting sponsored by the Citizens Councils the tape recording of the questioning of the Negro teen agers was played-it was about three hours or more long-Dr. Minter and Mr. Cox were there, having received an "invitation" a few hours just before the meeting was to be held. Both men indicated they welcomed an investigation of their activities, they had nothing to hide, etc. But the crowd was too well whipped up by some of the rabble-rousing speeches made--and at the end of the meeting the crowd "voted" that they should leave the county.

One of the few sane voices lifted that night was the Rev. Marsh M. Callaway, pastor of the Presbyterian Church at Durant, who had risen at the beginning of the meeting to ask a question: "Mr. Chairman, by what right do you take this tape recording, which was taken as I understand it to be used in a court of law, and use it for any other purpose?"

The Rev. Mr. Callaway, who had been in the county only since Easter Sunday of that year, was not too well known to the group-and they booed him mightily.

Later on in the evening after the tape recording had been played and Dr. Minter and Mr. Cox had tried to answer the tape as best they could (and they could not even hear it all-so indistinct and blurred were portions of it) and the two men had asked for an investigating committee of the chairman's own choosing--the Rev. Mr. Callaway arose again and identified himself as a Presbyterian minister and told the crowd that its conduct was unChristian, unAmerican and contrary to every principle upon which this great country was founded. He told them he knew Dave Minter better than anyone

in this room-since he was a 14-year-old boy." He then praised Dr. Minter as being the finest type of Christian citizen, the son of a minister and of a family of missionaries that has served their country and their God with distinction.

But all Mr. Callaway got was a lot of boos and catcalls for his efforts-and threats from one of the men present-which proved to be true--the loss of his job as pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Durant.

These threats were repeated the next morning in a call to Mr. Callaway, and they were made by a Tchula citizen who is a son of a very distinguished late Presbyterian minister.

The man who was the organizing head of the Citizens Councils in Holmes county was Wilburn Hooker, insurance, plantation owner, prominent family in Holmes county, a man who was chairman of the board of trustees of the Holmes County Community Hospital, as welll as holding other posts in civic clubs, etc. in Lexington and the county.

Mr. Hooker by this time had moved to to be on the executive committee of the State Citizens Councils which had been organized by this time--it just took one year. It would have been thought Mr. Hooker would have been at least a restraining influence in keeping the CC from doing things which were dishonorable-but this did not prove to be the case.

Hooker went over and talked to the Elders of the Durant Church and the outcome was that Mr. Callaway was kicked out of his pastorate.

THE HOSPITAL SITUATION

In the meantime the editor's husband, Walter Dyer Smith, was administrator of the Holmes County Community Hospital in Lexington-and Dr. Minter was a member of the medical staff of that hospital.

Mr. Smith knew and respected Dr. Minter as a man and as a doctor; Mrs. Smith had barely met Dr. Minter and that at a summer picnic for hospital employees and their families-she did not know him at all.

But Mrs. Smith did know that if an organization like the CC could tell people, any people, to get out of the county and they had to get out that Holmes county would be no better than Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy.

Regardless of anyone's views, and Mrs. Smith maintained a man had a right to believe like he chose, she knew that it would not do for the two families to be forced out of Holmes county.

So she and Mr. Smith both did everything possible to keep them there-engaging in endless conversations with people, going to a great deal of expense in contacting people to keep the situation from getting out of hand including the man who had just been elected as governor of the state in August, J. P. Coleman. Mrs. Smith sought and secured his help in helping keep the two men in Holmes county.

This activity continued from the last week in September up to and through the Christmas season and well up into the new year of 1956--until the situation had become quiet enough, people had been brought to their senses somewhat, that the Minters and Coxes could have stayed on had they felt it would have been the best for their families-they were not FORCED to leave. After so many tensions and so many incidents they felt that they could

no longer do their best work so they decided to leave for a better climate and environment. The prevailing opinion in the county, however, remains that they were not forced to leave-but left of their own choice. And there are many people now who will openly say they think these people were given a "terrible" deal, etc.

When in November, 1955, the Supreme Court ruled in Mrs. Smith's favor the Sheriff and his friends, who thought they had things just like they wanted them and would have from here on out, got a rude shock. They could not believe they had been unsuccessful in their case against the editor. So they started out to "get" her in another way.

They put out the rumors they were going to get her husband fired from his post at the hospital and then start an economic boycott through the Citizens Councils of her newspapers, forcing her out of business.

The work Mrs. Smith and her husband had done to try to keep the families out at Providence was known to enough of these people that it had incurred their wrath-and this was used against them in January, 1956, when three newly elected supervisors of Holmes county took office.

These three men appointed each one new trustee of the hospital board who in turn voted unanimously to fire Mr. Smith, at a secret meeting held prior to the time they actually assumed office.

Mr. Smith was fired without cause-despite the fact that the medical staff at the hospital did everything humanly possible to keep him there, praising him as an able man and administrator who had done an outstanding job at the hospital. All of these resolutions were published in the county and state newspapers-and they asked "that no change whatsoever be made in the office of administrator." But the tide was just like Niagria--it couldn't be stopped.

When a Tchula friend of Mrs. Smith went to one of the supervisors to try to get him to stop the firing of Mr. Smith he said: "They're too close to Dr. Minter and that crowd." This man, who also knew Dr. Minter, said "Well, my God, man, there's nothing wrong with Dr. Minter. He's a fine man." But it was all to no avail.

Then the next move was an attempt to boycott the newspapers of Mrs. Smith-and now her husband was working with her on the papers.

In the meantime the editor had let it be known that she would fight to the last step on saving her newspapers-she had taken the loss of her husband's job at the hospital without public protest and fight-had such a dirty political deal been attempted by the supervisors and trustees of a public institution to anyone else she would have gone to bat for them in the public interest--but because it was "personal" and actually intended for her rather than him-she took it.

The CC has attempted a boycott and in some measure succeeded in its fight against its known enemy, Mrs. Smith. The complete boycott, however, has not been successful. Several merchants who were approached outright refused to have anything to do with what they called a "conspiracy." Also adding to the picture was the fact of the Montgomery, Ala. bus boycott, which indicated that a boycott could work two ways. Knowing Mrs. Smith to be determined to save the newspapers in which she had poured 20 years of the best years of her life, some of them may have realized that such a determined person could cause them a lot of trouble by attempting a

counter boycott among the Negro people of Holmes county-all of whom knew the lady editor and knew she stood up for the right thing.

The Supervisors (the three new ones) did what they could to hurt Mrs. Smith by taking away from her the publication of their monthly proceedings and giving it to a small paper in Pickens, in a far corner of the county, which has no countywide circulation at all. Then they put out the rumor this was the beginning of the end-they had taken away all of the county business, etc. This was January, 1956 also and the Pickens paper still publishes the proceedings although the board does publish the bids in th Advertiser--they have to if they get any bidders as needed, because the Pickens paper could not get them due to small circulation.

The job printing department is where Mrs. Smith has been hurt most. This department is down and continues down more than half of normal. Advertising is down now about 45 per cent from normal--but last year (1956) it was even worse. Some of the advertisers who quit advertising are gradually coming back occasionally-and Mrs. Smith feels that eventually her business will be back to normal--but that it will be a minimum of two and one-half to three years. It's harder to sell advertising now.

For several months during 1956 the papers did not take in enough money to meet the payrolls and other operating expenses. At this time they are operating (but barely) in the black with only a modest living expenses being taken from them. There is no income from any other source to count on and everything has to come out of the papers. Including Mr. Smith's salary the couple's standard of living has been reduced to about 25 percent of what it was prior to 1956.

The strain of overwork for two and one-half years has been great-because the staff has been cut to the bone as well as the working force in the back shop-which means a great deal of work and worry for the couple. The bills which accumulated in 1956, when income did not take care of the operating expenses and savings and emergency funds were all spent, have not yet all been paid because there isn't enough money to pay them yet--and Mrs. Smith pays on them a few dollars as she can-enough to keep her credit good. But it's nip and tuck all the time.

WHAT'S NEEDED: Enough money to pay all past due bills and get on a sound financial basis-so that the couple can go on operating these papers to the best of their knowledge and beliefs in the interest of all of the people of the county and state.

This would keep at least one voice raised in the interest of truth, decency and justice in Mississippi and the South.

There are things to do

by

LILLIAN SMITH

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"Georgia Jungle." By Alexander Brook. *Courtesy The Carnegie Institute.*

SEARING NOVEL OF THE SOUTH

"Strange Fruit"—a Moving Dissection of Moral Dry-Rot in a Georgia Town

STRANGE FRUIT. By Lillian Smith. 371 pp. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock. $2.75.

By WILLIAM DU BOIS

CERTAINLY there is no thornier subject in our literature than our own Negro problem. Pushed into post-war limbo by Washington, befogged by local die-hards, special pleaders and national indifference, America's peculiar dilemma has waited a long time for understanding—and for a two-sided fictional treatment. In "Strange Fruit" Lillian Smith has come close to achieving that impossible goal. Writing with genuine compassion — constructing her pattern with the severity of a Greek dramatist—adding miscegenation and the macabre horror of a lynching, she has produced one of the most rewarding first novels to come out of the South in years.

Maxwell, Ga., is the author's cosmos—a turpentine-and-cotton town near the Florida line—an evangelist's paradise of sand roads, sulphur water and a Fundamentalist God. On College Street, termite-ridden "mansions" stand four-square on the sun-weary lawns; on Main, the railroad's right-of-way knifes through the town toward the pine-barrens and Jacksonville; back of the bank and Deen's drug store the alleys snake across the ball park and hammock to Colored Town. The time is the early Nineteen Twenties. Cotton is down, and field hands are scarce after the wartime exodus to the North. But Maxwell is confident of its ability to take unrest in its stride.

Miss Smith leaves no corner of her world unexplored; she makes each burn with a hot, sullen life of its own. The novel opens with a study of the Andersons, the town's "first" Negro family—college-trained, with the blood of unnamed white ancestors raising peculiar hell in their veins. Ed is the only one who has broken free—a clerk in Washington, he is back on a holiday, and finding new reasons to hate Maxwell at every turn. Bess and Nonnie, for all their education, cook for cracker families across the tracks. Bess is married to a Pullman porter. Nonnie, lovely and near-white, is in love with Tracy Dean, the son of Maxwell's leading doctor.

Once this impasse is established, Miss Smith moves across the color line to College Street—with Tracy's passion for Nonnie as the connecting thread down which the drama pulses. Not that the novel needs this conventional situation to make its point. On each page the reader sees how both elements in Maxwell are caught in a skein (economic, ethnic, emotional) that only evolution can untangle or revolution break.

But Miss Smith does not permit her theme to get in the way of her characters. Her picture gallery is enormously varied, though she never strays from her milieu. There is Bill Talley, the humorous sadist, who hunts black men for sport; Tom Harris, mill-owner and would-be liberal, who despises the chain-gang economics of his logging camp, yet never quite manages to pay a union wage; mill-hand Willie Echols, who hates the Negro as only the poor Southern white can hate. There are Prentiss Reid, the newspaper man, who reads Tom Paine and eats crow in his editorials; Miss Belle, a spinster tortured by a lifelong dream of rape; Tut Deen, pharmacist and bumbling G. P., who would rather go fishing than think things through—and Tut's quiet-Xantippe wife, to whom sin and change are synonyms, and man's waywardness the cross that lady Christians must bear—with dignity, of course. And there is Brother Dunwoodie, the ham evangelist, who thunders the rightness of white supremacy and the status quo and turns calmly aside when lynch law invades the town.

Each of these people could have slipped into caricature in less expert hands: Miss Smith has made the least of them deeply and terrifyingly human. Perhaps her most successful character is Sam Perry, the colored M. D., utterly devoted to his work, bowing to the Georgia mores with a patience that never quite breaks over into despair. But it is in the handling of the Tracy-Nonnie love affair that the novelist shows her deepest understanding. There is no distortion here, no forcing of the tragedy that slowly engulfs the lovers. If Nonnie and Tracy are each a symbol of their race, they are people, too. They take on reality from their weakness, their fumbling after an impossible ideal, their collapse in the face of an iron convention. And when tragedy strikes at last, it has an irony, a grotesque inevitability all its own—as though Tracy and Nonnie were created (by Maxwell's Fundamentalist God) to destroy one another.

With Tracy's death (at the hand of Nonnie's brother) the climax that has been steadily building under Maxwell's facade is free to break. After Nonnie has left her employer's wreath at the Deens' back door (and what a scene that turns out to be!); after the mourners have pulled out the last tremolo stop at Tracy's funeral, the chill leitmotif of lynch law can dominate at last:

> Down the sand roads of the county they had come. Bill and Dee and the others. From Sug Ruston's turpentine farm, and the cotton fields; from Harris' sawmill, from a shanty back of Shaky Pond, and Ellatown; from old Cap'n Rushton's Commissary and the logging camp. Roads threading whitely through the county, curving around oak-black lake and pond, pushing across swamp and hammock, tying its cotton and little *(Continued on Page 20)*

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Dry-Rot in Georgia

(Continued from Page 1)

cabins, its barrels of rosin and its turpentine and tall pines, mule and church and bank, white folks and black, to Maxwell and to each other. Down these roads they came, shadows falling foreshortened and stubby on palmetto clumps as they plodded along in the heat, hearts as slashed as the pines under which they paused now and then, bodies as drained as the sand at their feet. . . . And sometimes there was laughter, or drawled words of voices not unkind in sound and not without humor; but eyes were hard and hating as they hunted a black victim in sacrifice to an unknown god of whom they were sore afraid.

The lynch-mob strikes Maxwell, and finds its victim—not Tracy's killer, though that is only incidental. But even here, Miss Smith conveys her drama in strictly human terms. A Negro is burned alive in the ball park for all the town to see; the novelist conveys the horror, not by describing that scene directly, but by following her people home, both lynchers and onlookers, and showing the effect of this catharsis of hate, as Maxwell slips back into lethargy again—murder justified in its own group mind, its group soul at peace, its Fundamentalist God appeased. Tomorrow the shutters will be opened again in Colored Town. . . .

Even without her publisher's biographical notes, the reviewer would know instinctively that Lillian Smith had written this book out of the heart of her own life. Born into a Georgia family whose ancestry goes back to colonial times, she was raised and educated in the deep South. With three years out for teaching in a mission school in China, she has lived and worked in the deep South ever since. . . . Her "Strange Fruit" is a regional novel, in the finest sense. As such, it offers a magnificently detailed picture of the small-town South, lashed by an urge for self-destruction as old as time. The author has suggested no cure for that urge: you will find no black messiahs here, no white devils. . . . But the tragedy of the South is explicit in every line: the warped soul of Maxwell is nailed to the barn door for the world to see. "Strange Fruit" is an important book, by any standard. It should be required reading in every deanery, every parsonage—and every Legislature, on both sides of the Mason-Dixon Line.

Lillian Smith.

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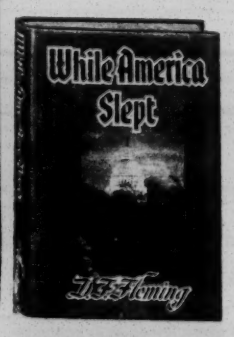

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April 24, 1944

Dear Lillian Smith:

This is by way of continuing the conversation which we began at Ira Reid's party some time ago. I didn't realize that the party was suddenly going to grow so big, or I would have talked much faster. I wanted to tell you a few more things about the SRC and chew the rag a little over the articles which you and Mr. Redding contributed to Common Ground. I had hoped to see you on another one of your trips to Atlanta, but I have been away most of the time — making speeches, seeing people, and trying to convince people that there are things to do. I have just received an invitation from the McClatchey's to come to their party for you on Friday afternoon, the 28th, but our Board of Directors is meeting that afternoon, and I won't have a chance.

Would you accept membership in the Council? Why you were not invited to the Atlanta conference in 1943, I don't know. I suppose it was for the same reason that I was not invited: the one or two persons who had most to do with making up the list probably didn't particularly like me. Whatever the reason you were not asked, I think it was a shame. Since the first group of charter members was made up arbitrarily of people who had attended one of the conferences and members of the Interracial Commission, you were also not invited to the charter meeting which took place on February 16-17. However, at this meeting the members had an opportunity to nominate additional charter members. Your name was among the first two or three to be nominated. There were quite a few nominations of persons whom we wanted very much to bring in as charter members. Well, after the meeting I was preparing letters of invitation to membership to these people when I was ~~rudely~~ jolted by an announcement by our counsel. He had been looking over the by-laws and the minutes of the charter-member meeting and of the Board of Directors which immediately followed it, and he had discovered that all of these people had only been "nominated" and that both the member meeting and the Board meeting had neglected to formally "elect" them. Furthermore, the Board had not set up a machinery so that we could proceed to invite or elect new members. Said counsel, "This is a corporation, and under its by-laws new members are elected only by the members or by the Board, or under definite rules prescribed by the Board. Too bad, but you have no authority to invite any of these people until the Board has met and authorized you to do so." Aren't lawyers terrible? Swell thing, to work so hard to set up a democratic structure with sovereignty absolutely vested in the members and then to get tangled in our own knitting! We've finally got a Board meeting lined up for April 28, and on that day you will most assuredly be "elected" in the most legal and approved manner. I'd like to know whether you would accept membership, because if you accept I would like to nominate you to the Board of Directors, since there is a vacancy to be filled. If you could drop me a note right away, I'd greatly appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

This letter got there long ago to be a bit late, but I have been too many interruptions, and now the Annual Meeting is to be to stop and get pace ahead.

COPY

SOUTH TODAY

Editor
Lillian E. Smith

Clayton, Georgia

June 12, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I want to apologize for the delay in acknowledging your very pleasant letter in which an invitation was given me to become a member of the Board of Directors of the Southern Regional Council.

I regret to say that I have already undertaken so much work and so many responsibilities in various southern and national organizations that I cannot accept more at the present time.

I would also like to be quite frank and say that while I appreciate the invitation, I would not feel comfortable as a member of any organization working for racial democracy that does not deem it important to take a firm and public stand in opposition to segregation and in defense of human equality.

Do not misunderstand me, there are many individuals in the S.R.C. whom I esteem highly. Many of them have made valuable contributions to the South. There are a few who are among my closest personal friends. Some of these, I know, hold firmly to the belief that it is most urgent to face segregation and attack it directly. But these few have not been among the policy-making group in the S.R.C. The policies, seem to have been decided upon pretty definitely by those who originally initiated the movement. And these policies, as far as I can now determine, could be changed only by a complete reorganization of the Council, and a profound alteration in the point of view of those now in control of its policies.

As you would doubtless agree, we are facing a most serious crisis in our American life today. We need new technics, a more profound philosophy, and all the courage that we are capable of, in order to avoid tragedy. I think we have looked at the Negro problem long enough. We need to right-about-face and study the problem of the white man, and the deep-rooted needs that have caused him to seek the strange, narcissistic satisfactions that are derived from worshipping his own skin-color. The white man himself is one of the world's most urgent problems

today; not the Negro, nor other colored races. We whites must learn to confess this.

Segregation is not merely a southern tradition, a result of poverty, of certain economic patterns, etc. etc. Segregation is an ancient, psychological mechanism used by men the world over, whenever they want to shut themselves away from problems which they fear and do not feel they have the strength to solve. When men get into trouble they tend to put barriers between themselves and their difficulties. We white people got into deep trouble long ago when we attempted to enslave other human beings. A trouble we have never faced fully and never tried with all our strength to solve. Instead, we have tried to push it away from us; and in trying, we have used a mechanism so destructive that it, in itself, has become a menace to the health of our culture and our individual souls. Segregation is a way of life that is actually a form of cultural schizophrenia, bearing a curious resemblance to the schizophrenia of individual personality. It is a little chilling to note the paranoid symptoms of those among us who defend segregation: their violence, their sensitiveness to criticism, their over-esteem of themselves, their stereotyped replies to critics, their desire to withdraw from everything hard to face.

Racial segregation, political and economic isolationism cannot be considered apart from man's whole personality, his culture, his needs. Neither can man's needs be considered apart from the destroying effects of segregation. Nor can the South's major problems be solved by trying to put a loaf of bread, a book, and a ballot, in every one's hand. For man is not an economic or political unit. To believe that he is, is to ignore personality and cheapen the human spirit. And by ignoring personality, we over-simplify a complex, subtle, tragically profound problem. It helps us sometimes to see this in perspective if we will look at the restricting frame of segregation in terms of the needs of children. A child's personality cannot grow and mature without self-esteem, without feelings of security, without faith in his world's willingness to make room for him to live as a human being. Self-esteem and emotional security are to character what vitamins are to the body. No colored child in our South is being given today what his personality needs in order to grow and mature richly and fully. No white child, under the segregation pattern, can be free of arrogance and hardness of heart, and blindness to human need- and hence no white child can grow freely and creatively under the crippling frame of segregation.

I personally, would prefer that my own child do without shoes than do without the esteem of his fellows and I would prefer that he never look into a book than that he look down upon another human being. We simply cannot turn away and refuse to look at what segregation is doing to the personality and character of every child, every grown up, white and colored, in the South today. Segregation is spiritual lynching. The lynched and the lynchers are our own people, our own selves.

Twenty-Fourth June
1 9 4 4

Miss Lillian Smith, Editor
South Today
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Many thanks for the privilege of reading copy of letter to Dr. Johnson in which you decline membership in the Southern Regional Council. I admire your frankness but I do not admire the superficial way in which you treated the issue in question. You are capable of bringing to this question a more constructive appraisal than the one contained in the letter to Dr. Johnson.

May I say at the outset that I admire whites of the North for any boldness they may evince in grappling with the color question. But I have a kind of super-admiration for courageous whites of the South who dare to be democratic and Christian. Be you therefore assured in advance of my deep appreciation for what you are dong and it is this deep appreciation that forces me to take time out to write you in order that you may think further on this matter of declining an opportunity to do something constructive for the improvement of race relations in this our Southland.

Because the major portion of the dirty work in bringing the Durham Conference to realization, the Southern Regional Council is close to my heart, not because it is perfect but because it faces squarely a burning issue and faces it realistically. You would deny your influence and helpfulness to the cause just because we did not denounce more strongly segregation. You have made segregation your main issue. Miss Anderson of Common Ground and Professor Redding did the same thing. I was among those who felt that in our Durham Statement we might have omitted a statement on segregation in its entirety so long as all we asked was within the framework of segregation just as all past and present Negro progress is within the framework of segregation. However, I said at the Durham Conference if we mentioned segregation we would have to condemn it. This we did but we did not spend all of our energies denouncing segregation, for we realised that segregation as a social pattern is not going to be destroyed merely by fiery and scholarly denunciations, and so did Monroe Trotter and John Mitchell. I am not prepared to say that the denunciations of the present are more brilliant than those of the past. But segregation is still with us. You are not more opposed to segregation than the writers of the Durham Manifesto.

I am bitterly and unalterably opposed to segregation for reasons you and most opponents thereof never mention, namely because it is a form of elimination. Segregation of the Negroes themselves will go ! Knowing this I am unalterably and eternally opposed to it. But how are we to get rid of it is the question. I have been amazed with the superficial way in which you and Miss Anderson and Mr. Redding treated this whole matter of segregation. You seem to begin and end with a denunciation of segregation. You seem to overlook the major fact that segregation is a manifestation of racial prejudice and as such becomes incidental while race prejudice is fundamental. If a fraction of the time spent in denouncing segregation were spent in seeking ways and means of exterminating race prejudice my cause would be immeasurably advanced. The Southern Regional Council seeks to destroy race prejudice by getting after the roots of prejudice many of which are rooted in misunderstanding. It matters not how slow is such process it must prede any constructive interracial adjustments. In the long run we go farther and go faster by facing the ugly facts that sociological processes cannot be ignored however disinclined we may be to face the fact due to the urgencies of the hour. What we are trying to do

must be done if race relations are ever t obe adjusted in this nation and world.

Your whole letter was beautifully analytical of race prejudice but you did not once prescribe a remedy and remember any remedy must be employed by both the white and the Negro South if it is to get anywhere in relieving the situation. Your position was essentially diagnostic but we of the Southern Regional Council have passed the diagnostic stage; we are trying to approach constructively the matter of therapy. You who make the whole issue one of segregation are overlooking the matter of prejudice, the more fundamental issue that we of the Southern Regional Council are trying to face. We are therefore facing the issue of segregation quite as squarely as you but we are less superficial in our general interpretation of the situation.

In your astute psychological analyses of race prejudice, you might have added with considerable force the pathology of the mental conflict. This is infinitely more disastrous to the whites than to the Negroes. While it is perfectly natural and normal for an oppressed group to resent their oppressions and oppressors, it is not natural nor normal for a man to profess one thing and practice another. In the long run there is something morally deteriorating about professing Christianity and practicing hypocrisy. Within recent months my major emphasis has been centered about this same danger in the mental conflict and whereas the older whites seem to ignore it the younger whites I am glad to say have faced with deep concern the tragic possibilities which inhere.

To sum up: The greatest difference between you and us of the Southern Regional Council is you seem chiefly concerned in getting something said; we are chiefly concerned in getting something done. You are primarily interested in denouncing the effects; we are primarily interested in attacking and destroying the cause. You are interested mainly in the incidental and we in the fundamental. You want a revolution--possibly an evolutionary revolution--we want an evolution--possibly a revolutionary ~~evolutionary revolution~~ evolution. I am sure you do not profess to say where one leaves off and the other begins. In other words we want the same thing and our modus operandi is our main difference. The absolutism you apparently would suggest in interracial adjustment is unscientific in the premise. Relativism has supplanted absolutism as a philosophical concept.

With deep appreciation for all you mean and do, I am

Yours very faithfully,

Gordon Hancock

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Yours very faithfully,

Gordon Hancock

Smith

June 26, 1944

Miss Lillian E. Smith
Clayton
Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Let me thank you for your letter of June 12. I regret that you do not see your way clear to becoming a member of the Southern Regional Council and of its Board of Directors, but I appreciate your position as set forth so forcefully in the letter. Since you feel that there is a more or less hopeless incompatibility between your position and the position of the Council, I think that your decision is quite understandable.

Thank you for sending copies of your letter to our Board of Directors and to other persons. Several of our directors have told me that they have not yet received a copy. I am very anxious that all of them see your letter, so I am enclosing a complete list of their names and addresses. I know that your burden of correspondence is very heavy, and if you want to check this list against yours, we shall be glad to send out copies to those who are not on your list.

Can't you pay us a visit some time? I am looking forward to the pleasure of a long conversation.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Enclosure

SOUTH TODAY

EDITORS
LILLIAN E. SMITH
PAULA SNELLING

CLAYTON, GEORGIA

June 12, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta,3,Georgia

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CLAYTON, GEORGIA

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CLAYTON, GEORGIA

to make room for him to live as a human being. Self-esteem and emotional security are to character what vitamins are to the body. No colored child in our South is being given today what his personality needs in order to grow and mature richly and fully. No white child, under the segregation pattern, can be free of arrogance and hardness of heart, and blindness to human need- and hence no white child can grow freely and creatively under the crippling frame of segregation.

I personally, would prefer that my own child do wihout shoes than do without the esteem of his fellows and I would prefer that he never look into a book than that he look down upon another human being. We simply cannot turn away and refuse to look at what segregation is doing to the personality and character of every child, every grown up, white and colored, in the South today. Segregation is spiritual lynching. The lynched and the lynchers are our own people, our own selves.

These are grave matters to me, troubling matters, which I feel must be faced, discussed, analyzed. For problems must be enunciated before we can know clearly what they are. We who do not believe in segregation must say so. We must say why segregation is unendurable to the human spirit. We must somehow find the courage to say it aloud. For, however we rationalize our silence, it is fear that is holding our tongues today. A widespread denial of a belief in segregation will shake the pattern to its roots. Each of us, in our hearts, knows this. In the beginning was the Word and today the Word is still powerful. To remain silent while the demagogues, the Negro haters, the racists, loudly reaffirm their faith in segregation and the spiritual lynching which this way of life inflicts, is to be traitorous to everything that is good and creative and sane in human values. I believe the time has come when we must take our stand.

In a recent issue of Common Ground, you seemed to criticize me and others who take seriously segregation and its effect upon human beings. You called us 'lonely souls', 'peak gazers'... In reply, may I say that I am proud to be a 'peak gazer'. I am proud to be one of the 'lonely souls',

SOUTH TODAY

EDITORS
LILLIAN E. SMITH
PAULA SNELLING

CLAYTON, GEORGIA

(although I must confess that 'lonely' may be a bit exaggerated as a description of my situation today!) You also said we (the lonely souls) "denounce segregation and are powerless to do anything about it." I doubt that you believe that. We have good evidence, certainly, that the Negro-haters and demagogues do not believe in our futility. They fight the people they fear and at present a good many guns are being turned in our direction.

One of the leaders of the S.R.C. in answer to a friend's inquiry as to why I had not been invited to the earlier policy-forming meetings of the Southern Regional Council, replied that my presence in their organization would be a handicap. I have seen the letter. Well...I am the same Lillian Smith. As far as I can discern, the organization is the same organization, with the same policies, attitudes, and people in control that it had at the time the letter was written.

I dislike to bring up these personal matters. I do not care for personal fights and I feel they are a great waste of emotion and energy that could be used more effectively in creative ways. And I am not going to fight individuals in the S.R.C. or carry on the controversy further by replying to your article in Common Ground although I was invited to. But as long as the leaders of the S.R.C. or any one who speaks officially for it belittle those who take a firm stand against segregation, as long as they refuse as a group to come to grips with this urgent problem, I would not deem it wise to have any connection with it. I fear my efforts would be ineffective, smothered by the official attitude; and I think also that my presence would still be embarrassing to many of its leaders. Hence, with an expression of thanks I decline the invitation.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Smith

Lillian Smith

Copies to the Board of Directors
of the Southern Regional Council

July 20, 1944

Miss Lillian Smith
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

I read with interest and general approval your letter of June 12 to Dr. Johnson. I think your thesis is sound. Furthermore, I would not have you change one whit either your platform or your allegiance or fidelity to it.

But I think the Negroes at Durham were trying to find a program of action which they could unite behind, and if possible, one that they could get the influential and powerful white South to accept, even if they were not actively behind it. Obviously. they were forced, with this aim, to face and to choose at the outset one of two paths: They could go to the root of the thing, which was segregation, and dedicate themselves to the immediate abolition of segregation, which admittedly, is the root of all the evils in the South. If and when it is wiped out, it makes possible everything else we want. Or they could attempt to by-pass this hedgerow, or strong point, by going on to things that seemed now possible of accomplishment, and which if accomplished in the plurality might mean the ultimate fall of segregation, and at the worst, would certainly weaken the hedgerow of segregation and make it easier to take by encirclement.

I don't, as a member of the Southern Regional Council, accept the position of being opposed to your thesis that segregation is the root of this matter. I insist that I am on your side there and we are agreed there as one. The real issue is whether it is permissible to postpone a direct attack on segregation, while attacking questions of equality in pay, upping the rights of labor,--oh, why mention them, you know all the rest of them. I was not at Durham, but when I read the Durham Statement, I thought it was practical and laid a course which might speed the solution of our problems here.

I will come back to that Durham Statement and its purposes later, now may I suggest that a direct attack upon segregation in the South would array against us solidly, stubbornly, and I'd say overwhelmingly, the complete opposition of practically all of the whites in office and in power. In that view, we probably would lose the friends that we now have, and who would be afraid to array themselves against the demagogues and reactionaries, who are most bitter in playing up this question of segregation,--open opposition to segregation is often called "Negro loving."

So while I think you as a Southern woman have done, and are doing, the most Christian-like thing that I have noticed anywhere, I think we as Southern Negroes have to choose and find our medium of most effective work and take it fearlessly, as you have taken your course. They are not necessarily the same, even though we do agree on the identical principles and the identical requisites for destroying segregation. How we can do the thing from our respective positions depends upon the circumstances and conditions in which we find ourselves.

Perhaps I can put what I am trying to say another way: I believe in the NAACP, which doesn't compromise on any issue, and I not only support it financially but I serve on committees, go to see the people, carry their stories, make editorial comment, go in the courts and fight uncompromisingly on the ir program. I think it is essential and I don't think it should change, and I think we need it. But I also think that there was a field for the Interracial Commission, and there was a field for the Southern Regional Council, and we need the type of thing that they could do just as much, and on occasions more, as we need the NAACP. We who are the minority, and who have such a large job, must learn to use all of the techniques to accomplish our purpose.

So I hold that the real issue isn't whether the SRC agrees that segregation must be destroyed before we can ever get real justice for Negroes in the South, the real issue is whether or not the SRC can in good faith by-pass segregation, temporarily, admitting that it is the core of the problem, or whether they must pitch their fight on that line and stand there if it takes all winter. Just as Russia has always left troops to make frontal attacks on the hedges by-passes, I think you should be where you are and stay there, but I think it is just as legitimate for the other forks of the Army to by-pass the hedge, and get to where it can cut behind it and encircle it and cut it off from its protection and support, as it is that we have the frontal assault. We must recognize that there is no one way to settle this problem, and that there are many facets to it.

I confess I have been troubled somewhat in my own mind as to whether the Southern Regional Council is following the Durham Statement as to purpose. I thought the whole reason for by-passing an immediate and direct attach on segregation was that we could have active, South-wide effort on the other things that we took as our immediate goals. Admittedly we are slow in the SRC to produce the type of activity which would justify our by-passing the hedge.

I for one don't think it will be sufficient to major in research, as a justification for passing the hedge of segregation. For we could make direct claims against segregation and go ahead with all the research we wanted without being hampered on it. It seems to me that it is only justifiable when, by not taking any stand to crystallize opposition of white Southerners against us, we get their cooperation actively on the things that are happening today, and will be happening when this war is over, to make this a better South.

Certainly, unless we are going to activate the things set out in the Durham Conference, by getting the support of the infuuential whites, there is no justification for avoiding the attack on segregation today. In my mind the main question is whether or not the SRC has had time to break down and adopt its real program, or whether we should be patient to see if it is going to swing into use of the thing that we were supposed to have been getting when we by-passed segregation.

For my part, I am not sorry that you wrote your article in Common Ground, or that Dr. Johnson answered you. The issue concerns the whole South, and to some extent the nation. The best way to clarify it is through discussion, and in my thinking discussion is no good unless it is honest and based upon an honest marshaling of the facts and ideas. It may be well to leave it out of the public press for a while, but I certainly think that the discussion through mail and in private conservation should go on, until we have at least crystallized the opinion of the better thinking Southerners on this all-important question.

Thanks for sending me acopy of your letter and I hope you will carry on the scrap, and may the best wbman win.

Very truly yours,

Carter Wesley

/d

cc: Executive Committee,
Southern Regional Council

August 4, 1944

Miss Lillian Smith,
Clayton,
Georgia.

Dear Miss Smith:

The copy of your letter to Dr. Johnson called my attention again to the articles in Common Ground which, when I read them, caused me to say to myself, "You'll have to do something about this, since, unless you've been dropped from the rolls (I didn't get to a meeting that was held this year) of the Southern Regional Council, you're due to write Dr. Johnson a letter." The copy of your letter to Dr. Johnson has served to give my mind and conscience a needed nudge and I am indebted to you for this.

I do not believe in segregation. I could not have been as profoundly influenced as I have been by the writings of Jane Addams and by living at Hull House and emerge from the experience a believer in segregation. Furthermore, segregation has no place in the philosophy and objectives of social work, it is counter to the ideals of the profession. My problem is one of the ways and means of practicing this belief - one concerned with the strategy of action. This problem does not arise with respect to my classroom teaching, the hundreds of white Southern students who have attended the Tulane University School of Social Work are aware of those aspects of the "race problem" that belong to the white man and they no doubt as to the convictions of the faculty on matters of race relations. However, in social work the "Word" must be linked with the Deed, even though the Deed may be but imperfectly conceived and imperfectly carried out. It is in relating the "Word" to the Deed that difficulties arise, and questions as to what to do, when to do it, and how to do it appear.

Social workers through a long experience with social reform, or as it is now called, Social action, are very aware of the implications of the word, social, when it is tied to action. The hoary abominations of society, of which segregation is one, can only be done away with through the "steady effort to accumulate facts and exalt the human will." To do this requires the cooperation of many people and to secure this cooperation, to make it effective it is usually necessary to proceed through an attach on a given and real situation. Even segregation can too often be turned into an abstraction like the Devil we talk about,

describe as evil, and fail to recognize when we meet him face to face in our own front yard. To put one's finger and attention on a specific devil when appears, for example, in the form of separate waiting rooms for whites and Negroes, or separate staff rooms for white and Negro professional personnel in a social agency, to recognize and to exorcize him when he takes this guise, is an illustration of the long pull with respect to specific situations. I always remember the Y. W. C. A. Board member who want on record as approving the Industrial Division's statement regarding collective bargaining and then a week later, when faced with a specific situation, promptly reversed her approval since she had discovered that trade unions had something to do with collective bargaining.

Although in the short view we appear to inch along, situation by situation, any long view shows a substantial total of gains to the credit of that minority group known as social workers. Being human, some of us get tired too soon, others lack persistence it takes to continue year in and year out the "long, sweaty routine of building social justice and economic security." There are always debatable points regarding the ways and means of building, how fast we can go and still consolidate gains, how slowly and not lose all. To secure the understanding and cooperation of many people, of laymen with diverse interests and beliefs is a difficult and often a slow business. I've no doubt but that very often we move too slowly, that out timing is imperfect; for example, I am very impatient with our present slowness with respect to certain matters of race relations, for now is the time to run, not walk. The "white supremacy" boys are running and shouting as they go, their Words are effective, since it's easier to appeal to the forces of destruction than to those of cooperation and constructive change.

The demagoges "go to town" because, on the whole, the Southern highways are clear. We've all the "facts and figures" we need about Negro-white relations in the South and North, the tragedy lies in our inability to marshall our forces, plan a program of action (including more than statements of policy, and resolutions), give some priority listing to the problems we will take action on as well as to ways and means, and then act. Perhaps the S. R. C. should let those members go who at this time want a slow educational program that all too often turns out to be only slow. (Since I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Johnson, it will serve as a request for a statement covering the program of the S.R.C. as well as some discussion of the implementation of this program. I have been neither an active nor an effective member of the S.R.C., at the few meetings I have

attended I've been a listener and a learner. I gained much of interest and use to me but I contributed little.) I'm enclosing a newspaper clipping you've probably seen regarding a recent episode in Jackson, it's a particularly hideous episode - one needs not too much imagination to sense the fear of the Negro - the easy way our white police shoot Negroes is as typical as is the "closing of the case." One need only change the scene of action to Germany, the Negro to a Jew, the detective to a member of the Gestapo, the citizens of Jackson to good German Christians!

The strategy of any action with respect to any problem such as segregation charged with fear and all we label as irrational is a complex rather than a simple strategy. I do not think that those like yourself, who choose to fight segregation directly - to make one aspect of this issue, the issue in their platform are "lonely souls" or "star gazers". I simply think that you and they choose to fight with different weapons and on one of the many fronts that make up the segregation battle area.

I think that the differences between yourself and some of the others interested in race relations can be increased or decreased. I would, of course, like to have them decreased since men and women of good will need to pool their strength. You write, "I, personally, would prefer that my own child do without shoes than do without the esteem of his fellows and I would prefer that he never look into a book than he look down upon another human being." You sound very either-orish, you talk as though people actually are presented with such choices. Shoes and esteem, books and fellowship, we want them all, we need them all, we may or may not get them. If you are to define segregation exclusively in your own phychological terms, then the differences between yourself and others interested in "race relations" will increase. If, however, it is agreed that there are patterns of segregation such as those that are found in residential areas, schools, courts, industries, at the polls, in hotels and eating places, on parks and playgrounds, as well as within the human mind, it can be seen that there is not just one aspect to segregation and not just one method of attack on it. I would agree with you that segregation with respect to persons in the places I've mentioned springs from the ideas that possess men. You may well ask why I then am not willing to put all attention and effort behind the job of releasing men from these possessive ideas. To which I will reply, I <u>am</u> advocating this, for I am of the opinion that the <u>process</u> of attacking such instances, is the means men and women use to free themselves from such possessive ideas. Freedom from the irrational is, as you know, far from being an original possession or gift. It is something to be achieved, more often thought, through retail rather than through wholesale methods, through action that vivifies and keeps the Word alive and meaningful.

I sound much more positive about all this than I really am. I too am very troubled, I often think how ironic it is to be chalking up "progress" when and if we really achieve the th eoretical definition of segregation (separate but equal treatment of equals). I would, for example, consider it a step in advance, given things as they are on the Southern scene, to obtain federal funds to enable us to equalize the educational opportunities for white and Negro children. I would prefer to obtain equal educational opportunities for white and Negro children without separation. I think, however, that this is impossible within my lifetime and yours; I see no virtue in becoming a martyr for a cause, I'm much more inclined therefore to take what I have some chance of getting a piece of at a time. Separate but equal treatment remains a step in advance over much that we now have. Again this is not an either-or proposition for, in some areas, we can obtain equal treatment of equals without the separation. Sometimes separation is reduced largely to a symbol, the green curtain in the diner.

I am not seeking to deny the truth contained in your statement that, "Segregation is spiritual lynching". I have no piece of teaching material as effective as your article, "Growing Into Freedom". In my opinion the S.R.C. should distribute this article for use in Southern schools and colleges. For, as Jane Addams pointed our, "Merely to inform people that such and such a group conflict is based upon ethnological misunderstanding, will not do away either with the conflict or its emotional associations in the minds of those implicated. The entire race situation demonstrates once more that mere information is not enough and that the various research bodies need to be constantly supplemented." Your article and your activities are for the illustrations of such supplementations. It is easier to accumulate facts, to let those become inert, than it is to "exalt the human will". Some of us can collect facts, some of us can keep the facts alive, but few of us can do what you can, i.e. "exalt the human will."

I regret more than I can tell you your refusal to become a member of the Board of Directors of the S. R. C. Your refusal prompts me to ask you where you expect to find a "prefabricated air-conditioned New Jerusalem?" Surely not in the deep South. I can't see withdrawing or refusing to work with others because of being unable to see eye to eye with them. How can you persuade others to see your way if you stay apart from them? You say that you can't be everywhere, that you have "so many responsibilities in various souterhn and national organizations" that you can't "accept more at the present time, "that "you would not feel comfortable as a member of any organization that does not seem it important to take a firm and public stand in opposition to segregation and in defense of human equality."

Since you assure Dr. Johnson that you are the "same Lillian Smith" your highlighting of your own comfort is a ray of humor in an otherwise serious note of refusal. You may say that there are groups and groups and that you prefer to put in your efforts where you think they will gain the most response. I'm not questioning this for the choice is yours to make but I am registering my regret over the fact that you have refused to become a member of the Board of the S.R.C. I am sending Dr. Johnson a copy of this letter for I hope that he will urge you to reconsider your decision.

Very sincerely,

Florence Sytz

cc: Dr. Johnson

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February 14, 1955

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

FEB 16 1955

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

At the suggestion of Mr. Harold Moon of the NAACP, I am sending you a copy of Lillian Smith's Now Is the Time, which we published last week. The attached release will give you a general idea of the book's scope and message.

As we note in our release, our aim in simultaneous publication of this work with Dell Publishers is the very sincere hope that it will reach the broadest possible readership. It is also our hope that organizations concerned with the urgent problems discussed in Now Is the Time will want to aid in the dissemination of the book -- or at least in spreading the news of it. It seemed to me that the church groups in your Council might well have such an interest. In any event, I would be happy to learn of any suggestions you would have with regard to the promotion of this little volume.

Most sincerely,

Patricia MacManus

Patricia MacManus
Publicity Director

PMM/bmk

Smith, Lillian

February 18, 1955

Miss Patricia MacManus
Publicity Director
The Viking Press, Inc.
18 East Forty-Eighth Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Miss MacManus:

We are very much interested in Lillian Smith's new book and are already doing things to get it around. I have written Lillian Smith in warm praise of the book.

We have a meeting of church women coming up next week and I will have the copy of Viking Press' edition of it available for them to see. I confess that we have boughted the Dell edition for each of the ladies, but they will faithfully be shown the better edition.

If the book can get around widely in the South, it just might do its job.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

August 1, 1957

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Your article in the current Progressive reminded me that I had not thanked you for sending the copy of your recent Atlanta speech to me. Harold Fleming and I do appreciate your interest.

Enclosed is a copy of the Semi-Annual Report which Harold and I thought might interest you. Harold is away on vacation but before he left he asked that I also express his appreciation to you.

Again thanks and very best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

file Lillian Smith

December 16, 1957

No Easy Way, Now

A noted novelist who lives in Georgia asks why so few Southerners have spoken up publicly against segregation

by LILLIAN SMITH

WITH A FEW shining exceptions, when crisis has come to the Southern community the mob has come also; agitators have moved in; the people have seemed indifferent to law and order; the demagogues have put on their usual subversive act; the unwashed and illiterate and criminal and psychotic elements have taken over our streets. And we who think we are free and strong and intelligent suddenly realize we are dominated—not by a dictator but by a dictating idea.

The realization comes to us slowly but it finally strikes deep: that this dictating idea is embodied in a rabble so powerful that the police force, the churches, the best leadership of the community are helpless to deal with it.

How is this possible? Where does the mob's strength come from? It must have enormous strength to paralyze the people as it seems to do. It, apparently, has an almost magic power over men's minds for again and again we have watched a community grow mute and helpless when the mob gathers on the street.

But, when one looks for its strength one is puzzled. Actually, this mob which I shall call Mob No. 1, is few in number, its members are weak in community influence, many of them have criminal records, their intelligence quotients would certainly run pretty low: they are nothing but the riffraff, the hoodlums with no visible source of strength at all.

Then where on earth does their power come from?

To find its source, we must take two journeys:

The first one will be short. All we need do is walk over to Main Street and enter a few modern air-conditioned offices. There, sitting at their desks, are the men who quietly protect the rabble and give it its hidden strength. Some of these men are bankers, doctors, lawyers, engineers, newspaper editors and publishers; a few are preachers; some are powerful industrial leaders; most are known only in their home towns and state; but others have important connections in New York City and Washington. They hold not only economic power but moral and civic power, for they sit on church and education boards, on health boards, on various local and state planning committees.

This is Mob No. 2. Not all our business and professional men belong to it, by any means. But many do. It is a quiet well-bred mob. Its members speak in cultivated voices, have courteous manners, some have university degrees, and a few wear Brooks Brothers suits. But they are a mob, nevertheless. For they not only protect the rabble, and tolerate its violence, they *think in the same primitive mode,* they share the same irrational anxieties, they are *just as lawless in their own quiet way,* and they are dominated by the same "holy idea" of white supremacy.

They don't dynamite houses and churches—they leave that to Mob No. 1. They smother: By their use of boycott, by their quiet threats, and economic pressures, by suppression of news, they strip college professors, school teachers, preachers, writers, reporters, editors, students, their own employees, and many other white Southerners of their Constitutional rights to speak and write—and to be heard. These are precious rights to Americans. A man who takes them away from us is a law-breaker; as much one as is the rough-neck who throws his weight around on the street. And, in my opinion, far more dangerous.

Yet, because most people think only something noisy is violent, they tend to be deaf to this insidious form of spiritual violence, this whispered contempt for law—which is taking over much of our South, and is creeping into the North, also.

The men in Mob No. 2 are, for the most part, responsible, sensible professional and businessmen who have often shown a generous concern for the welfare of their community. They are usually completely reliable in their business affairs. Then why would they play this shady role of protector of the street mob? Why would they be willing to strip their fellow-citizens of their freedom of

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LILLIAN SMITH *is the author of* Strange Fruit *and many other books and articles. This article is taken from an address to the Arkansas Council on Human Relations.*

energy and of ideas than dynamic and imaginative policies do. That this atrophy of government, inevitably resulting from the atrophy of its purposes, has been acutely aggravated by the lapse of leadership at the top is too obvious to require elaboration; but it might be pointed out that that lapse of leadership was, in turn, made possible and perhaps even temporarily tolerable by that decline in purpose.

When we speak of the atrophy of government, we obviously do not refer to the quantity of institutions and their activities which go by the name of government; for there has been no decline of those. What we have in mind is a subtle quality which is vital to a democratic government: its quality as a teacher and leader. In its absence the government cannot govern in a truly democratic fashion, that is, with the freely given consent of the governed. Modern government—democratic or non-democratic—is not merely the formulation and execution of policies. It is also and necessarily the creation of public consent for the policies formulated and to be executed. In non-democratic societies this consent is created by the government's monopolistic manipulation of the mass media of communication. Democracies create it ideally through the free interplay of plural opinions and interests, out of which the consensus of the majority emerges.

SECRECY AND MISREPRESENTATION

From these different conceptions of consent two different attitudes toward secrecy and truth follow. A non-democratic government can afford to conceal and misrepresent because there are no autonomous social forces which could expose it to scrutiny and propose factual and political alternatives. Under certain conditions, it will even be compelled to conceal and misrepresent because it will have no other way to create consent for its policy. A democratic government, while having an obvious advantage in the contest of opinion, ideally at least can neither afford nor does it need to conceal and misrepresent. A responsible parliament and an alert public opinion force it to lay its cards on the table or at the very least check the government version of the truth against their own. And the assumption of democratic pluralism that neither the government nor anybody else has a monopoly of truth in matters political minimizes the temptation for the government to impose its version upon society by concealment and misrepresentation.

It is the measure of the decline of democratic government in the United States that the Administration has—not on occasion but consistently—concealed from the people and its elected representatives information in both the most vital and the most trivial matters and misrepresented the truth known to it. The Administration has been aware for a considerable period of time of the deterioration of American power in comparison with that of the Soviet Union, yet its most eminent spokesmen have assured us time and again that our strength *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union was unimpaired if not actually increased. To this day what we have been told officially is at best but a hint of the actual state of affairs. To speak of very trivial things in passing, the American people have not been allowed to learn what present the King of Saudi Arabia gave the President on his visit in January, 1957.

Secrecy and misrepresentation, not as occasional aberrations but as a system of government, are in our case intimately related to the atrophy of government of which we have spoken earlier. The Administration, philosophically and politically committed to stagnation, and hence unable to lead and educate, has put appearance in the place of substance. Thus it is not by accident that the techniques of advertising have so thoroughly replaced the processes of free discussion in the relations between government and people. Judged by the standards of advertising, the result has been gratifying. The Administration has been popular, and the people have been happy. Yet judged by the standards of the American destiny and survival, the result has been disquieting in the extreme. We witness the beginning of a crisis of confidence in the Administration, and we must beware lest it turn into a crisis of confidence in the democratic processes themselves.

Before men want to be governed well, they want to be governed. Before they choose between good and bad policies, they want some policies to choose from. The great revolutions of the modern age—from the French Revolution of 1789 through the two Russian revolutions of 1917 and the Fascist revolutions in Italy and Germany to the Chinese revolution of the 40's—were carried forward by men who were dismayed not only at being governed badly but also and more importantly at not being governed enough. These revolutions owed their success to the determination and ability of their leaders to seize power, to hold it, and to use it, to govern perhaps badly but firmly. The modern masses have risen in despair and fury not against some particular policy, but against the weakness of government, reflected in spectacular failures.

Of the failures which are likely to be in store for us, we have only had a first and very partial glimpse. We are but at the beginning of our disillusions, frustrations, and tribulations. Faced with this crisis in its fortunes, as taxing as any it has experienced, the nation certainly stands in need of sound policies. What it needs worse is a government which restores its sense of mission, which galvanizes its latent energies by giving them a purpose, which, in short, is the guardian of the nation's past and an earnest of its future. The nation has no such government now.

speech and belief? Do we know? I am not sure that they, or we, understand their motivations.

But we need to understand. We need to find out why they are willing to risk so much of our future for so little of our past.

To find the answer, we must search for Mob No. 3.

This will take us on a much longer journey. For it leads us back home into the secret places of our hearts and minds. Mob No. 3 lives in the depths of every man's mind: It is activated by primitive fears, hatreds, guilts, some of which have nothing whatever to do with race. It is nourished on anxiety about the body image, on anxiety about our personal relationships, and on the terrors that rise like a miasma from ancient myths of birth, death, blood, heredity, animals, darkness. . . .

Mob No. 3 makes its home on the prehistoric, mythic level of the human mind. We are born possessing this symbolizing layer of mind—and everybody in the South seems to have an extra amount of it! It is a pity that reason is not also born in us. But we know, of course, that it is not: It is a talent, a skill, a method which has to be developed; we have the potentials, all right, for logical thinking but we are not born thinking logically. And unless we live in a culture which develops this skill in its people, we tend to have little of it.

It would be so much easier for us, when we are faced with crisis, were our mythic mind only a matter of emotions. We could then push it aside and say: "Let's not feel; let's think it out; let's be realistic." But often, when we assume we are speaking realistically, we are merely talking on a primitive level. The mythic mind has its *own mode of thinking* which is of a different nature from that of reason—and because it does think and talk in a different fashion, it can easily trick us. And often does.

When we reason, we look at facts; we evaluate them; we check and doublecheck for accuracy; then we put fences around their significance. We say, "Within this framework this concept is valid; outside this framework it loses much of its validity." Reason defines precisely; it tends to stave off generalization until it has collected enough facts and related them to each other and to a sufficient number of external situations to make the generalization stick. The chief characteristic of discursive logic is its tendency *always to relate its facts to those in the outside world.* (I hope you will forgive me for reminding you of what everyone of us knows, when we stop to think about it.)

On the other hand, the primitive mind never relates: it merges. It is like a whale: it swallows everything in one awful gulp. It reaches out and pulls in the most disparate facts, feelings, situations and concepts and squeezes them into one tight obsessive idea.

Its capacity for coexistence with inconsistency and irrelevance is unlimited. It takes the most diverse events and presses them into the same mold. A case in point is the facility with which Senator Talmadge, in a recent speech, stated that the marching-in of our American troops to Little Rock was of the same moral order as the Communists sending the Russian troops into Hungary That ridiculous, false analogy came out of Mr. Talmadge's mythic mind and slipped immediately without criticism into millions of Southern mythic minds, and quite a few Northern ones, too; and it lies there, today, festering with resentment.

Above all else, the mythic mind is demiurgic in its nature: It creates. It never criticizes itself or its own acts. Why should it? That is reason's job: to compare, measure, weigh, collect, test against past and present knowledge. Not so the mythic mind: It is impelled to make things, bad or good; to create things, bad or good. It can stir up a mob—or it can stir up a great symphony; it can scream lies and false analogies as our demagogues do (and a lot of other folks) or it can write a great poem, like Eliot's *Burnt Norton.* It can dream up obscene idolatries or the great religions of the world.

But only when mated with reason and critical intelligence can the mythic mind become the fabulous creative imagination which invents, discovers, builds, writes, paints what man looks at and calls great; only when it is impregnated with man's longing to be good, with his concern for others, with his hunger for meaning, his need for a significant place in the universe can it dream of God—or dream of man himself, growing in wisdom and awareness and grace.

Without this mythic mind, we should be less than animals and less than machines. For, of course, our power to symbolize comes out of it, and without symbols we could not reason, and without symbolic forms there would be no language, no art, no science, no great religions. Yet, when it is not controlled by self-criticism and reason and by the great ethical ideas so slowly thrust up through the centuries, and by concern and compassion, it is the most dangerous thing on earth. We saw it working without these controls, in Hitler and the Nazi party. We saw what happened when the potentially great creative forces in the German people—uncontrolled by self-criticism, uncontrolled by ethical ideas, but instead lashed on by primitive myths of blood and sex and race—made not great cities but concentration camps, devised not a good way of life but only a massive technic of murdering, and in the mad process pulled the whole world into a catastrophic war.

IN THE South, we long to be good; but we rarely tolerate criticism when we are bad. We want to be Christian; but we rarely permit clergymen to subject our way of life to the spiritual test of Christ's teachings. We long to be learned and we admire the physical sciences and the technologies, but we turn away from knowledge of our own minds and hearts and human re-

lationships. We are not only afraid to talk about race we are afraid of all inquiry that comes close to man, himself. We are afraid of biology, psychology, psychiatry, psychoanalysis, afraid of all the social sciences. We are profoundly embarrassed when someone suggests that we look at the human condition as the existentialists are, today, urging us to do. We shudder and turn away as if we were shown a dirty picture.

Above all else, we are sensitive to criticism from our own fellow-Southerners; so much so, that we try to punish them if they dare warn us that we are close to disaster. We Southerners are endowed with a powerful and potentially creative imagination that could produce a rich culture and a great people. I believe that. But because we refuse to let it mate with critical intelligence and ethics, with poetry and mysticism, and compassion, it tends to produce not strong, vital, free creative individuals but sex-obsessed mobs; it thrusts up out of our soil not great leaders but irrational obscene demagogues; it produces not healthy-minded, morally strong children but children torn and ambivalent—weakened by learning to love ideals which they are commanded, even by state laws, not to live; confused, and made apathetic by their culture's inexorable directive to fit the moral necessities of the atomic age to the narrow framework of their grandfathers' code.

It is such a pity. It is more: It is our great tragedy. Like Medea, when she brought her murdered children to their father, we can cry: *I have done it: because I loathed you more than I loved them. Mine is the triumph. . . . I tore my own heart and laughed: I was tearing yours.*

ARE all Southerners like these I have described? Are we all bereft of self-criticism? and blind? and complacent? and avenging? Aren't some of us decent, sensitive, reasoning, honest, compassionate human beings who measure up well when compared to the best in our nation and other countries?

Of course. There are hundreds of thousands of Southerners who do. Perhaps millions. But their moral weight in their own region is as light as a handful of feathers. For they are hushed and silent. They do not speak out. They know: but they do not say what they know. They feel: but they do not act out what they feel.

Why don't we Southerners speak, in time?

Because we fear economic reprisals from Mob No. 2? Yes. Because we fear physical violence from Mob No. 1? Yes. But there is another reason:

To speak against segregation is taboo. More of a taboo than to break segregation by our acts. There are reasons why we feel the strength of this taboo: We were taught from early childhood never to speak against segregation and never to question it. Our honest young eyes might see its cruelty and did. But we must not admit it. It was our Lesson No. 1; and most of us learned it well. Now we are grown: we have read, traveled, thought, observed; we have changed. We want to speak out but we feel a dread of speaking; even though reason tells us we are right, we fear we may be wrong; our judgment may be bad; we may hurt our families by doing it, we whisper; we shall certainly lose "our usefulness." We grow anxious; we feel pressed on all sides of our nature, and we become hysterically mute. A good part of this "moderation" you hear about in the South is nothing but mutism —as of course you know.

But even so; we might more easily break the childhood training, were it not for that old primitive layer of the mind where the Word is always more powerful than the act. Children feel this; you have seen them show it: the word IS the object, their name IS as real as their body. And primitives feel this; always in a primitive tribe, the word not only represents something, it *is* something, a magic SOMETHING. Here is where the taboo is reinforced in us on deep levels.

And so: forbidden to speak, we hug to ourselves our secret belief that segregation is wrong; and that human dignity is every man's right; we stubbornly teach these beliefs to our children; and then, after teaching them, we let these children know in devious, subtle ways that they cannot live them and must never say them to others.

There are hundreds of thousands of white Southerners who feel this way. But they carry almost no moral weight in their communities. Why? Because secret beliefs do not create enlightened public opinion. And yet, only enlightened public opinion can stave off mobs and violence; and only enlightened public opinion brings about change in a creative way. The mob comes on the street when enlightened public opinion leaves it; the demagogues talk too much when the good, intelligent people talk too little.

This brings us back to Mob No. 2. Those quiet, college-bred economically powerful men would not protect the street rabble if they did not believe they were morally supported by the rest of the responsible community. They would not use the boycott and economic reprisals in order to suppress all who differ from them, unless they felt their acts were approved. A few are evil opportunists who would do anything to build their power and increase their wealth. But not most. Most are confused men. Most are just doing a lot of primitive thinking and feeling. And their consciences are *almost clear:* for their ministers, their newspaper editors, their friends in civic and business circles, their childhood training have not told them they are doing wrong. Almost nobody has told them, except perhaps their own wives, that segregation is not a sacred way of life.

It is easy to do wrong when everybody around you thinks you are doing right. It is difficult to take a stand all by yourself. It requires a whopping amount of moral courage—and more than most of us human beings possess. Especially in a region where, at best, the intellectual

deviant is looked upon as a crackpot and "extremist" and, at worst, as a perverse immoral half-insane creature.

We are, we must humbly confess, in the same pitiable condition of all brainwashed people. You don't have to live in a Communist country to be brainwashed. It can happen here at home; and has been happening to us Southerners for nearly 80 years. We have heard on this subject of race—at least at home—only what the White Supremacists have told us. And there are too many people in other parts of our country who are brainwashed, also. They use the same old defenses, ask the same irrelevant questions, give the same mythic answers.

Even the President of the United States said in a recent speech on the Little Rock question that you can't "legislate morals." His variation was, I think, that "laws won't change men's minds." Now: who ever thought they would? Laws are to protect the rights of people—from those whose minds can't change; they are to protect the security of people from the criminals who have no morals. But the implication of this statement (most popular among highly educated people) is: laws are ineffectual because they do not convert men. Yet what alternative is there to the rule of law save the rule of dictators? Unless we are willing to sink into anarchy and chaos. And which of these speakers who talk about the futility of "legislating morals" would be willing to do away with traffic laws, etc., etc. (We might say, just here, that while laws cannot change minds and have no such purpose, they do *condition men to behave in a certain, semi-automatic way,* sometimes good, sometimes bad.)

Of course: When people speak like this, their reason is sound asleep. Yet, these same men, on other subjects, often speak with good sense and, sometimes, with extraordinary intelligence and wisdom.

This is what brainwashing does to a people. We talk like fools in Dixie—and north of Dixie, too—about race and segregation; the Russians talk like fools about capitalistic imperialists, etc.

Are we not creeping close to the heart of our trouble? Does it not center in two words: *fear* and *silence?*

We are acutely anxious, almost in panic, because silence has delivered us not only to the mob in the street but to the primitive, mob-like part of our own natures. And yet, we are so anxious that we dare not break the silence.

But: Were we to break it, we could quickly lift ourselves into the realm of reason and good feeling—just as we have done by our cancer drives which have substituted hope for anxiety and prompt action for neurotic procrastination.

We need a lot of real fear: the kind that looks at the actual dangers, and not at the imaginary ones: the kind that faces up to the danger that this racial turmoil may alienate new nations of Asia and Africa and throw them into the arms of Communism. This is real: this concerns the survival of our nation, and the survival of democracy, and the survival of our way of life. We do have an American way of life that is great and good and worth sacrificing for—but it is not the segregated way the demagogues cherish.

But I refuse to blame all the trouble on the fear of our people; or on this mutism.

There are thousands of brave Southerners ready to speak out today—who don't have a place to speak. Ministers, whose boards won't let them preach what they want to preach; teachers who have had to sign pledges of silence in order to teach at all; editors who have been commanded by publisher and business manager not to write those editorials they once dreamed of writing; writers whose books are boycotted and smothered.

There are, also, hundreds of gifted, articulate white Southerners ready to speak to the entire nation—and across the magnolia curtain to their South—but where can they do it? National magazines with mass circulation don't want articles from white Southerners who oppose segregation; they want articles from the "moderates" and from the separate-but-equalers, and the gradualists.

How many informed, white Southerners who are opposed to segregation have you seen on TV and radio networks? I have appeared once for a fleeting moment—but who else? There are hundreds who are willing and able. They simply have not been asked. Yet Talmadge and Eastland and the Grand Kleagle of the KKK and the muted moderates have appeared numerous times. And a few thoughtful, courageous, sincere Southerners who oppose mob rule and believe in obeying the law have appeared. But: when asked how they felt about segregation, they did not take a stand against it. I do not question their motives: I simply say the nation and the South have not heard white Southerners speak up against segregation in mass magazines and on the networks. The networks have done a superb job of news reporting but are they not failing us by not giving the full picture of the white South?

For some reason—and not necessarily an evil one—our friends in the North seem to have fallen for what is not only the White Citizens' Councils' line and Mob No. 2's line, but the Moderates' line, too: *Let Negroes speak if they want to; let the Yankee speak; but don't let one intelligent white Southerner who opposes segregation speak. Keep them smothered; only in this way can we sell the idea to the rest of the country that the South is unanimously opposed to the acceptance of Negroes as full-fledged American citizens.*

This is the "line." And an efficient job has been done, selling it at home and abroad. It forms an impasse—a difficult one—yet somehow, we must get around it or we shall be blocked a long time. (Eighty ministers of Atlanta's white churches made a big hole in the curtain of silence by taking their stand in a statement published

on November 3. This could be the beginning of a new era. It is an important event.) But we must remember: These groups could not have run down the magnolia curtain had it not been because Mob No. 3 in millions of minds, North and South, acquiesced.

HERE IS where the moderates' so-called logic breaks down and becomes a devious form of primitive thinking: "If people don't talk, everything will be all right." They tell us that we must obey our laws whether we like them or not. And it sounds right; and it would be, if only human beings were made in a simple, uncomplicated way with neither mythic minds nor critical minds. But we are not animals; and we are not machines: we are human. And because we are, we want to know good reasons for a law. Our people, in this free country will not obey a law which the demagogues and our own silence tell them is a silly, evil, unnecessary law. And we should not expect them to. That "line" can be sold only to a people dominated by a dictator—and the dictator has to do the selling. But our would-be dictators here in Dixie are not going to sell the line that change is inevitable, and the decision of the Supreme Court must be obeyed.

No. That easy way out won't work. I am afraid we shall have to do it the hard way: the way free people have always changed themselves and their culture: the way they have always formed public opinion. It would be fine if we could climb this steep hill in neutral. But we can't; and the moderates should know this. (It isn't a very good idea to go *down* a steep hill in neutral, either.)

We must do it by emphasizing that laws must be obeyed, yes; and then we must give the reasons why this law is necessary:

1. We must convince our people that our actual survival as a nation depends upon the acceptance of Negroes as citizens;
2. We must convince them that this acceptance is not only necessary to survival but morally right and spiritually good for everybody concerned;
3. We must work against mob rule, yes; but we need to be sure we know which mob is the dangerous one;
4. We must quell Mob No. 3. And we can do it only by showing the people how irrational is their fear of accepting Negroes as citizens.

We must do these difficult jobs by encouraging the honest, intelligent, well-informed people to break their silence: to take their stand for reason and critical intelligence; for human dignity and human rights; for all Americans' public and private rights which must, in a democracy, be protected and which do not interfere with each other.

Encourage them to laugh off their demagogues' talk. Remind them that the fantasies and dreads they speak of are those of sick people—not realities to fear. There is only one kind of "mongrelization" we need fear: this is the mongrelization which results when White Supremacy interbreeds with democracy. There is a great deal of this kind of "mixing" being done today, for the White Supremacists are a potent tribe. *Relating* ourselves to others as fellow-citizens and *merging* and *blending* are as different as is the human reason from the mythic mind. Words are important, however, to all of us: we should do our best to avoid the over-sexed words, such as "mixing," "amalgamating"—and perhaps even "integration"—which has a connotation of *fusion* that is disturbing to some people.

But above all else, we need to remember that there is no conflict between our short-range and long-range objectives. Both are necessary. Both must be worked for simultaneously—not by the same person, perhaps, but both must be accepted as valid effort. This is an all-out war we are involved in: a non-violent war but a war just the same. Each must work according to his talent, his conviction, his role in society. But there is room for all of us: room for the writer who speaks out clearly and for the quiet one who bargains a little; room for the minister who takes his stand on moral grounds and the newspaper editor who takes his position that "the law must be obeyed, whether you like it or not"; room for those who accept Negroes as human beings and as personal friends—and room for those who accept them only as citizens. But there should be no room down here for the hater, the bigot. My strongest objection to the self-named "moderates" is their bigotry. Their intolerance of us who work perhaps with more non-violence but with more candor, too, would be an incredible thing were it not so human. They are cautious, they move inch by inch, and only when pushed from behind; and that is their privilege. But they refuse to let others move faster, or to speak more clearly and perhaps even more persuasively than they. They are almost fanatically religious in their view that their way is the only "holy way." Their word "moderation" is so foolish and empty Who on earth would want to be known as "moderately honest"? "Moderately reliable"? "Moderately intelligent"? "Moderately just?" "Moderately law-abiding"?

But, although it may seem immoderate to the moderates, *all of us* who are deeply concerned for the future of our country must work together; for only by combining our strength and our intelligence and courage and good will can we do this hard job of bringing about change in a creative way.

So: let us search our South and our nation for the people who value freedom, who put means before ends, who know they are working against evil not against men, who will risk a little for so much and who have shaken off the traumatic past and know that neither our American future nor the world's future can be bought with those old Confederate bills the demagogues keep passing out to the people.

March 13, 196

file

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

Please let me say thank you for that beautiful review you did of Killers of the Dream. I liked it very much--especially because you knew what I was getting at. Praise is not half as sweet to a writer as understanding; and I ~~felt~~ feel you understand with a fine sensitiveness what I was trying to say there--and indeed, what I am always trying to say, whether in fiction or nonfiction, Strange Fruit or The Journey or Killers of the Dream. or One Hour, I am concerned about excellence. We could almost leave it on that word. Concnered that we have evaded as a people, and often as individuals, the heart of the matter: what our way of life has done to us, the attrition that year after year adds up to a terrifying dehumanization. As you also felt, at least I felt you did, I am never "attacking" the South or our United States but always, like Cassandra I suppose, saying "Look, don't you see what we are doing to ourselves, to our quality as men and women; look, don't you see how we are wasting our brains and talents and having no fun, either! Look, don't you see what our fathers have done to us and what we are doing to our children, and what all of it together may be doing to the whole race of mankind!

Excellence . . . arete . . . paideia. How I wish that we could see that we have no paideia, we have only white supremacy, not arete, only pride, not excellence only evsiveness. Well—

I am not at all sure the piece I sent Maggie this time will do—written for the NewSouth but halfway through I saw I had my speech for Daytona and Ft. Lauterdale (or wherever it is I am going. Will someone tell me more?) If it won't do, I can send back the other I first sent, or I might do a little eight page piece on excellence. I'd certainly like to do, sometime, for you. (in a highway?)

Somehow, we have't been seeing the New South for the past two years. Probably because we haven't subscribed to it! I'll send in a check right away. Does it get to many people?

[Taken from "US" folder]

history in suppression. There were places where some of the testimony was published, but the blackout was remarkably widespread.

Perhaps it will be said that many of the practices reported here have no great bearing on our national future; that Selvage and Lee, for example, have scarcely managed to make Portugal a household word in Utah, and that not all the dollars squandered by Trujillo's local operative could save him when the moment of truth arrived. On the other hand, there is no exact way of measuring such matters; in a free society, we cling to the view that the printed word has a certain sanctity, and that exposure of abuse is the great corrective, and that "conflict-of-interest" is bad business. These are hallowed themes of all conclaves of journalists.

One is tempted to urge that some responsible newspaper body undertake hearings to discover what happened to newspaper coverage of the hearing. I would also urge that such bodies as the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the American Society of Newspaper Editors designate these hearings as required reading for their members, and place them on the agenda for full discussion at their next deliberations. But I offer the confident prophecy that there will be no serious response to that proposal. In most newspaper offices these documents will be quickly filed and forgotten while owners and editors prepare new indictments of the Kennedy Administration's "news management" policies.

Nearly a half century ago, in his celebrated indictment of the press, *The Brass Check,* Upton Sinclair wrote: ". . . when you pick up your morning or evening newspaper, and think you are reading the news of the world, what you are really reading is a propaganda which has been selected, revised, and doctored by some power which has a financial interest in you; and which for the protection of that financial interest, has been willing to take trouble, and go into the most minute detail."

Although he wrote in 1919, it would almost seem that Upton Sinclair was commenting today on the widely suppressed disclosures of the Fulbright committee investigation.

R&R Rel

The Progressive
Aug. 1963

All God's Chillun

by MARGARET LONG

It is the Southern fashion these days to speak of the "remarkable progress" of Southern Negroes who, we all agree, have "come a *lawng* way" since Emancipation.

Segregationists cite this advance to prove that colored people, though inferior and unworthy to be our peers, still enjoy such generous treatment under our separate system that "the exceptions" among them ascend rocket-like to professions, wealth, and artistic success. Desegregationists and "moderates" regard this rise as comforting evidence that Negroes will not debase our white schools, befoul decent housing, or marry our white daughters and sisters if they get their rights. "Extreme" liberals, or integrationists, who want us all to be not only legal equals but friends down here in the South, behold the general Negro advance, and the brilliant victory of a few over brutal obstacles, as a happy sign that all God's chillun got wings, and that the best of us manage to fly even with clipped wings.

We extremists on the human side also have a rather rabid tendency to believe and suggest, if not state outright, that Negroes are better than white people and can do no wrong. I think it is possible to substantiate the first notion, and now propose to do so, and even to proclaim the obvious fact that Negroes are leading the multicolored South out of our common bondage. But after fifteen years of occasional "mixing and mingling," as our conservative politicians call socializing friendships between Negroes and white people, I cannot, alas, conclude that Negroes can do no wrong.

Some Negroes I know can inform, delight, and enlarge, and others can misinform, exasperate, and, worst of all, bore. I have an admirable white friend, an energetic and intelligent woman whose devotion to our slowly-arriving free society is important to us in Atlanta. She likes and approves of *all* Negroes, as far as I can see, and I'm very much afraid that her rectitude and ardor have led her into another kind of racism. Many Southern Negroes are as wrong-headed, prejudiced, and tedious as many Southern whites, which seems inescapable since we have all been together in this mess for 300 years.

I cannot appraise the emancipated slaves of 100 years ago, or measure or demonstrate the extent of their advance this year in Dixie, as I don't know any emancipated slaves to stack up against the Freedom Riders, Ph.D's, domestics, clubwomen, and writers who are my Negro friends this century. I am, however, old enough to have known several former slaves who were, despite "emancipation" of fifty, sixty, or seventy years, still in a condition of real bondage, and who bore that bondage with a spirited strength, ironic sophistication, and transforming kindness which seems to me to animate and uphold the Negro movement presently liberating the South.

When I was five years old and my little sister was three, my mother and

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father, who, as I look back on them, suggest a variation of the simple felicity of the song, "Your pappy's rich and your mammy's good-lookin" (my pappy, a newspaperman, wasn't rich but my mammy, a blue-eyed, black Irish type, was certainly good-looking), would leave us with old Aunt Anne when they went out for gala evenings. I somehow blend the ironed starch and clean snuff smell of Aunt Anne with my mother's redolence of violet perfume and seal fur as she kissed us goodbye, Daddy's tiny Christmas-gift diamonds glittering in her ears. I don't know if it was the gayety of Daddy's party mood, or Mother's fragrance, or the presence of Aunt Anne that made their leave-takings so delightful and beglamored; but they departed, good-looking, good-smelling, and laughing, in a chorus of Aunt Anne's reassuring farewells and our high cries of good night and have-a-nice-time, a commotion comparable to take-off on a world tour.

Then we would turn with joy to Aunt Anne who stood there at the age of ninety (she calculated) small, shriveled, nut-brown in her drab long dress and impeccably starched white apron and head rag. We sat by her, touched her, felt her smile; her torchy old voice told us enthralling stories as she pinched snuff, endured us late, and got us to bed with no protest. Sometimes she lay down beside one or the other of us, and we loved the presence of the aged, strong body, the beloved face, and the rich, murmuring voice. I think she told us a lot of Bible stories, but she never scared us.

Before I was five, old Mrs. Keenan, a retired school teacher innocent of modern methods, taught me the alphabet, the phonetic sounds of each letter and diphthongs, and in a couple of weeks, long before school, I spelled out the words and recognized their sound with the exhilarating discovery that I could read. My parents were equally elated the time I put together the slant, black letters of a magazine name and cried out: *"Saturday Evening Post!"* A week later, when they were out and Aunt Anne couldn't, of course, find Miss Hazel Gewinner's name in the phone book to call and tell them about a long distance call, I was proud to find G-e-w—in the directory. I think it was then that Aunt Anne sighed out her ambition to read the Bible and I said, "I can show you how, Aunt Anne."

So I did, starting with the ABC's, as old Mrs. Keenan had started me. Sitting in her lap, with my little sister big-eyed at Aunt Anne's effort or falling asleep with her golden head on the white apron, I'd show her the letters and she would say them, short or long, and hard or soft, after me. The next time Aunt Anne came we started on my first-grade primer, and she quickly spelled and pronounced her marveling way through it, as Sister jumped and laughed at Aunt Anne's triumph. She started on the newspaper with my halting help, and we corrected one another. She began her Bible at home and in a few months had spelled and read her way through it, with loud praise to the Lord, and me.

I remember how her laughter rejoiced us little girls and enchanted my father. I can see now the expression of awed tenderness—awe for her sharply worded wisdom and tenderness for her tough, loving old age—on my mother's face when they talked woman-talk about men, children, cooking, friends, spites, and angers. I don't remember what Aunt Anne laughed at, but my feeling is that her mirth was comic and profoundly ironic. I don't know what advice or Biblical injunctions she offered my young mother, but I nostalgically feel them as tinged with forgiveness, cynicism, and a scorn which was high, humble, and tolerant of the human condition.

As an eighteen-year-old cub reporter in Macon, Georgia, I was sent to the Spring Street home of "an interesting old Nigra" to gather material for an uneasy and audacious feature story on her past grandeur as the wife of a city councilman during Reconstruction. She was Airey Sellers, whose forebears were embarrassingly rich, Ohio-educated, and said to have, at least one of them, fought on the Union side. When I ascended the steps of the cottage and entered the old-fashioned parlor, dark with ancient mahogany, walnut, and gold-framed portraits of formidable Negroes, I encountered an old woman of mulatto color and a shriveled, arrogant face with heavy lids over hazel eyes, flaring nostrils, and a wide mouth set in hauteur. She was enthroned in a rose-back chair.

"Airey," I began brightly, in the diffident and cordial voice with which nice white children address aged Nigras, "I hope you'll tell me about the Reconstruction days and your experiences after The Wah."

"Don't call me Airey," replied the dark dowager in a heavy old voice harsh with command and rebuke. "I am old enough to be your grandmother, so you are presumptuous and ill-mannered. Don't call me Auntie or Mammy. I am no relation to you. If you cannot bring yourself to call me Mrs. Sellers, perhaps you might say Madame Sellers. If that courtesy is impossible, then address me as Sellers. Will you sit down?"

I sat down, dizzy at the impact of this unknown viewpoint. Here was a Negro rebuking my white manners with high insolence, with brazen violation of my sacred, undefined duty to suppress Negro dignity. She also was laying claim to all the precepts and feelings of a respectful, inviting style in human encounter—that is, of good manners, especially of young people toward their elders—with which I had been equally indoctrinated. My confusion and dismay were so complete that I don't know what I said, but it was probably something like, "Well, yes ma'am, I'm sorry."

I am ashamed to remember that, from an awful sense of betraying a vague, fierce moral principle, I couldn't say "Mrs.," or "Miz" as we pronounce it, though my instincts pushed me close to it. She accepted my ridiculous "Sellers" and gave me an absorbing interview. My vivid memory of her rebuke and my confusion have obliterated all of what she said; I remember only her painful lesson in manners.

Mrs. Sellers talked so volubly, opening up a world so unsuspected, that we didn't complete the interview and I returned the next afternoon. I was eager and feeling grandly emancipated from the narrow use of first names for venerable old Negroes, and Mrs. Sellers was gracious. She presented her granddaughter, a pretty little light-

brown girl about my age, as Miss Sellers, and compounded the shock of presenting a Negro contemporary to me as a social equal by asking if I'd like some lemonade. My dilemma was again excruciating, with the sense of betraying some mysterious morality, as I drank lemonade with them. It was excellent lemonade on that sweltering August day, and as I departed I was so undone that I thanked both Mrs. Sellers and Miss Sellers for a lovely afternoon and the particularly refreshing lemonade. "What else could I do?" I asked myself. I don't know how long I pondered the question, finally to wonder what wickedness lurks in civility to Negroes.

The Reverend Isom Ivins was never a slave or a Reconstruction Negro in high political position over Southern whites, because he wasn't that old. He was a preacher in Macon, and like most Negro clerics of that day, I reckon he had to wash white windows and hoe white gardens and mow white lawns to support his family. We little girls were delighted when Isom came to mow the lawn or chop out the grass in the paving cracks or weed the collia and salvia beds around the house. We loved his deep and melodious preacher's voice, his embracing smile, and his pleasure in children. We also loved his children and grandchildren, black, handsome, hardworking, and entertaining "good Nigras" who gave you your money's worth and some of whom went to college.

One June morning my mother looked with a brooding puzzlement out of the window to the front yard. There my little sister, a fair five-year-old with golden curls and great blue eyes, was tagging after Isom at his yard work in the summer sunshine. Isom, a heavy black man with an aquiline face, smiled his sweet, white smile at her as she danced around him asking questions which amused him and as he made replies which fascinated her. I don't know what they were talking about, and only see now the sunlit picture of the little golden girl and the splendid black patriarch in soft rapport on the grass around our cedar tree.

"I sometimes think," my mother mused, regarding the fair child and

Engelhardt in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"There's a Lion in the Streets"

the old black preacher, "that something is all wrong when you children can call a grand old man like Isom by his first name."

Of course, everything was all wrong when, in the Southern pattern of "good manners," we gently and inexorably degraded the Negroes we loved and respected most with this refusal to address them courteously or even to permit our children to accord their black betters this respect.

I am aware that it is suspect and offensive to recall, with love and wonder, the "old slave-type of darkies," but I can't forget the dark, humor-rich, and generous men and women who bore their oppressions with great grace. (I do not forget, of course, the Negroes whose drunkenness, rages, ill-tempers, and sullen humility filled the small-town jails on weekends, erupted in wild knifings and beatings in the dark alleys, and rendered white households wretched with silent servant hatred. Nor do I forget the stubborn refusal of whites to understand the anguish behind this behavior.) I know these generous, benevolent figures from my childhood, with their ironic laughter and easy airs of humility, are what rebellious young Negroes today call "Uncle Toms" and scorned "Old Mammy" folks whom the New Negro does not enjoy invoking.

It occurs to me that we New White Folks, or whatever we are, are entitled to much more shame at the recollection of our absurdly lordly forebears, strutting through the paces of a cruel and arrogant system, and that, as the years rolled by and the darkness is dissipating, the Negroes emerge wiser, braver, and sweeter by far than the masters they now assail with sacrificial and nonviolent demands and with their invitation to the forgiveness of freedom and friendship together.

I believe that the Negroes, in their most abject debasement and repression, must have been bigger and more human than the whites who underpaid, overworked, humiliated, and sometimes lynched them and then proclaimed the corroding lie that this Way of Life was mutually happy. I can remember the irony around the old black mouths, the occasional suppressed amusement playing around young lips at some "kindly" white admonition or other. I can remember the bitter but delicious laughter of the nurses who accompanied us afternoons to the playground or church steps. "And she say, look like all we done for you, Annabelle, you could git here fo' sebm-thirty!" and the young women's shrieks would rise, beginning low and rich and ascending high and helpless into the summer afternoon air, as Annabelle's friends remembered "all they done for her," like "she woulda been fired if she hadn't come to work sick, that wore out dress they give her and that two dollars they took out for a broken cup."

Ah, they could laugh, and they still can, having earned the sharp freedom of humor and having honed their irony on the hard edges of white fear, tyranny, and pious talk.

It is not the Negroes, it seems to me, who are crippled, confused, and frightened by a system of oppression. They are, rather, toughened, enlarged, and infinitely sophisticated by it—those who weathered it. And today, we see them all over the South, literate, illiterate, well-to-do, and poor, demanding with wisdom and grace the rights which many whites are still resisting with idiot shibboleths and crazy fears

which are the wonder of the rational world. And when the white barriers topple and the astonished masters regard Negroes stepping over the broken barricades, it is the Negroes whose wise, generous, and graceful demeanor soothes the trembling whites. Their aplomb handles the confrontation on busses or at polling places, softly meets the gauche and fascinated stares of diners in an integrated restaurant, and gently and adamantly explains Negro requirements to the city politician who is suddenly astute enough to learn a fast lesson in manners and democracy.

I think it is the old love, irony, and patience which is at work on childlike and bewildered white neighbors clinging senselessly to an ancient stance once held sacred, and slowly yielding it with naive elation over the new and natural freedom between two peoples who belonged together all the time.

I think of a young girl named Ruby Doris Smith, who is "jail-crazy," they say in laughing pride. My friend Ruby Doris is an indefatigable revolutionary of that incomprehensible band called the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which sends young Negroes sitting-in, promoting voter registration, marching, demonstrating, singing, and popping in and out of the foulest jails in the South. By these means SNCC advances the revolution years ahead of the plans of more conservative Negro organizations, which must follow these mad youngsters into the wilds of the deepest South with lawyers, bond money, and big-name support, as in Albany, Georgia, and McComb, Mississippi, to name only two scenes of sensational uprising.

After the Freedom Ride to Jackson, Ruby Doris talked softly, rapidly, and carefully about her ordeal:

"Well, yes, they did put the wrist-breakers on me. You see, I'd had athlete's foot and was scared of the shower and wouldn't go, and the matrons, two big women, put the things on me—they screw, you know, and *can* break your wrist, but they didn't turn them that hard. They didn't give me a chance to walk, but just dragged me with these things—yes, it hurt—and then put me in the shower, with my clothes on, and they scrubbed me all over with wire brushes they scrub the floor with . . . It was all right, but I still have some trouble with my arms.

"No, I don't hate them; they are acting under orders, for one thing. And they got to where they were kind of friendly with us. We have to show them, it's all a demonstration, even with the wrist-breakers, and it shows them our kind of Negro. Yes, I believe in forgiveness and love and nonviolence. We have to live with these people, and we have to teach them, and they do seem to learn."

I first encountered Miss Ella Baker at a conference of uprising students a couple of years ago in Atlanta. After a speech from Martin Luther King, with his stirring call to heroism, suffering, and the nonviolent life, and his promise of Negro redemption of the South, and a round of the glorious singing which booms and rings through the movement, Miss Baker rose to address the meeting, by then nearly drunk with fervor, courage, and aspiration.

She looked beautiful, in a severely elegant hat, her heavy eyes big in her fine brown face and her busty figure chic in a dark dress. (Miss Baker, I understand, pays two and three dollars for her hats, so it must be the face which endows her with such a costly sheen.) Her voice was like a great bronze bell and she pealed out a demand for morality, self criticism, and mission from these excited youngsters which seemed scarcely attainable in this life. They listened to her as children to a beloved and stern maiden aunt, and seemed as moved by her admonitions as by the heat and beat of their tremendous singing.

She enjoined them to "be a real moral movement" and to purge out "hatred, resentment, and self-seeking." Freedom calls for intelligence, real emotions, and "moral stamina," she said. She warned against "headline hunting," vanity, and action without understanding and moral resolve. For the long pull to integration, she urged "a lot of information with your inspiration—on the history of the South, its psychology of human emotions, and its political forces."

My friend and contemporary, Grace, comes from a long line of elegant and protected Negro educators and was, for years, what a witty mutual friend of ours called "Miss Negro Communication with White Atlanta." She still does a great deal of fruitful communication with a white community which is, to put it kindly, still largely ignorant of Negro aspirations, accomplishments, and feelings. Grace was one of my first Negro friends in Atlanta, and greeted me with the generous hospitality and sensitivity at which upper-class Negroes excel and which charms innocent and unaccustomed whites out of their uneasy gaucherie. One night we sat up all night, telling one another our life stories, Grace talking with tart wit and candor, and tenderness for both our sets of children. By three a.m. our autobiographies seemed nearly identical, including sins, punishments, joys, and triumphs and reactions to them. And we thought, "What's it all about, this white-Negro business, anyway?"

The social grace and generosity of such Negroes is inestimable in helping strange and awkward whites over the barriers between us. Cultivated Negroes I know in several Southern states seem to exhibit all the charm and ease of Southern manner which whites have exalted for generations, but which many of them have to learn all over again from Negroes in the adventure of "socializing," or "mixing and mingling."

This social generosity is not, however, universal among militant new Negroes. The Reverend Wyatt Tee Walker, for instance, next man to Martin Luther King, Jr. in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is a tall, slender, dapper young man capable of cool hauteur. Reverend Walker does not exhibit the awesome depth of religious humility and pride which one feels in Dr. King, nor his sweetness of demeanor. You have to wait for Mr. Walker, or court his friendship, which is quite worth the effort. I have often wondered if Mr. Walker, a Virginian, is somewhere along the line kin to Mrs. Airey Sellers, or some haughty President-General of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. I feel sure Mr. Walker is completely committed to loving and forgiving nonviolence which will, Dr. King assures us and convinces me, redeem us all in the South through Negro suffering. But I don't think this

loving business comes so easy to Mr. Walker.

I don't know why Mr. Walker reminds me of the Reverend Bascom Anthony, a white Methodist preacher in Macon who died a generation ago. Brother Anthony, as we all called this revered old minister, had none of Mr. Walker's—well, arrogance—but there's something about their preaching which is the same. Brother Anthony preached a sermon, both rousing and intellectual, and would move himself to tears as he stood, a tall, handsome old man with auburn curls about the back of his head, his fine profile raised to God and illumined by rays from the stained glass behind him. Everybody cried with him, and a lot of people hit the sawdust trail, or at least the red carpet in the aisle, to come to Jesus. And, in the course of his rolling sentences, he would lapse into the Middle-Georgia vernacular with corn pone jokes and the double negative-ain't type of ironies on the sins of the congregation.

Young Mr. Walker, when last I heard him, preached a rousing sermon in an Albany, Georgia, church. He was affecting a neat, cropped black mustache and beard trim on his pale-gold, black-eyed face, which made him look like an intense and suffering saint. His sermon began, grave and thoughtfully worked out, about the consecrating drop of blood on Aaron's ear, thumb, and great toe, and its strengthening call to mission. He rose to high demands on the children of God. As usual, in a Negro church, the "Amen's," "Yes, Jesuses" and questioning cries of "We-ell?" punctuated, lifted, and bore his sermon along, until it cracked like a whip as he described the recalcitrance of white Albany, the jailings, the job-firings, and the brutality to little children in county jails. Then he turned to burning satire phrased in pounding Negro colloquialisms, excoriating white oppressions and absurdities, until the high, musical cries and booming "Amen's" and "Well's" rose in ragged rhythm with his sentences. Mr. Walker did not weep, but some of his flock did. His stern call was not to come to Jesus, but to freedom by volunteering for jail the next day.

Brother Anthony was old and white and Methodist, and his style was rollingly grand and colloquially comic by

Herblock in The Washington Post

"You Don't Understand, Boy—You're Supposed to Just Shuffle Along"

turns, stressed, too, with assent from the amen corners. Mr. Walker is young and mulatto and Baptist, and his style is grave and fierce and satirically dialect-shot by turns, fired by congregational ardors. They are preachers of the same school, the one calling the children of God to Jesus and the other to freedom. Brother Anthony was socially delightful in the parlor of a Sunday afternoon, and Mr. Walker is equally so, if he admits you to his favor. Again, one must wonder, what's it all about, black and white preachers, and segregated churches for people who are the same?

As to my proposition, that these Negro Southerners are "superior" to the whites who resist them, it seems evident that people who suffer for what they believe, forgive their oppressors, and persist toward freedom for themselves and those who deny them liberty, are "better" than people who blindly fight so high-minded and human a change.

A trivial and clear example is the little adventure of Fred Powledge, an *Atlanta Journal* reporter, on one of his jaunts to intermittently erupting Albany. Mr. Powledge, a North Carolina boy, fell into a roadside race discussion with a South Georgia white supremacist.

"You think," the white aborigine demanded, pointing to a nearby Negro, "that nigger is as good as I am?"

"Better," replied Mr. Powledge.

"How come?" demanded the dumbfounded redneck.

"Because," Mr. Powledge rejoined, "he's a gentleman."

As James McBride Dabbs has pointed out, the Negro student movement, supported now by nearly all Negroes in the South, embodies and demonstrates the old professed virtues of the South—courage, love of freedom, religious faith, and good manners—virtues which the white Southerners, as masters, could never achieve. Mr. Dabbs said, more recently, that the Negro has the leadership in the South now, to which "the white responds, or more accurately, reacts . . . dragging his feet until he learns to cooperate," and "wherever the South is going, the Negro is taking him."

Already this seems a vastly better destination for which we are headed, led by better people who have ceased to hate, who risk and suffer for liberty, who offer friendship for enmity, and who embody the virtues the white South long proclaimed but could not practice.

A young member of the Indian parliament, Krishna Chandra Pant (son of the late Govindi Ballahh Pant, disciple and intimate of Gandhi, a minister under Nehru, and the deputy leader of the Congress Party), visited us recently and regarded with deep and wondering eyes the phenomenon of our change which the gentle and insistent Negroes impose on us. He reminded us that never in the long, bloody story of mankind have two races lived in the same place without oppression of one by the other, nor has a subject race ever freed itself without long violence. And with the excitement of a man beholding a great new thing, Mr. Pant predicted a grand and bloodless liberation for us.

Even without Mr. Pant's perspective, it is surely not too sanguine for us to believe that despite the fevers and fires of Oxford, the insane intransigence of Albany, and the mean-hearted fears of segregationists all over the South, our Negroes will bring us together in freedom and friendship such as no peoples of different color have had before.

October 8, 1963

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Joan Titus has several times offered to show me the film which Time-Life did of you whenever I was in New York, and last week I was finally able to see it. It is a beautiful film.

It is so largely because the producers had sense enough just to let you talk. And now that I have seen it, I can only be immeasurably annoyed that the film has not been distributed as yet. For what you say ought to be heard by a lot of people.

Joan told me that you had a copy of the film, though she doubted that you have ever been able to project it. Sometime when you are coming to Atlanta why don't you let me know, and I'll be delighted to have a projector and a screen rigged up for you.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

cc: Miss Joan Titus

MISS LILLIAN SMITH
BOX 766
CLAYTON, GEORGIA

dimly felt - the meaning beneath the "problem."

October 27, 1963

Dear Leslie:

Your letter pleased me, and touched me, too. A few days later I heard from a number of people in South Carolina who had written Time-Life Broadcast for permission to use the TV show. I would, of course, like to see it; and if you will make it possible sometime when I am in Atlanta I'll enjoy it (and wriggle a little, too, no doubt!). Joan says my lack of curiosity is "abnormal"--no; but I still have a hunk of narcism that gets hurt pretty often when I see films on me and TV shows. But of course I do want to see it. I plan to come down in early December for my check-up at Emory; maybe we could arrange something at that time. Just as soon as I get a date from Emory I'll let you know. I usually go down on Sun., and see the doctors Monday or Tues.

In the meantime, is there any way I can entice you up to the mountain? It is still beautiful; because of the drought the leaves will soon be gone; but the place has magic now; and I'd like for you to see it at this time of year. Don't you want to give me a ring someday and find out if things are all right up here (they usually are) and then come up--bringing anyone you like with you. I can give you a bite of lunch; and it would be good for me to see and talk with you. My strength, unfortunately, after this past virulent attack which has lasted so long, is not what it used to be; but I find I do better not nursing myself, and while visits tire me, certainly, they give me much to think about for days afterward. If I am living, I want to live; no half dying state for me! I do rest; I do "take care" but I need also to keep in the swim of things. Am not yet back to good writing but have caught up on much business that had been unattended to; and soon, I hope, can go back on a good writing schedule. So don't hesitate to come: you are doing me a favor when you help keep me au courant with all that is happening, especially those important matters on the deeper levels of experience. I am troubled about much; I was troubled by that recent speech of Martin Luther King's in Birmingham when he was telling his audience what God had just told him. Now hell, I say! Martin: you and God are not that intimate. Of course the audience became almost frenzied; it was the first time I thought MLK had become really demagogic. His dream speech barely escaped it, but it was beautiful and genuinely touching for the occasion made it so; and too, it was true. But it is not true that God speaks to Martin and tells him what to do about race relations; this makes me frown and laugh and then feel queasy for a long time. I realize the temptation is great. I'd better hurry and finish my piece called The Demagogue and the Poet. Martin needs it right now, I fear. Charisma. . . a wonderful thing to have; but it crawls out of the mythic mind and when the conscious mind whistles it out, then we'd better watch ~~xxxx~~ for the lie is close behind. My best to you. I do think the northern guys have smothered me so long, they used to say, "because we don't want to offend the South," that ABC, NBC, and CBS are literally afraid to show that film on me. And yet it might help; not me, but the things that count beneath the surface cause.

Sincerely, Lillian

Haven't Bruce is living not a very nice edition of Strange Fruit; the distortion is beautiful. After 20 years of growing their morally "I (they) bought it & fri- the original publishers, Reynal & Hitchcock—which deeply valued it—when Hitchcock died) Truly still deeply valued it & wrote very kindly & sensitively about it & the work they [illegible] Truly, Lillian

November 13, 1963

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Peggie and I shall ("will" also) be up to see you; may we bring our fourteen-year-old son along? I can't say now just when, but perhaps after the horrors of our Annual Meeting (November 25 and 26) are over, and before the New Year. We shall, of course, check with you in advance.

I enjoyed your letter, and want to hear more. This job I have is the foe of all reflection, and when you fight as well as you can against that enemy, you haventt much left over. But some day I would like to play a hunch and write you a long letter to see if I haven't, in a different way, been groping at the same point of view that you have defined against the mythic mind.

Please do let me know when you will be down in December, and if it is convenient for you, we shall arrange to show you your film.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

File
Smith, Lillian
(if no such folder
file "Sm" - Gen. Corresp.)

May 4, 1964

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Maggie reports that you will consider doing our essay; we are delighted.

This is our twentieth anniversary, and that ritually calls for special things. We have already published a sort of commemorative issue of New South, and I suppose we'll fancy up our annual meeting. But a more worthwhile way of celebrating would be to give something, and that is why we have turned to you. We would like to give an essay to the public, by a Southerner who is both a name and a source of ideas. There are very, very few people who have all three of these attributes, and of them we would most want you.

I want to make altogether clear that we are not asking you to do a piece about SRC. We want an essay which would be, through our publication, a special contribution by SRC to public enlightenment or whatever it is that happens when clear perceptions and intuitions are made available.

Maybe you would feel like re-stating the theme of Killers of the Dream? Maybe you would like to write what would be a new chapter of it, if it were going through a revised edition? Maybe the events in the South and the nation (or in your personal life) of the last couple years have given you thoughts of another theme (so long as it has some recognizable relevance to the South) which you would like to write, and which the frustration of doing magazine pieces hasn't permitted?

You can judge better than we what space you need. Anything from 32-50 pages of double-spaced typescript would be good. We would, of course, want to publish it this year, though one time would suit as well as another. If we had the manuscript by November 15 we could do it. We would publish earlier, if we got it earlier. Our intention is to make the essay -- by itself, with no accompanying items -- a special issue of New South. We could pay $1,000, which -- as I don't need to tell you -- is not our usual.

Please do it, if you can.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Leslie

MISS LILLIAN SMITH
BOX 766
CLAYTON, GEORGIA

May 18, 1964

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

Your letter was a lovely thing, full of grace. After reading it, I was of course willing to do almost anything for you that you might ask. But I also feel honored that you want me to do this piece for this special occasion and I shall try my best for you.

A piece that has been growing in my mind for two years may be the right thing for you. It has not only to do with race, segregation, worldwide political turmoil, and the South but has also a philosophical concern that might help the piece transcend the level of "one more piece about the South and human relations." The theme is The Poet and the Demagogue and this would probably be the title also. It is a phrase I have already used several times in recent essays; I tend to do this, as an idea is growing it will first give me a brief phrase long before it finally tells me what it is trying to say. These things come from deep down in one: and one waits patiently for them to sprout from the seed and to grow. But I happen to think that our fundamental troubles all over the world can be summed up in this question: Is this the poet speaking, or the demagogue? Are we seeking the Orphic truth which only poets can find or are we settling for half truths and half lies which demagogues use to bait the masses with? You may or may not have read Polanyi's Personal Knowledge. I met him and his wife in New York at a dinner party; we ~~xxx~~ talked all evening (Hans Kohn, the historian, Paul Tillich, several physicists among them the one who headed up the Manhattan project, Polanyi, his wife [her field is chemistry] and I was the writer of the group.) We had a wonderful evening and all we said there pushed me further on with this theme of the poet and the demagogue as being the two prototypes of our age, forever warring with each other; the poet appealing to the deepest and highest of our natures, the demagogue appealing to the deepest and the lowest of our natures. I think I might be able to do a piece that would have a certain philosophical and poetic glow --and this is what I would like to do.

To do this, I shall have to cancel off a piece I had promised the Catholic literary journal Ramparts; but this is all right. I do have to do a piece first for Saturday Review, for Norman Cousins heard I was having a rough time financially (all the long hospital sieges I have had during the past year) so he insisted on paying me in advance for an article "to be done when you feel like doing it," he said. This was most kind, most tactful of him; and I feel I must do it first. I think I'll get back on my theme of the shadowy role white women have played in race relations in this country and the melodramatic role colored women have played; I'll develop some of the ideas I have worked on before. Hope it won't shock Norman too much to use it; he is sweet and he is liberal but he is still not deeply oriented in the field of white man, black man, white woman, black woman. He has tried this past year to veer back to the theme of the 1930's that "economics is really the whole trouble" when of course you and I know it isn't; although the trouble plays

MISS LILLIAN SMITH
BOX 766
CLAYTON, GEORGIA

And their ends, interests, destroy the progress, opportunities to learn, to work together

into the hands of economic exploiters who deliberately use old fears, old guilts as weapons to help them gain their ends. Well, anyway, I must do that first; then I'll get on your piece and try to have it to you by middle of October. Of course I never know when two or three weeks' of oppressive pain will make work impossible. There is always pain now but it reaches acute levels or peaks only every few weeks. I am just finishing up a bad three weeks and am praying for enough ease to complete that Redbook piece I was working on when I took pneumonia last summer. Of course the pneumonia took away from me my reservoir of strength and vitality and I have not got it back. But I am better and I hope for a good summer with sunshine to help me along.

I have been working on a new will; and am making tentative plans for a bequest that I'd like for Southern Regional Council to handle for me if the board is interested. But I won't take this up now; will do it later in a letter just about that. You can, in turn, take it up with the board if you think wise to do so. Jim Mackay has been working with me a little on this; but my last three months' illness made it a bit too difficult for me to struggle on wills; so it is still in a vague state. But Mackay is going to help me work it out and will be in Atlanta to discuss it with you, once I get it clear in my own mind what I want to do.

My regards to all,

sincerely,

Lillian S.

Lillian Smith

File
Smith, Lillian

May 28, 1964

Miss Lillian Smith
Box 766
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

We are delighted.

We do want you to know, however, that our greed for an essay by you, strong as it is, is a little less than our scruples about your comfort and health. Be kind to your whole self.

What you suggested in your letter as the theme for our piece has excited Maggie, Pat, and me all the way to the marrow.

The last paragraph of your letter -- a bequest -- is a great mystery

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

MISS LILLIAN SMITH
BOX 766
CLAYTON, GEORGIA

November 16, 1964

Dear Leslie Dunbar:

My face is red, my voice, if you were here, would stammer a little as I stare at your May 4th letter saying November 15th would have to be the outside date for the essay, The Poet and the Demagogue. For I don't have it done. I am working on it, it is coming along but it will be at least ten days before I can finish it --and I am counting on ten days when the old illness will let me work. Is this much too late? shall I just give it up for your project and use it in some other way? This is what I had arranged: Pocket Books, Inc., is doing a series of Credo books; they have asked me and others (among them, Fred Hoyle, Sir Herbert Read, Jean-Paul Sartre, Aron Copland, Robert Oppenheimer, Werner Heisenberg, Michael Polanyi) each to do our credo for this project. I told them what I was doing for you and asked if I could use it as part 2 of my little book and they said I could. The first half of the book (or perhaps two-thirds of it) will be a more personal "I" kind of thing; but I think after the personal, to turn and do my milieu,--the century out of which I was born and reared and during which I xx learned all I know-would enlarge the dimensions of the book in a valid and truly creative way. So, what I had planned to do and am now writing is (a) a good look from the philosophical and psychological and economic (etc.) planes at the contemporary South, during which I shall try to find six or eight strong patterns or threads that will lead me like Ariadne's thread back into the century of the South behind us. I am writing the thing on as poetic a level as possible (using the word to mean the searching for lasting truths) and am stating as my belief, almost my thesis, that the big struggle of our times is not between democracy and communism, not "the cold war" but the terrifying, abrasive, and possibly creative struggle between the demagogue with his half truths and mobs and the poet with his relationships with his entire world. I am, at the same time, coming to grips with specific problems which I believe have hung over us for a long time and which may be now taking a new turn; I am looking at phenomena that is metamorphosing.

to his inner self

Maggie was so polite when she was here that I got no sense that you were expecting the piece RIGHT NOW; you know pain and long illness play tricks on one's sense of time: it often turns into a deep pool instead of a stretched-out thing of calendar dates and clock hours. But this week, I dug into the piles of unprocessed letters, papers etc, that have piled up during this mean year of illness until I found your May 4th letter so I could see exactly what you did expect. Well --but I didn't meet the Nov. 15th date! so -- tell me what to do next. Shall I push and finish it for you? Can you still use it in the way you wanted to? Or shall I turn it right now into the book I am doing for the series? I couldn't possibly be hurt if you said you could not now use it; I could only try the harder to apologize for not looking earlier and pushing a bit harder. The surgery and long hospitalization in May-June pushed me away from my writing, as did the six weeks of cobalt in August-Sept.

MISS LILLIAN SMITH
BOX 766
CLAYTON, GEORGIA

The latter part of September passed like a heavy fog as I was trying to regain a bit of strength; October began to be better but I had small commitments and every-day duties (which also had piled up while I was so ill) and I didn't push, although I worked practically every day on the piece --either writing, or reading for it, or pondering the whole thing, as one does when trying something one believes is important.

If I've spoiled things for you or if you have perhaps in your distress turned to somebody else for help, don't mind just saying so frankly. The apologies are due only on my side. But if I've messed things up badly for you, do forgive me.

Please give Governor Collins my regards; I hope he liked my piece in McCalls this month. It did get to ten or twelve million readers but how many were moved by it or changed by it, of course I don't know. I have told Governor Collins that I am trying to help with this Community Service thing by writing a few pieces for the big circulation mags. I am now (after your piece) going to do one for Red Book on words to use and how to use them: a kind of simple, unpretentions, conciliating piece on things to do and things to say and things to think through again. I hope it, too, will help clarify this intellectual smog that has settled over our Deep South. Over other areas, too, but especially over ours. I was proud to discover that my county, good old Rabun, came through with a 4½ to one vote for Johnson; only one Georgia county got ahead of us: Franklin. I'd like to think the hundreds of my books the Ten Cent Store has sold here (in hardcover editions!) helped. One would like to believe it; of course, one never knows. But after the McCalls' piece I got a phone call from Atlanta threatening to dynamite my home up here; God knows, they could do it right easily. But this time, instead of hugging my troubles to myself, I told four semi-liberal young men in town (who are prominent and influential) about it; they were outraged and were marvelous to me; somehow it helped my feelings --even though it may not keep the dynamiting from happening one of these nights. Don't let this get to a reporter, please sir; that kind of news ruins you in a small town. And it can't help me or anybody else for it to be known. The four young men got in touch with GBI and FBI and I thought it was good for them to take on a little responsibility which they seemingly so warmheartedly assumed. I had ten lights put outside; we keep things well locked up; I moved Paula Snelling from a vulnerable room to one not so unprotected - and I stay where I am. We each stay in a separate cottage.

We enjoyed Maggie's visit: somehow we (mind) light each other up not like candles or searchlights but like a Roman holiday of fireworks. But it is always fun.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Smith

November 30, 1964

Miss Lillian Smith
Box 766
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

I hope you got my note. We do want to publish your piece and will do so whenever you can get it done. This will still leave you free to put it also into your credo book - which ought to be great.

I have Our Faces, Our Words at home, still unread, but so too is Mr. Dabbs's new book, and so much else. Writers have not treated readers compassionately in 1964, and one lifts his way out of the avalanche of books on "the problem" piece by piece. I have read your McCalls article; it has the accustomed beauty of your writing as well as your enduring insistence that humanity will either learn to be humane - in every sense - or go on suffering.

I didn't get a chance to bespeak your greetings to Governor Collins, but did include them in a subsequent letter. He made a good talk and is, I think, a good man.

Maggie has worked so long and closely on her piece about you that we haven't got much other work out of her lately. I tell her that after all this she had better write a piece we all like. Take care of yourself.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw

file

June 25, 1965

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

I hope you will believe that we have put your words in the service of other good words. Your paragraph, quoted on the first page of the enclosed pamphlet and from which we took its title, seemed to us to say perfectly what we also wanted to say. Pat has done here, I think, a beautiful job.

All best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:js
Enclosure - 1.

Julia
Sir - you
It might be good, if
you haven't already - to pull her
Corresp. & make a folder for her

September 27, 1965

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

I am about to go on my way into the maelstrom of New York. These have been good years for me at the Southern Regional Council, and I hope I have done no harm to anyone else. It has been a fine privilege to work on the same side with you. I doubt very much that you are aware of what you have been and are for others.

My best wishes to you, and many thanks for your friendship both to me and to the Council.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

December 15, 1965

Miss Lillian Smith
Old Screamer Mountain
Clayton, Georgia

Dear Miss Smith:

Several years ago the Council established a category of Life Fellows to honor those distinguished Southerners whose contribut9ons to the region had been truly and uniquely outstanding.

At the Annual Meeting of the Southern Regional Council on November 16 this year, the Council voted unanimously to elect you a Life Fellow.

I am grateful for the opportunity of informing you of this move, and we shall be honored if you accept.

Enclosed is a citation setting forth the Council's action.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Life Certificate)

LILLIAN SMITH
P. O. BOX 766
CLAYTON, GEORGIA 30525

December 27, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

What a beautiful thing to do for me! I am deeply moved by the Council voting to elect me a Life Fellow of the Southern Regional Council. I have the Life Certificate on my bookshelf above my bed and I show it with great pride to my family and close friends. Thank you very much.

I have been especially happy about the work the SRC has done during the past ten years; and recently, or during the past three or four years, I have found myself feeling very close to many of the Council's policies, projects, and the people in the Council. Let me help you whenever I can; and when the old cancer will let me do it!

May I use this opportunity to tell you that I feel especially pleased about your being the executive director; I do not know you well but my fleeting talks with you, sometimes hardly more than an exchange of smiles, and all that I have heard about you, make me feel that SRC is fortunate to have you.

Give my affectionate greetings to those I know at the Council's office, and let me wish all of you a good, a very good year.

Sincerely yours,

Lillian Smith

Lillian Smith

PS: The children of Ivy Hill --our Negro community--have been coming to my home for a Christmas party since 1930. Now they are integrated with the Clayton Elementary School and Rabun County High; so--they were asking their parents rather anxiously from Thanksgiving on, "Is Miss Lil going to h[illegible] our party now that we are integrated?" Of course I did h[illegible] and it was one of our best: held in my library which was decorated quite beautifully, I thought; I told the Buss[illegible] stories as usual --with the children taking the story fro[illegible] and telling it themselves --and we had General Boo Boo Vi[illegible] us (an Austrian toy military officer whose only skill is c[illegible] nuts in his big jaws which sent the children into hysterics) [illegible] the Sleepy Bear who could not wake up enough to go even to the integrated school --and all in all, it was hilarious fun w[illegible] old and young. Then Buss Eye brought the Magic Quarters (s[illegible] in old depression days but measly today!) and we reached our

How I would miss them if we failed from the party--

3 a.m. - Sept 6 1966
Emory Univ. Hospital
Atlanta - Ga -

Dear Paul -

My quiet hours - when I can think of my friends, & of many things?

One more, I want to thank you for all you have done for me. I'd like more than I can say for you to drop by the hospital to see me, but you may be on vacation (I don't know) or this may be a too busy time - I go to the mountain (hmm!) by ambulance Friday. Am in the middle of the 4th round of that awesome stuff they are giving me. I use the word deliberately for it is so powerful so lethal and yet I trust this human being's skill - I remember a time when I trusted no one that much.

They are letting me go for 2 reasons; one is, they think they have adjusted the dosage to my needs & resources so that my local doctor (a fine one) can carry on with a trip to hospital here for me about once a month. It will be rather

2

good to get ~~[illegible]~~ home and by
once more to write. I shall be in
bed (I still cannot walk but we
hope I can in six months) with
electric hospital bed, wheel chair etc
but it is going to work out. I feel
confident.

I have even agreed to let Mike
Wallace do a show where I should
talk & appear on picture. Dr. Brown
& Dr. Huguley think I can go through
it. He (Wallace) will come to the Mountains to make
it.

Paul - I have a gift for SRL's
private files. It gives me immense
pleasure to present it to you: It is
one of the most remarkable autobiographies
— a real piece of Americana I believe,
we have in this country.

It is not the original. But it
is one of a few copies of the original.
It was written by an illiterate, aged
negro. Spelling fantastic — no punctuation

and yet you can read it. I must admit the heart & imagination have to work overtime!

I wrote the introduction to this book of Elys. It had to be tied up cleanly and it was the last piece of work I did — except to resign from Coe.

I shall send it to you when I go home. (It will be published this fall)

Paul, I also want you (SPC) to have copies of my memoir tapes. Don't you think it is perhaps a good idea? More fires, maybe! ~~even~~ bombings on the Mountain — how do we know? You remember my study & office & bedroom were burned in 1955 destroying thousands of mss., letters, pictures, 13,000 letters I had promised the Archives in Washington etc

But I cannot afford to make copies for you. They cost — but if you think

4. history can use them, or SRC should be a kind of archive itself, you are most welcome to copy any or all my tapes, & maybe a few hundred unusually historical letters.
[You understand the "rights" belong to me.]

Well – all this of course will & let me know how you feel about it.

Please thank Mrs Johnson for that beautiful work. I shall of course write her when I go home & get a little stronger.

My affectionate, admiring regards.

Lillian.

Miss Lillian Smith
PO Box 766
Clayton Ga. 30525.

William Smith
Emory University Hospital
Atlanta 8

ATLANTA, GA.
-PM
7 SEP
1960
28

5c U.S. POSTAGE

Personal

[maybe opened by his secretary if he is out of town]

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

PA has original.

LILLIAN SMITH
P. O. BOX 766
CLAYTON, GEORGIA 30525

December 21, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta , Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We won't keep up this almost daily exchange of letters but I had to thank you for yours. It is so generous, so very decent --and really wonderful. You see, in 1944, I couldn't work with any organization that felt it "was not yet time" to take a stand against segregation; yet, I suspect I pushed them pretty hard with my "sense of integrity, etc.". And letting the New Republic run part of that letter --I think, I hope, I protected SRC's "face", but am not sure; I was not at that time quite as sensitive to the feelings of people who differed from me as I am today and I may have exposed my virtue flagrantly --I hope not, I just don't remember without looking up things. And as you know, the white boys burned down my house, study and office, with tens of thousands of letters, documents, papers, photographs, clippings, etc. etc. and it is difficult, and often impossible, to look things up. Nothing has ever hurt me quite as much as losing all my unpublished mss., all those thousands of marvelous and valuable letters, etc. I have everything from 1955 on but only a few files, a few boxes that had been stored elsewhere escaped the holocaust. (My three fires --the other two were forest fires set to burn the whole place up -- were pretty rough experiences.)

You see, the SRC --even though the personnel there at the time have for the most part gone--could not felt they could never forgive me for being right; it is hard to forgive people for that, you know; so much easier to forgive them for being wrong. And I was deeply touched by their warmth and generosity in doing so. No --I have not changed; I still think not only has "the Negro" been harmed beyond description, I think the white man (woman) has been harmed just as much --each in a different way. I think now, we have reached a new plateau, everybody is groping and that is good; but we, you at SRC and I and others who are able to think on multi-levels, should now been probing into what has happened to "white culture" and the Western man; this is the big problem ahead of us, actually; Negroes will (much like the workers) get their rights and opportunities; but not much will come of it unless white people change. Atlanta's feelings (newspapers and many of Atlanta's spokesmen) that we can change the situation without changing ourselves is dangerous and of course a big lie. It can't be done. I think we should now --all of us, I in my more creative way perhaps, SRC in its exploratory way, confront the deprived white, deprived once of money, still deprived culturally and morally and psychologically. There are as many of these as there are Negroes and they must be analyzed and their plight --our plight-- dramatised. Come up to see me, won't you? Sincerely yours,

Lillian Smith

[illegible] upper middle class people tr-

Board

March 4, 1966

Miss Lillian Smith
P. O. Box 766
Clayton, Georgia 30525

Dear Miss Smith:

I have been carrying your letter of December 31 around with me since receiving it. This hardly leads to a daily exchange of correspondence, although there is nothing I would enjoy more if it would not over burden you.

Let me say first, how much I enjoyed your letter to the Constitution about the Bond affair. It is a capsule of so much of the tragedy that we are, inevitably, stumbling through just now. We were pleased at the opportunity to reprint the letter in our new quarterly, NEW SOUTH. And I was even more pleased to see that the Atlanta Magazine featured it so promptly.

You are so right that we cannot change things in our society without changing ourselves. I think much of the frustration from within and without the Federal establishment right now comes because new programs are trying to produce revolutionary results without using a revolutionary means. For instance, I think all the Head Start Program's are fine. It is good to expose children to culture and for six weeks or so give them vitamins and perhaps a dental check up. But they go back to the homes they came from and I wonder if much is changed.

If in the South we are at a plateau as you suggest, and I think we are, then we have a magnificient opportunity to

go on and change ourselves. But this implies a danger as well that we may miss this magnificient opportunity to build on all that has led us to this plateau. I think for the future SRC's responsibility is to address itself to this opportunity and be concerned with this danger.

Enclosed is a copy of the Director's Report for last year. If you can wade through it you will find near the end an outline of some of our new programs.

Warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosure

MJ

Tel: GArfield 1-4960

LOOK

COWLES MAGAZINES AND BROADCASTING, INC. 625 MARKET STREET SAN FRANCISCO 5 CALIF.

August 30, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

I happened to be in New York when your wonderful telegram on our Lillian Smith story came in. Thank you for it -- and for all the help your office has given me on this story and throughout the years.

All the best,

George B. Leonard /mk

George B. Leonard
Senior Editor and
West Coast Editorial Manager

GBL:mk

9-6-66

AN INTERVIEW WITH LILLIAN SMITH

BY GEORGE B. LEONARD LOOK SENIOR EDITOR

Not black power, but human power

THIRTEEN YEARS AGO, Lillian Smith found out she had cancer. After surgery and two weeks rest, she went back to her writing. Two years and two books later, the cancer returned, and she was told she could not get well. She did not believe it. She went on writing, traveling, teaching, driven, as always, to the most outrageous and bewildering of human acts, which is saying the simple, obvious truth before people are ready to hear it. The cancer came back again and again, eating away at the most vulnerable parts of her small, slim body. As the body wasted, the spirit grew.

She had enemies, white Southerners who feared her for seeing Negroes as people. They burned her house, a mountaintop retreat near Clayton, Ga., destroying all her manuscripts, letters, mementos and pictures. But they did not defeat her. She moved to another house on the mountain and went on writing. There were other enemies, literate men in the South and North, who did something more hurtful than burning a house: They refused to comprehend her. Back in 1944, she had published *Strange Fruit*, a novel about an interracial love affair that had shocked the South and made her the darling of critics who thought themselves liberal on race. Some of these critics kept expecting another *Strange Fruit*, and when it did not come (her spirit grew; her writing encompassed not just race but all of humankind), they simply interpreted each new book in terms of their earlier favorite. To them, Lillian Smith would always be "that little lady in Georgia who wants to help the Negroes," and nothing more. They had their neat little box for her, and they tried to slap her down whenever she seemed to be escaping it. The stubborn incomprehension of these critics started to make her bitter, and sometimes, when she spent too many months on her mountain alone all day with nothing but her pain to focus on, she had to fight the bitterness as hard as she fought the cancer. But none of this could defeat her. She went on writing (at times with blood pressure as low as 50) and speaking the truth, explicit and unrelenting, no matter whether her words made enemies or friends.

Now, it was the summer of 1966, and she lay gravely ill in Emory University Hospital in Atlanta while Negroes rioted in overheated Northern city streets. And once again her words had startled the nation from South to North: Lillian Smith, bravest white champion of Negro rights, had resigned from the Congress of Racial Equality to protest its rejection of nonviolence.

When I entered her hospital room, she held out both hands for mine. "I'm sorry I've kept you so long," she said, with the smile of an old fighter who knows precisely how badly the fight is going. I took her hands and told her the few days I'd spent waiting for her to be well enough to see me had given me a chance to read *Killers of the Dream* for the first time. "It's a work of genius," I said with-

continued

out exaggeration, for I had discovered in that neglected and misunderstood book an angry, severe, yet beautiful explication of the hidden causes of Southern racism, the deep roots of shame and pride, sexual repression and self-deception that brought madness up out of the Southern earth. In it, as far back as 1949, Lillian Smith had said the unsayable words that many of us, including myself, had only got around to wrestling with more than a decade later.

Dark eyes shone from a face that gave off a white aura, not of sickness but of an almost supernatural intensity, an impatience with unessential matters. The room was light and neat, and it contained none of the paraphernalia of mortal illness. "I'm a bit weak from lack of nourishment," she told me, after she had excused the friend who was staying with her and I had taken a chair. "They are feeding me intravenously, but I told them to take all the needles out while you're here. I also told them to leave us alone. Now, I'm going to get a little clinical for a moment. This new drug they're trying on me has the strange quality of making me look well. See my face?"

"Yes, you look very good."

"The drug works on my enzymes. It shakes me. If it works.... But this cancer—it's my ninth flare-up—it seems to be telling me that it means business. This may be my last interview."

"White Americans have not met creative Negro leadership halfway."

I HAD PHONED Miss Smith shortly after her resignation from CORE, and she had told me to come on to Atlanta. Since we knew and understood each other, she had said, we wouldn't have to waste time establishing contact. And she did want to make sure that her resignation wouldn't be misunderstood. "My telegram to CORE is a good expression of what I feel," she had told me on the phone. "It criticized the whites as much as it did CORE, but the news stories left out a lot of that part." She had sent the wire to CORE director Floyd McKissick and it read, in full, as follows:

"I strongly protest the dangerous and unwise position CORE has taken on the use of violence in effecting racial change. I am therefore resigning from your advisory committee.

"For many years, CORE was firm in its belief in the use of nonviolence and refused tactics dictated by anger and hate. Its leaders believed that only love and compassion, reason and a vigilant search for truth could bring about creative human relationships. Unfortunately the stubbornness and dishonest methods of segregationists, the violence of the Klan and the blind complacency of many white church people have made it easy for the haters to take over from the more wise and patient leadership.

"Now we have new killers of the dream.

"CORE has been infiltrated by adventurers and nihilists, black nationalists and plain old-fashioned haters who have finally taken over.

"But the whites must carry much of the moral burden for this having occurred. White Americans have not met the creative Negro leadership halfway. They demand that Negroes show more wisdom and patience than they themselves show.

"CORE was pushed hard by the inertia and violence of many white Americans before its wise leadership succumbed. But I do not believe in the use of violence, however great the temptation.

"We are working for something bigger than civil rights; we are working for better human beings, we are working for excellence in our cultural life. How can we achieve these goals unless all of us meet this challenge with honesty and intelligence and good will and speed?"

Now, we spoke of the telegram, and I asked her if the new rejection of nonviolence among many Negroes and the rise of the "Black Power" concept had surprised her. "No," she answered, "I feared it from the beginning. I was in India in 1946, just as Nehru was starting to take over a little piece of the mantle of Gandhi, and already that beautiful movement was dragging itself in the mud of jealousies, power, pettiness. I was there for six months again in 1954-55, saw Nehru and spent much time with his family. They talked quite frankly to me about the petty jealousies in something that should have been beautiful.

"Later, back in the States, I thought of this when I made a speech commemorating the first anniversary of SNCC [the militant Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee]. I chose as my title, 'Buying a New World With Old Confederate Bills.' I was reminding them even then of the problems they might have in the future. I said that after the Civil War—from 1865 on—America and England and Europe tried to buy the world of Africa and Asia with old Confederate bills—that is, with the belief that the white man's prestige was worth something. It wasn't.

"So I went on to remind the young men and women of SNCC how many good people had stood by them, and I told them I would choose to be their first critic. I said, 'You're going to have the same temptation that Jesus and Gandhi had—the temptation of personal political power. You will want to get power in your own hands, to manipulate, to use your own kind of old Confederate money. You will want to stir people's hatreds.' I warned them about all of this.

"At the end of my talk, John Lewis [then chairman of SNCC] came up to shake my hand. His hands were wringing wet, and he said, 'I had the strangest feeling when you were talking.' I said, 'If you had that feeling, you really didn't need my warning.' John Lewis is a bright and good person, and now he's out of SNCC. Or has he come back since I've been here in the hospital?"

"No," I said, "he's still out of power."

She shook her head. "I feared it would happen. Now Black Power will last until white people and black come together and say the only power that counts is human power."

She gave firm emphasis to these words, lifting her head somewhat painfully from the pillow, and I thought of a summer's afternoon I had spent with her just a year earlier at her mountain retreat. I had come to interview her for a LOOK issue on the South, but before the afternoon was over, she had moved far beyond "the South" or "race" to sketch luminous outlines of man's future, of a new human power that was becoming possible on this planet. Though weak from her illness even then, she spoke with tightly focused energy and conviction, delicately balancing her immediate concern about the ongoing racial struggle against her larger vision that could give the struggle meaning and direction.

We ended up sitting on the floor of her bedroom, going through boxes of research material, surrounded by papers and books on Persian history, medieval heresies, evolution, modern science and—most central to her thought—the works of the Jesuit philosopher-scientist Teilhard de Chardin. Totally absorbed, I did not realize until I smelled a subtle change in the thin, piney mountain air that it had started raining quite hard outside, for the air was utterly still and the rain was whispering down through needles and boughs. In the green and rainy light, Lillian Smith's pain-ravaged face, circled around by curly white hair, was radiant with the hope that has grappled with suffering and disappointment and has prevailed.

SEGREGATION (to summarize Miss Smith's view) is a strange but significant form of dehumanization. It is a striking example of mankind's most disastrous sin, the dualistic approach to life that separates body from spirit, dark from light, action from thought. By solving our race problem, we can show the way toward repairing all the chasms that split the world. But this we cannot do unless we see segregation not simply as something that concerns race but as an act, a defense, perhaps a ritual that can be used in numberless ways. We can segregate ourselves from each other, from our own true selves, from God, from an idea, from art, music, science. The American South, for example, segregated itself from the richness of a great part of the last 3,000 years and thus became a culturally-deprived region that is only now reawakening to the joys and opportunities of the present.

The worst thing about segregation is that it stops the human race from evolving. We started to evolve as human beings perhaps a half-million, perhaps a hundred thousand years ago, when individuals came closer together, used each other as mirrors, began reflecting, *thinking*. Because they were so near each other, their minds blazed from proximity. As Teilhard de Chardin said, the mental temperature shot up. Because the world is round, Teilhard pointed out, men cannot escape each other, but must always move closer. As they rub their minds together, they become keener, brighter, more curious, more *human*.

Today, in the chaos of a fast-changing world,

many people are behaving like children who are upset because they cannot run away from a world that is round. Some want to escape human growth by jumping off into outer space. Some want to run backward into the past. Some turn to violence. Some try to withdraw into ideologies, abstract schemes that often become, to their believers, more important than living human beings.

But we cannot escape each other, cannot remain segregated. Just as the 19th century was the age of ideologies and segregation, the 20th century is becoming the age of human relations. Again, the mental temperature is shooting up. Suddenly, we are only a few hours from everyone on earth. Men in small groups, collaborating, can solve problems in a few months or weeks or even days that one man, working alone and in isolation, could never have solved had he lived a thousand years. At the same time, modern science is giving us the instruments and the insights with which to examine and understand ourselves so that we may open our hearts and minds to others. "It has crept upon us so quietly," Lillian Smith wrote in *The Journey*. "We have hardly noticed. But it is one of the significant events of the 20th century: these groups of men and women, finding their tongues, sloughing off the old mutism and doing it just as science gives them the means of worldwide communication. Not arguing, not debating, not defending and entrenching their past mistakes. Not on trial. Simply saying, 'It was this way with me.' "

She went on to write about ending the subtle segregations within us: "Now, for the first time, we are beginning to bring together the fragments: to bind childhood to the rest of our life so that our reason can control it and thus reduce the anxiety which dictators, inside and outside us, exploit so lushly; to tie body to mind to feelings to fantasies to belief; to relate these to the rest of mankind and to the world; to relate power to humility, and responsibility to honor and freedom; to keep tenderness and truth close together."

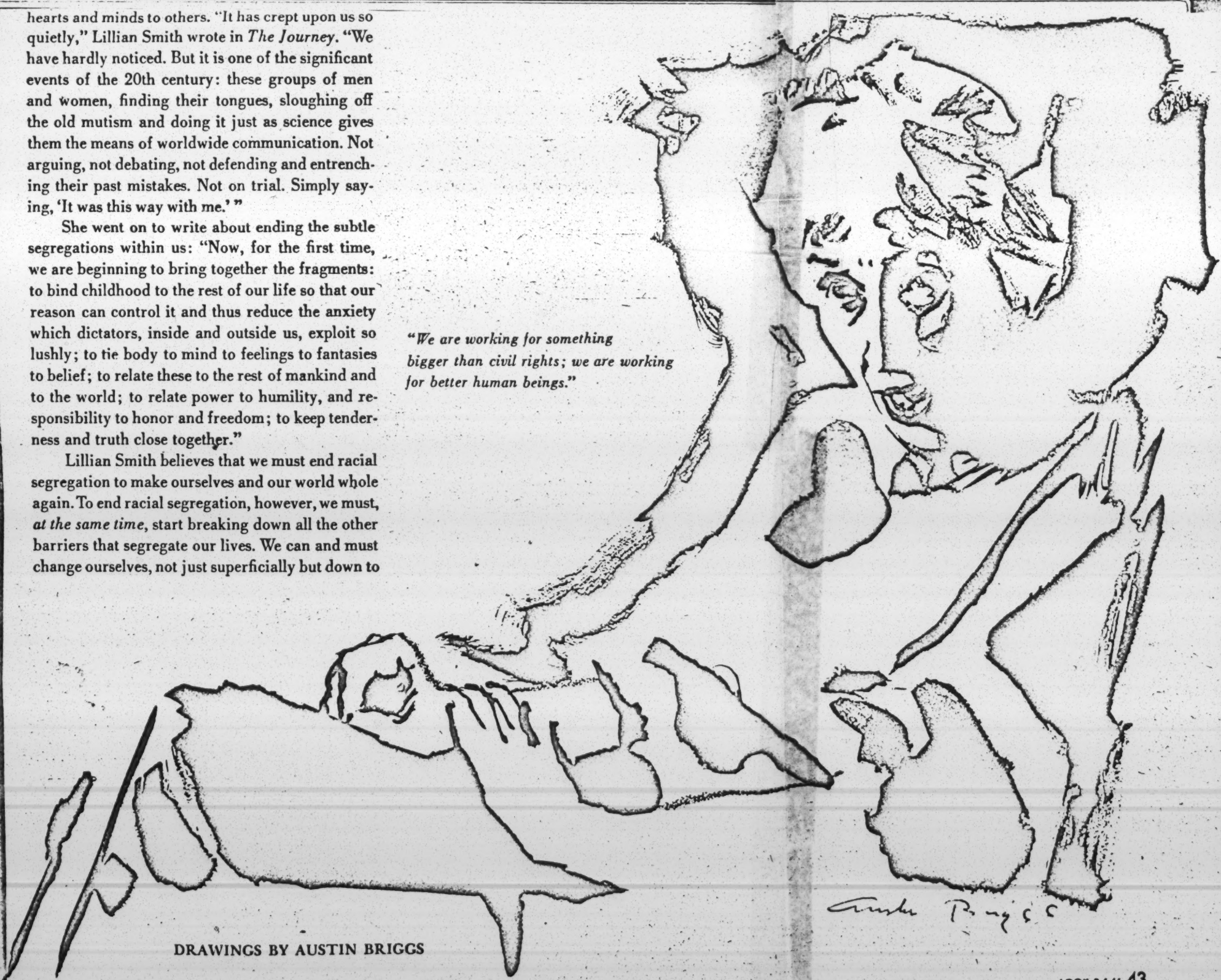
Lillian Smith believes that we must end racial segregation to make ourselves and our world whole again. To end racial segregation, however, we must, *at the same time*, start breaking down all the other barriers that segregate our lives. We can and must change ourselves, not just superficially but down to the second and third layers. We can and must evolve into different and better human beings, not by withdrawing into ourselves but by forcing ourselves right out into the crowd, by working with and changing the institutions—government, church, business, school—whose sole purpose should be to make each of us more human.

AGAINST THIS VISION of infinite and ever-evolving human power, it is easy to see why Lillian Smith had to protest a policy that would build new walls between black and white just as the old walls were beginning to crumble. *Black Power*. No matter how great the provocation that created it, or the immediate satisfactions and gains, Black Power eventually works against the human power that builds lifesaving bridges between all races, all people.

In an Atlanta hospital room, at a time when Negroes and whites taunted and cursed each other on city streets, when innocent children suffered the pain of ignorant bullets, Lillian Smith and I talked about building new bridges. "Just as segregation is easy to define," she said, "integration is impossible to define. The new human relations offer us infinite options, the options of spiritual freedom. This means not that we'll be free to do what we *want* but free to do what's *right*. Eventually, the two will be one."

Again, she lifted her head: "This idea of human evolution is so exciting. It's as if God is saying to us, 'You've been a baby long enough. Now, grow up. I don't have to give you childish things like miracles any longer. Learn to do these things for yourself. Take the world in your own hands.' And we are. We're beginning to evolve into this great human spirit." She lay down again. "I think you'd better go now. My pulse is speeding up so."

I lingered a moment at the door, then blew her a kiss good-bye. END



"We are working for something bigger than civil rights; we are working for better human beings."

DRAWINGS BY AUSTIN BRIGGS

File-Board
Lillian Smith

September 13, 1966

Miss Lillian Smith
Box 766
Clayton, Georgia 30525

Dear Lillian:

The wonderful news of your going home was marred only by the fact that your letter did not reach me in time for me to visit you before you left.

Let me hasten to say that the offer of the copy of the autobiography, the tapes, and any other items you are willing to share with us will be gratefully and enthusiastically accepted. And, we do have a small special grant to cover any costs involved in such a process. In fact, I hope you will let us know of any needs you may have in this regard, for quite possibly we might be able to secure small amounts of money for purposes of your own that were not related to SRC.

At some future date when you feel up to it I would be very grateful for an opportunity to drive up to Clayton to visit with you. Would you keep this in mind and write or call me sometime?

In the meantime, all of us here, and I especially, send you every good and warm wish.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

P. S. -- While the office is somewhat distant from Clayton, I hope you will think of this as your Atlanta office for any copying, typing, telephoning, detail work or anything else we might conceivably do for you.

PA

File Board Life Fellows: Lillian Smith

Lillian Smith, Georgia author whose books on the South are acclaimed around the world, died September 28 in an Atlanta hospital in her last struggle of a 13-year-illness, concluding the career of a Southerner "who never wanted to write about race, but just about people."

But Lillian Smith's first, and lasting, fame came with her first novel, STRANGE FRUIT, a small town story of a tragic black-white love affair. It sold 3,000,000 copies in 15 languages and made her a spokesman to the world on Southern sins of race. Her KILLERS OF THE DREAM, a psychological analysis of the Southern system of separation, became a classic of sectional understanding and a ringing demand for liberation of white and Negro Southerners from the bonds of segregation. Some of what critics called her "lesser books" she considered among her best. ONE HOUR, a story of cultivated white Southerners and the crisis of a town, she regarded as "my best novel," and ranked THE JOURNEY, an account of emotional and spiritual growth, as broader and deeper than earlier books. In OUR VOICES, OUR WORDS, of young people in the Southern Negro movement, she returned to "race," as in NOW IS THE TIME, a "tract" written after 1954. MEMORY OF A LARGE CHRISTMAS was a vivid, and profound, description of children's country Christmas when the convicts came to dinner.

In her later years, Miss Smith studied, mused and wrote about vast and troubling changes in human life leading to "the tremendous future" of man, and this year regretted, and withdrew her support from, the new disciples of "black power." "What we want," she said shortly before her death, is "human power."

Lillian Smith's friendships and influence reached to the powerful people of the earth and to humble neighbors on a Georgia mountainside. Students, politicians, writers from Europe, Asia and Africa visited her home on Old Screamer mountain, as did American intellectuals, literary people, old friends and plain book-readers on pilgrimages to a brave thinker.

She opened her home and her heart to youngsters of the Movement, soothing the troubled, encouraging the talented and refreshing the weary.

She divided her work between the practical and the artistic: tracts, speeches, seminars, picket lines, service on boards of national liberal organizations, civic politicking and persuading in the little town of Clayton, and a womanly response to family and friends in personal crisis. And these labors of love and duty often interrupted her writing, even as the experiences fed her art.

Miss Smith was intensely and tenderly concerned with children, teaching music in China as a girl and later running Laurel Falls Camp for girls on her mountaintop, where she and Paula Snelling introduced unprecedented intellectual and religious innovations along with the tennis, swimming, hikes and games.

Lillian Smith paid the price it costs a prophet to tell the truth to his own country. STRANGE FRUIT brought her fame and money, and persecution and insult such as few women have sustained. Other books of importance were, she felt, killed by silent censorship North and South. And up from Clayton beneath Old Screamer Mountain, three times came enemies to burn down buildings, so that she lost a novel and other manuscripts and treasured notes, documents and household goods.

The author summoned equal valor in her long fight with recurrent cancer, a trial she turned into a source of hope and courage for thousands with fatal illness and other ordeals.

It is to honor the brave intelligence, the righteous judgments and the penetrating work of this Southern Regional Council life member, that the Council proposes that a special committee of members be appointed by the Executive Committee to consider whether or not it would be desirable to have a Council award in honor of Lillian Smith, and if so, the particulars of such an award.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Smith, Lillian

REGARDING:

Article - "A Challenge to the South" - Presented at Atlanta University Commencement, 1957 (Re-printed in THE NEW LEADER, Aug. 26, 1957

DATE:

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT:

American Jewish Committee - New York
Edwin J. Lukas - see Ltr. Aug. 29, 1957

34-Smith, Willia

~~A REVIEW~~

STRANGE FRUIT: A REVIEW BY GORDON B. HANCOCK

It is difficult to imagine a more subtle yet scathing indictment against the Negro race in general and Negro womanhood in particular than that presented in Strange Fruit by Lillian Smith. If it is staged and filmed as proposed, it will become an effective complement to the Birth of A Nation by Thomas Dixon. In any case, it will do irreparable damage to the cause of race relations and postpone further the already too indefinitely postponed better era of the Negro's full integration into American life. Whereas The Birth of A Nation made a flagrant indictment against the big "burly type" of Negro, the Strange Fruit indictment is against the educated Negro, the last hope of the Negro race. When Miss Smith portrays in Nonnie Anderson, a young Negro woman college graduate, no higher ambitions than to be a servant and the mistress and concubine of a dissolute poor white man, she stabs at the very heart of the hopes of the Negro race. When she makes a young Negro physician, Sam Perry, willing to take the cast-off concubine of the said poor white man, she makes doubly sure her contempt for the possibilities which we hoped inhered in the education of the Negro race. Being a novel set in the post-war period of World War I, it becomes particularly dangerous as we enter the post-war period of World War II. This treatment of the Negro-white relations in the South will serve as a mighty hypodermic to rally the Old South which some of us were optimistic enough to imagine weakening in the last agony of death. If Hitler died without reading Strange Fruit, he missed what to him

would have been a rare treat, so thoroughly did it dovetail with his notion of Negroes and master-racism. The very popularity of Strange Fruit is in itself ominous! This popularity largely hinges about the fact that the Negro is cast in a subservient role with no possibilities for a higher. Nonnie Anderson becomes a symbol of the educated Negro woman and when such woman prefers a life of concubinage with a poor white man to the larger life offered in service to her race, she presents a sad commentary on the wisdom of those who seek larger educational opportunities for Negroes. No less sad is the commentary offered in the readiness with which an outstanding Negro physician is willing to take unto wife the cast-off of a white dissolute. The whole portrayal of the Negro principals is misrepresentative in the highest degree. In the first place, the typical Negro concubine of the Old South spurned poor white men who had nothing to offer but a "scandalized" name. The more favorable position of the mulatto of the South is further proof of this fact. The only explanation that the mulattoes were educated first among the Negroes and became economically secure, inheres in the fact that their white antecedents were whites of wealth and affluence who gave them a start. Among the poor whites, cases of bastardy and incest were far more common than concubinage with Negro women. I know not one case of a Negro professional taking to wife the cast-off concubine of a dissolute white man. Nonnie Anderson and Sam Perry are not typical Negroes of today. Any implication that education does not elevate the ambitions of Negroes is damnable, and Strange Fruit makes such implication. The book is one unrelieved picture of the sordidness of Negro life and morals.

The Negro is now becoming a literary "guinea pig" even as he has long since been a "guinea pig" for the social scientists with their "studies"and "researches" and "investigations". Unfortunately, better race relations must wait until writers are found who are quite as willing to peddle Negro virtues as they are to peddle his profanities, his vulgarisms and his sexual pecculations. Negro novels are always "best sellers" for the Negro typifies the murderers and rapists and rogues and rascals that the American readers are always hungry to hear about. This role of the Negro confirms preconceptions and prejudices and perpetuates popular misrepresentations and the very fact that this is so popular is one of the saddest commentaries on the intelligence and religion of this nation. Any trap set and baited with profanity, vulgarity and blasphemies almost always catch the American readers in large numbers. Strange Fruit is no exception. Taking her cue from Richard Wright, Miss Smith very awkwardly injects unnecessary profanities and vulgarisms. The book disparages the Negro race and blasphemes Negro womanhood; it plays into the hands of the master-racists and quite conceivably heartens Bilbo, Rankin and Eastland who no doubt would feel pleased and highly flattered to have autographed "pocket editions". It is difficult to harmonize the Lillian Smith, editor of The South Today, and the Lillian Smith, author of Strange Fruit. It is a minor calamity when her pronounced literary powers are sacrificed on the altars of this country's moral and intellectual depravity. There is something radically wrong with the Negro who does not resent Strange Fruit.

September 26, 1953

Editor South Carolina Christian Advocate
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

Here's a pamphlet we have just got out. Its purpose is to help in the tremendous task of informing the Southern public on the issues now before the Supreme Court. It is a calm balanced treatment.

We want it to be helpfully used by small informal local discussion groups.

It has been widely noticed in the Southern daily press.

I hope that editorially you will agree that the South Carolina Christian Advocate could properly make some reference to the pamphlet and its timeliness.

Sincerely,

GSM/allc
enclosure

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

September 30, 1953

Mr. W. E. Solomon, Executive Secretary
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia 1, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Solomon:

Many thanks for writing September 6th.

I am a little disappointed about postponing until November, because these are precious weeks for getting the Southern people educated on this issue before the Supreme Court decide.

The Georgia State Teachers Education and Association has already bought 1000 copies and sent them out to teachers.

Couldn't you do the same for South Carolina nowabouts? If the Association is too broke to pay for them nowadays, we can wait on that, but now is the time for them to move.

I sold them to Mr. Harper for 10¢ apiece and will do the same thing for you.

I still desperately need a sizeable contribution from the Palmetto Education Association as outlined in my original letter, but that can wait; although moving the booklet should not.

Sincerely,

GSM/allo

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

September 30, 1953

Mr. W. E. Solomon, Executive Secretary
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia 1, South Carolina

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Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director

GSM/allo

President
John R. Bowen
310 W. Bartlette St.
Sumter, S. C.

Vice-President
J. M. McAllister
P. O. Box 446
Kingstree, S. C.

Treasurer
J. T. McCain
Palmetto High School
Mullins, S. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

First District
Mrs. Henrietta F. Francis
Frogmore, S. C.

Second District
L. H. Dawkins
Area Trade School
Denmark, S. C.

Third District
S. K. Dean
P. O. Box 143
Edgefield, S. C.

Fourth District
H. L. Barksdale
331 N. Dean St.
Spartanburg, S. C.

Fifth District
S. L. Finley
159 Loomis St.
Chester, S. C.

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Holmes School
Florence, S. C.

At Large
Mrs. Madge P. Harper
Goff Avenue Extension
Orangeburg, S. C.

C. W. Fields
Waverly School
Columbia, S. C.

Past President
J. C. Parler
Wilkinson High School
Orangeburg, S. C.

Department of County Presidents
I. C. Bracey
210 W. Oakland Ave.
Sumter, S. C.

PALMETTO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
SIT LUX
FOUNDED 1918

W. E. SOLOMON, Executive Secretary
1719 Taylor Street
COLUMBIA 1, SOUTH CAROLINA
TELEPHONE 2-9383

September 26, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Our Executive Committee delayed action on your request until their November meeting.

Yours truly,

W. E. Solomon

W. E. Solomon,
Executive Secretary

WES B

RECEIVED
SEP 28

October 14, 1953

Mr W E Solomon, Executive Secretary
Palmetto Education Association
1719 Taylor Street
Columbia 1, South Carolina

Dear Mr Solomon:

The illegible note said that I did understand that the Palmetto Education Association had done its full duty and could not shell out any substantial sum to S R C.

But I do hope that the Association will buy some copies of Questions and Answers and get them moving. These are the weeks for that to happen.

Incidentally, here is a follow-up pamphlet to be used by groups that have already read Questions and Answers and are game to go on and dig up the facts locally.

Sincerely yours,

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm:t
enclosures: 3

President
John R. Bowen
310 W. Bartlette St.
Sumter, S. C.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

First District
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Frogmore, S. C.

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Wilkinson High School
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Department of County Presidents
I. C. Bracey
210 W. Oakland Ave.
Sumter, S. C.

RECEIVED
OCT 6
Southern Regional Council

PALMETTO EDUCATION ASSOCIATION
SIT LUX
FOUNDED 1918

W. E. SOLOMON, Executive Secretary
1719 Taylor Street
COLUMBIA 1, SOUTH CAROLINA
TELEPHONE 2-9383

October 5, 1953

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I could not interpret the penciled note in your letter but I would like to make some facts clear to you.

For the past 9 years our Association has contributed $11,000.00 to the NAACP. We have contributed $4500.00 to the Clarendon County suit. We have never had 6000 teachers to pay membership in our Association and our membership fee was only $3.00 until two years ago. We have had to purchase approximately $4,000.00 worth of furniture and equipment, and now we are making plans for a $100,000.00 building.

So you see we cannot make contributions everywhere. I made this clear to your representative in Orangeburg this summer. Our Association is the only one that supports the NAACP. When we get this suit and some other things out of the way then SRC can expect handsome contributions from our Association.

We definitely appreciate the value of your research and your publications but we can't stretch our finance too far. At the next meeting of our Executive Committee a contribution to SRC will be discussed.

Yours truly,

W. E. Solomon

W. E. Solomon,
Executive Secretary

WES B

November nine, 1953

Miss Rachel Marks, Assistant Editor
SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Illinois

Dear Miss Marks:

Many thanks for your nice letter.

I am the son of a Baptist minister in Virginia.

We have done still another pamphlet which may or may not have reached you as follow up on the first one.

These last few months and weeks before the Supreme Court gives its decision are precious ones in which to build public opinion favorable to the changes that are to come. After the Court has decided there is every likelihood that minds will close in partisanship for or against what the Court will have said. Now people are puzzled and want to know what it would be wise to do. In any local community, the whole cause of integration would be much further along for whatever can be done in the way of organizing local and preferably bi-racial discussion groups. From a meeting of the minds and the finding of facts will come the steer to public opinion that we all want.

Sincerely yours

George S Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm-t
enclosure - 1

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO 37 · ILLINOIS
THE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SERVICE ADMINISTRATION

203 Cobb Hall
October 1[illegible], 1953

RECEIVED
OCT 15
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George C. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Thank you for your prompt reply to my note, and for the copy of Questions and Answers. I am sending a check for $1.65 to pay for it, and for your monthly New South. DS.

I am delighted with the approach you have used in your little bulletin on the schools. I grew up as the daughter of a Methodist minister in Virginia, and I know something of the kinds of arguments people used to give my mother when she attempted to point out that discrimination against one group in the community inevitably leads to more problems for all. Her favorite story had to do with finding several white children who were not attending school. When she marched herself down to see the school trustee about it, she was told:"If we enforce the compulsory education law for the white children, we'll have to enforce it for the Negroes too, and then we'll never get our crops in." In your bulletin you have answered many of the questions people do ask. Of course we both realize that a rational approach isn't all one needs in dealing with a problem so tied-up with people's feelings, but it is certainly part of the story.

With all good wishes,

Rachel Marks

Rachel Marks, Assistant Editor
SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1937 FROM
(PEABODY—SLATER—JEANES—RANDOLPH FUNDS)
811 CYPRESS STREET, N. E., ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

J. CURTIS DIXON
VICE-PRESIDENT & EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
FRED McCUISTION
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

May 17, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

MAY 18 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In Dr. Dixon's absence from the office, I am sending on to you the enclosed check # 1880 for $6 covering two copies of the volume "An Aftermath of Appamattox - A Memoir of the Life of Samuel Chiles Mitchell". Dr. Dixon will appreciate your bringing these by the office.

Sincerely yours,

Ruby Fordham

Secretary to Dr. Dixon

rf

Enc.

January 18, 1956

Mr. W.R. Solomon, Executive Secretary
Palmetto Education Association
1719 Taylor St.,
Columbia 1, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Solomon:

We are mighty glad to have you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

January 28, 1957

Mr. J. E. Soderlind
1310 Barnett Bank Building
Jacksonville 2, Florida

Dear Mr. Soderlind:

Eldon Edwards is still a General Motors employee and a union member. I'm not certain whether he is employed by Fisher Body or Chevrolet.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:
mm

South Africa

April 25, 1957

Mr. John Gunther, Co-Chairman
South Africa Defense Fund
4 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Gunther:

The enclosed check for ten dollars is just a token of our iiterest in the defense of South Africans who suffer legal and other harassment.

We feel that our first concern must be with our own daily problems here in the South - through our own organization and other channels. But we do want to join personally with you and others to make some expression of interest in the South African situation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

John Constable

Harold C. Fleming

Frederick B. Routh

Emory F. Via

EFV:mm
Enclosure

DOMESTIC SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram	
FULL RATE TELEGRAM	X
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$
S
E

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1206 10-51

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE	
Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate	
FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED
	PAID		SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.	%?#L?5/31/57

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

RIGHT HONORABLE BROOKS HAYS
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE SOUTHERN BAPTISTS FOR ELECTING AS LEADER

THE GREAT MAN YOU ARE.

Mrs. M. E. Tilly

July 3, 1957

Mr. Charles J. Mumford, Director
Department of Political Science
Southern Maryland Free State Library
Association
P. O. Box 1493
Annapolis, Maryland

Dear Mr. Mumford:

Your letter to the Tennessee Council on Human Relations has been referred to us, since the group is not professionally staffed. The Tennessee Council is an autonomous, state-wide membership organization voluntarily affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. Because of these factors the group does not produce literature or brochures of note but makes considerable use of the materials of the Southern Regional Council. I believe you already have copies of these materials on file.

If we can be of further help please call on us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

SOUTHERN MARYLAND FREE STATE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

— *In the heart of old historical Annapolis* —

P. O. Box 1493

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

- HISTORICAL SECTION
- CIVIL LIBERTIES SECTION
- CURRENT AFFAIRS SECTION

CHARLES J. MUMFORD, DIRECTOR

June 18, 1957

RECEIVED JUL 1 1957

Tennessee Council On Human Relations
2005 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Gentlemen:

Our Civil Liberties Section is interested in your organization.

Currently studing the whole question and background of segregation, we would like to receive your tracts, pamphlets, brochures and other descriptive literature.

We would also like to be placed on your permanent mailing list to receive such bulletins that you may care to send along to us in the future.

In the event there will be any charge for this material, please kindly advise.

Thank you for your interest and prompt reply.

Yours sincerely,

Charles J. Mumford

CHARLES J. MUMFORD, Director
Department of Political Science

I am referring this letter to you since we are still inactive and do not mail out materials yet. Thank you

Virginia Grantham
Office Secretary.

CJM:kgk

"Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."
—Thomas Jefferson

September 23, 1957

Social Work
95 Madison Avenue
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send us a copy of Volume 2, Number 3, of the Social Work Journal for July, 1957 and bill us for cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

November 26, 1957

South Carolinians Speak
Box 806
Dillon, South Carolina

Dear Sir:

Please send us fifteen copies of "South Carolinians Speak" and bill us for cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

July 18, 1958

Mr. Charles J. Mumford, Director
Department of Political Science
Southern Maryland Free State
Library Association
P. O. Box 1493
Annapolis, Maryland

Dear Mr. Mumford:

We are in receipt of your letter of July 17th requesting a current list of the Southern Regional Council's board members and officers. Enclosed herewith is a copy.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Mildred Flowers
Secretary to the Executive Director

MF
Enclosure - 1 (Board List)

7/18/58

SOUTHERN MARYLAND FREE STATE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

— *In the heart of old historical Annapolis* —

P. O. Box 1493

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

- HISTORICAL SECTION
- CIVIL LIBERTIES SECTION
- CURRENT AFFAIRS SECTION

CHARLES J. MUMFORD, DIRECTOR

July 17, 1958

VIA AIR MAIL

Mr. Marion A. Wright, President
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

Last year, your office was very kind to send us a listing of your officers and Board of Directors members.

In order to bring our records up-to-date, can you kindly send us your current list of the aforementioned compilation? Thank you.

With very best wishes, I remain

Yours sincerely,

Charles J. Mumford

CHARLES J. MUMFORD, Director
Department of Political Science

CJM:kgk

"Educate and inform the whole mass of the people. They are the only sure reliance for the preservation of our liberty."
—Thomas Jefferson

February 15, 1961

Mr. Sebastian Sommer
Development Officer
St. Andrews Presbyterian College
Laurinburg, North Carolina

Dear See:

It was a pleasure to hear from you after so long a time. I'd like very much to hear what you're up to these days, and how the new career is progressing. If circumstances should bring you to Atlanta, don't fail to let me know. Our offices are more convenient now -- directly across the street from the Journal-Constitution.

Sigma Delta Chi isn't what it used to be, since you've left and McKenzie and I have slacked off in our attendance. You may be interested to know, if you don't already, that the Chapter now has a Negro member -- a teacher of Journalism at the Negro state college in Savannah. Though I wasn't present, I understand he showed up for the first time at last night's meeting, had a few drinks but couldn't stay for dinner because of another appointment. So far, not a ripple. It just goes to show that things can change!

My very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P.S. -- You are lucky to have Henry Ruark as pastor, he's a very good man.

ST. ANDREWS

PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE

DEVELOPMENT OFFICE

LAURINBURG, NORTH CAROLINA
February 11, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It was good to hear an echo of a voice from the past. I miss our association, especially at the few gatherings of the Sigma Delta Chi meetings with uproarious(whatever word that might be) Bill Emerson and the modest Mr. McKenzie.

Even in this little community, however, we have a mutual acquaintance, I believe. Our minister, Henry Ruark of the First Methodist Church, is active in the Council on Human Relations. He is one of the finest preachers I have had the good fortune to hear.

The list of desegrated colleges in North Carolina is up to date as far as I know, but we are circulating your memo among our staff and you will hear from us if anything else turns up.

If your wanderings should happen to bring you near us, I hope you will do us the honor of coming by. I'd like to show you what we are doing here.

Sincerely,

Sebastian

Sebastian Sommer
Development Officer

SS/gb

July 26, 1962

Dr. James W. Kelsaw
Southern University
Department of Sociology
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Dr. Kelsaw:

Thank you for your letter of June 28. I have as yet had a chance to read only part way through your dissertation. I hope that I may be finished with it by the time you come through Atlanta.

I want to thank you again for your letter. It is not often that one person does another the favor of writing so honestly and engagingly about himself. If I may be permitted to respond with another kind of candor, I think you must accept the fact that until you make a mark in some activities lying beyond classroom teaching an organization such as ours cannot feel secure in appointing you to a senior professional position. I think you need to write and encounter the buffetings that come from matching your thoughts against the criticisms of others.

Within the last week we have filled the research position. One of the people with whom we had been talking turned out to satisfy our wishes and has accepted the spot.

I look forward to seeing you when you pass through Atlanta and to remaining in touch with you subsequently. I shall be on vacation August 5-9 and may perhaps be out of town on Council matters a day or so later in the month; so if you can give me advance notice of your schedule, I would be grateful.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

SOUTHERN UNIVERSITY
SOUTHERN BRANCH POST OFFICE
BATON ROUGE, LOUISIANA

RECEIVED
JUL 3 1962

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

June 28, 1962

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

May I express appreciation for your letter of June 20.

Here is a copy of my dissertation. Perchance it will assist you through the difficulty encountered in making the needed evaluation.

The dissertation is the most objective piece of research and writing I can send you. My other academic efforts at research and writing are colored with an intense interest in race and region.

The non-racial thesis of the dissertation is not accidental. Washington State encouraged its Negro students to think and write beyond the level of race. I fought the policy for two and one-half years. The only C on my transcript was made in the process. I wanted to study Negro efforts to achieve equality in the South as a social movement. Finally, the matter became one of expediency. I could get the Ph. D. or continue the pursuit of my conception of truth. I took the degree.

But doing the dissertation was meaningful. Being a Negro and a Southerner had been the generating forces in my life. They would continue as such. Nevertheless, it was assuring to learn that my ability to reason, write, and manage a research problem possessed independent impetus.

My "honest reluctance to burst into print," if I may be frank, is a point of strength. It has enabled me to develop a maturity in perspective and orientation, a flexibility and creativity in procedure and execution. Your organization could release these through the performance of the "principal duties" Mr. Rillings specified as belonging to the Director of Research. In

the process your organization could become, I firmly believe, the catalyzing force so urgently needed among efforts to make the South a decent place to live.

Before the summer session is over I will be presented with a contract which will require my service at Southern for the 1962-63 school year. My department head has already inquired as to my availability. I have been wondering if your leisurely fashion of filling the position includes as much time as a year. Perhaps you can let me know when I come through Atlanta enroute to Cleveland. Also, I will pick up the dissertation at that time.

Your regret "that we had to carry on our conversation under such unorthodox conditions" may be unfounded. Usually, the first impression that I make on people is "not too good"—be the setting orthodox or unorthodox. However, the experience of meeting you and the interaction we shared were, to me, unusually pleasing.

Sincerely,

James W. Kelsaw

James W. Kelsaw, Ph. D.

JWK/rom

Enclosure

December 28, 1965

Mr. Wendell H. Russell, Director
Southern Manpower Technical Assistance Program
P. O. Box 117
Oak Ridge, Tennessee 37831

Dear Mr. Russell:

Thank you for your survey report. I, and several others here, will read it soon. Under separate cover we are sending you our study of migrant farm workers "The Migrant Farmer", A Psychiatric Study by Robert Coles, M.D. Others are available if you have need of them.

All good wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

"SO" GENERAL

REGARDING

"Souther Accents-Northern Ghettos," by William Peters
documentary produced for ABC News

DATE

July 1967

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

American Broadcasting File

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Southern Consumers' Education Foundation

REGARDING

Letter from L. W. Dunbar to Father McKnight regarding proposal.

DATE

7-7-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

Set up file on this
WK Card also

COPY

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE Washington University, St. Louis 5, Missouri

September 30, 1957

Dr. John W. Davis
National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
107 West Forty-third Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Davis

Mr. Frederick D. Patterson of the Phelps-Stokes Fund suggested that I contact you regarding a possible survey of the employment position and prospects of Negro public school teachers. I understand you have gathered a good deal of information on this subject and that perhaps we might gain your assistance.

Various groups in Saint Louis have urged that our Institute investigate the employment experience of qualified Negro teachers, particularly where desegregation has occurred and - depending on the facts - advance the development of an appropriate action program. There are many rumors as to how many teachers have been fired or not hired in Missouri, but one fact is established. The Negro teachers graduated from Washington University since 1956 and desiring school employment are unable to work as teacgers or they are limited to southern schools. We would like to appraise the situation in Missouri. The study might be extended to Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and West Virginia.

Our Institute, on Washington University funds, can provide only partial support for the inquiry. Professor Stuart Queen is prepared to direct an inquiry with the aid of competent research assistants, and we estimate in addition to the University resources that can be put into the project we need something like $4000 for this study.

Please let me have your reactions to this letter at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours

(initialled)

N. J/ Demerath
Director

ngp

("No Show" carbon to Dr. John Hope, II)

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE — Put here file — File

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis 5, Missouri

COPY

December 14, 1957

Dr. John W. Davis
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
107 West 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Davis

We were glad to receive your good letter this week confirming the meeting at Phelps-Stokes, 101 Park Avenue, at 10:00 a.m. Wednesday, the 18th.

To those who will be present, I am mailing copies of the project proposal for their comment and discussion.

Thank you so much for your helpfulness.

Sincerely

N. J. Demerath
Director

ngp
Enc.

cc: Dr. F. D. Patterson
cc: Professor Walter Ridley
cc: Dr. Wilton Dillon
cc: Mr. Harold Fleming
cc: Mr. John Hope II

December 14, 1957
Draft for Comment

DESEGREGATION AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS

A Research Proposal
By
The Social Science Institute
Washington University in St. Louis

The Problem:

Some time ago a professor of music at Washington University suggested that the Social Science Institute undertake the study here proposed. Along with other members of the faculty he had found the placement of Negro graduates increasingly difficult. His memorandum contained the following account of the problem.

> "The shortage of school teachers is an acute and growing national problem, as attested to by newspaper and magazine articles, and assertions almost daily by varied authorities. It is said that the shortage of teachers is impossible to solve without drastic changes in educational practices plus enormous efforts for recruitment of teachers. Educational television, teaching assistants, and other devices are being tried out in various parts of the country in an attempt to alleviate the situation.
>
> "The situation in Missouri is no less grave. This is particularly true since Missouri is one of the ten lowest states in terms of average salaries paid to public school teachers. As a border state, Missouri has many of the traditions and attitudes of the South. Prior to the Supreme Court decisions on segregation in public schools, a segregated pattern of education was followed in the state with Negro students being taught by Negro teachers. There were almost no exceptions to this practice. Following the decision, Missouri schools were among the first to effect desegregation. At the present time only a few Missouri schools continue to follow actively a policy of segregation.
>
> "Some months after the beginning of desegregation in Missouri, persons active in teacher training and teacher placement noticed a decided decrease in calls for Negro elementary and high school teachers. An equally alarming situation was brought to the attention of the public by newspaper articles. Negroes were being dismissed from positions they had held previously in segregated school districts. In some instances, suits have been brought against school boards, and in other cases similar threats have been made. Perhaps the most publicized of these cases of discriminatory practices in the employment and discharging of teaching personnel was in Moberly.

"At the present time it appears to persons interested in teacher placement that Negro teachers can be placed in almost no teaching positions, in Missouri, except those schools in which desegregation has been resisted, or in those which are located in areas populated entirely by Negroes and therefore with a 100% Negro enrollment. Many commercial teacher placement agencies are unwilling even to accept a Negro applicant as a client."

A number of other people -- including officers of prominent action agencies in St. Louis and in the South -- have confirmed the impressions of the faculty members and also urged the inquiry. The facts of this employment picture in one or more of the border states where desegregation has progressed -- how many teachers are fired, or not hired -- and, especially, knowledge of their social and cultural mechanisms involved need to be assembled and analyzed. This enterprise would provide an empirical basis for action than in the South where the largest numbers of Negro teachers are, and in the northern cities where shortages of teachers (and of particular interest, "science teachers") are so acute.

Approach:

The Social Science Institute, with the cooperation of the Washington University Graduate Institute of Education, proposes inquiry over a period of 6 to 8 months that would yield the following information for Missouri:

(1) Teacher employment policies in the public schools, nature and changes since 1954, by type of school district and community.

(2) Patterns of personal experience (perceptions, attitudes, beliefs) among teachers, would-be teachers, professional officers and members of lay boards.

(3) Suggestions for further inquiry perhaps, taking the Missouri inquiry as a "pilot study".

(4) Suggestions for programs of orientation and intervention aimed at several strategic audiences.

The study would move through the following phases and methods:

I. Reconnaisance of literature and research planning; including sampling procedures, schedule construction and testing, analysis plan. (1-2 months)

II. Data collection, chiefly by personal interviewing (2-3 months)

III. Analysis and writing. (2-3 months)

Administration and Budget:

As the University's agent for the project, the Social Science Institute would be responsible for staffing and providing general supervision. The Graduate Institute of Education would assist in these matters, and also facilitate public school contacts in the State. The project would be conducted primarily by its own Director, a faculty member, and his assistants. The Institute would provide office facilities and services. A full range of statistical equipment and services is available through the University's Computer Center. The project would benefit from a small Advisory Committee (a standard device for institute studies), and limited consulting carefully planned.

Budget estimates for the 6 to 8 month project period are as follows:

Study director (summer grant-in-aid only)	$1,800
Consultant	250
Research assistants (2)	3,750
Data tabulating and processing	300
Travel	1,200
Special typing services	1,000
Overhead (10%)	830
Total	$9,130

January 17, 1958

Mr. N. J. Demerath, Director
The Social Science Institute
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

Dear Nick:

A thousand apologies for my delinquency on the thirty minute memo. I guess I am the kind of guy who makes such suggestions without any thought of carrying them out himself.

As everyone says under these circumstances, I have been locked-jammed since our meeting - plus the fact that I know very little about the teacher-displacement problem. In order not to flunk out completely, I asked Emory Via of our staff to cast up what we know about ~~matters~~ on this subject and to outline such ideas as occured to him. Enclosed is a memo by him, including a bibliographical summary at the end, and copies of two issues of New South that had something to say about teacher integration. materials

I need hardly ~~to~~ say that the projected study will be of great help to us in developing programs consistent with our role that will facilitate the proper use of Negro teachers in desegregating systems. This means mainly fact and interpretation through publications, dealings with the press and other media, and direct consultation with educators and community groups. For that reason, I am particularly interested in what you may discover about the fears, preconceptions, and myths that determine decisions

in this field - and of course the positive efforts that have dispelled them in given situations.

It was good to be with you last month, though I regret that we had no chance for less formal conversation. I hope we can remedy that soon.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures: Memo by Emory F. Via on "Negro Teachers and Desegregation"
New South - December/1955; April/1957

January 17, 1958

MEMORANDUM

To: Harold C. Fleming

From: Emory F. Via

Re: Negro Teachers and Desegregation

This memo is in answer to your request for ideas relative to the problems of Negro teachers in the desegregation process. I am not conversant with the existing studies in this field, but I would guess that there are problems which have not received satisfactory attention. Some of these problems are matters of attitude, others are more in the nature of relating more readily obtainable factual information to this specific problem. Here are a few categorized comments which are meant to be suggestive:

I School Administrators.

a) To what do they respond in making their decisions regarding problems of teacher integration: their own personal prejudices, community fears, superiors, policy boards, regard for their professional standing, some particular group affiliation, or a particular set of values (e.g. strong adherence to democratic ideals, or to the "mandates" of the education profession)?

b) Administrative dodges to the proper use of Negro teachers.

c) Relate points (a) and (b) to the policy or political bodies responsible for the educational system.

II Negro Teacher Problems.

a) A report of the activities, materials, or personal contacts, that aided in the positive adjustment to a desegregated situation.

b) Teacher age, recency of training, and type of training, relative to the kind of adaptation to the desegregated situation.

c) Character of contacts with whites prior to desegregation as a key to successful participation in an integrated system.

d) The status of the Negro teacher in the Negro community once she is not identified with an all-Negro school. This assumes that Negro teachers generally occupy a high status position in their own communities and that white teachers generally occupy a much lower status in their communities.

e) How do the provisions for teacher tenure affect the placement of teachers in a desegregated system? Is tenure provided by law, contract, administrative decision, and is it guaranteed in part by a professional

association or union? If problems of tenure are to be considered I would urge that contact be made with the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO, and especially with their counsel, to get as broad an understanding as possible of the difficulties inherent in tenure problems even without the additional factor of desegregation.

III White Teacher Problems.

a) A report of the activities, materials, or personal contacts, that aided in the positive adjustment to a desegregated situation.

b) Teacher age, recency of training, and type of training, relative to the kind of adaptation to the desegregated situation.

c) Character of contacts with Negroes prior to desegregation as a key to successful participation in an integrated system.

d) The status of the white teacher in the white community once she is not identified with an all-white school. This assumes that white teachers generally occupy a much lower status position in their own communities than Negro teachers do in the Negro community.

e) How do the provisions for teacher tenure affect the placement of teachers in a desegregated system? Is tenure provided by law, contract, administrative decision, and is it guaranteed in part by a professional association or union?

IV Problems with Parents.

a) Attitudes of parents of white students under the Negro teacher, and vice versa.

b) The impact of scholastic competition when it becomes bi-racial. This might well be a point for some student attitude research.

V Miscellaneous.

a) Information on the "how" of desegregating faculties; relatively little attention, for instance, has been given to the problem of sending white faculty members to previously all-Negro schools.

b) Are there any indications toward possible federal or state programs or grants to subsidise the money loss or training needs during the transition period.

c) What information lacks, adherence to myths, etc. complicate the teacher's dealing with students of the other race? Is this reflected in such matters as compensatory behaviour, undue leniency and/or severity relative to the necessity for showing impartiality, for example?

"Kentucky is Successfully Integrating its Teachers" Report prepared by Kentucky Council on Human Relations.	New South April 1957
"Teacher Integration in St. Louis" By Margaret Dagen.	New South December 1955
"What of the Negro Teacher?"	The Harvard Crimson Special Supplement June 14, 1956
"Some Negro Teachers Favor School Segregation" Chapter 4 of "Jim Crow Schools on Trial" By Carl Rowan.	Reprinted from December 1953 Minneapolis Morning Tribune
"Desegregation at Work: Progress and Problems" By Henry Lee Moon.	The Nation December 18, 1954
"Balm for a Troubled Conscience" By Algo D. Henderson.	The Educational Record July 1954
"What Happens when Segregation Ends" By Cabell Phillips.	New York Times Magazine May 30, 1954
"Negro Teachers in 'Integrated' School Systems" By Paul Cooke and Inez Imogene Hairston.	The Delta Journal 1954
"Consider the Negro Teacher" By Nick Aaron Ford.	The New Republic April 15, 1957
"Let's Integrate Our Teachers" By Paul Simon.	The Christian Century February 20, 1957
"462 Negro Teachers Out, Many Land in New Jobs"	Southern School News November 1956

It is my understanding that there is a report of some New Jersey experience following the adoption of their new constitution in 1950. I believe that this is the Thoms Rivers report.

It might be useful to refer to "Schools in Transition", "Citizens Guide to Desegregation", the annual ACLU report, AJC's most recent "The People Take the Lead", and "A Miracle of Social Adjustment."

Possible other sources for leads, unevaluated by me, are the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, 123 South Queen Street, Dover, Maryland, and Rupert Picott, Executive Secretary, Virginia Teachers' Association, Clay Street at 4th, Richmond 19, Virginia, whom I understand is also the national head of the Negro teachers' associations.

RECEIVED DEC 26 1957

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis 5, Missouri

COPY

MEMORANDUM

Dr. F. O. Patterson
Dr. O'Hara Lanier
Dr. Wilton Dillon
Dr. Aaron Brown
Mr. Elwood Chisholm
Dr. John W. Davis
Dr. H. C. Trenholm
Prof. Walter Ridley
Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. John Hope II

Harold:
~~Gentlemen:~~

Please remember the "30 minute memos" each of you agreed to write up by January 5th. Your personal ideas for a practical study of The Negro Public School Teacher and Desegregation will be indispensable in our developing an efficient survey of maximum usefulness.

For your guidance, we seek anything each of you, individually and privately, have to say on these points:

(1) emphases of the survey,
(2) methods of data collection,
(3) existing data sources,
(4) analysis and presentation,
(5) uses of the study by your organization or otherwise.

Our meeting in New York was most rewarding, I believe. As soon as we get your comments, we will prepare the prospectus for presentation to likely sponsors.

Thanks much -- and season's greetings.

Nick

N. J. Demerath
Director

ngp
12-23-57

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **EMORY VIA** 37

To HCF:

The teacher memo was really a joint effort: MV was suggestive and aided me in getting down to specifics; MM laid up the materials on hand; FBR gave leads to resources and a couple of major ideas; Yan suggested the appropriate organization, etc.

The whole thing, since Nick responded and sent his proposal, is a neat package showing SRC's hand in developing research. Nick bought nearly our whole memo! Documenting our more informal and left-handed aid to others is difficult. I'd save this excerpt.

E.V.

1/30/58

January 24, 1958
Draft

DESEGREGATION AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGRO PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS

A research Proposal
by
The Social Science Institute
Washington University in St. Louis

The Problem:

As school desegregation occurs in the border states, and then in the areas farther south, will public school teachers also desegregate in their employment? Will Negro teachers be absorbed or rejected? Will other Negroes be attracted to teaching careers or repelled? These developments over the next few years will be of great importance to education in the United States at a time when education has assumed an unusually critical place in our national picture. What happens also will affect utilization of the national manpower, a resource that is ill squandered.

The Negroes' future in the teaching profession will be shaped by the decisions of school boards, teachers, parents, potential teachers, and a variety of opinion makers and school officials. These decisions, in turn, can and will be shaped by competing action programs mounted by educational, political and religious groups. Some of these programs will seek absorption, some will seek rejection, and others will attempt to be indifferent. The research here proposed starts from the premise that action programs in behalf of absorption deserve the support of social scientific inquiry under independent auspices. In other words, this is a proposal for action research in behalf of a social policy objective, but with no commitments as to the particular directions that the facts or suggestions will take.

The study is conceived as a pilot investigation over a period of six to eight months that would serve to outline a workable method and attract support and cooperation for a more definitive and more extensive survey to be conducted, perhaps from various quarters, following the completion of the pilot study. This first investigation in itself, however, is expected to provide some practical knowledge and suggestions for testing by action agencies. It should also provide theoretical scientific knowledge of decision making in a race relations context.

Approach:

As noted later, the actual study design would be developed during the first two months of the pilot study. On the basis of discussions between an informal advisory group, which met in New York in December, and other discussions held at Washington University and in St. Louis, a general approach or plan is outlined here.

The study will be made within a universe of school system-community situations, typed or classified on the basis of various "environmentalist" researches; including, for example, the Social Science Research Council's studies in the 1930's of cotton prices and lynching, as well as the recent research by Williams and Ryan, "Schools in Transition", 1956. It is expected that perhaps eight to ten types of school system-community situations would be identified, ranging from the metropolitan area with more than 500,000 persons, culturally heterogeneous, and with a mixed economy of varied industry, trade, and services on the one hand, to small rural situations with single crop agriculture and no manufacturing. One assumption or hypothesis behind the selection of a universe of such school system-community types is that there may be an ecology of absorption-rejection of Negro teachers. Another assumption is that there will be important differences

from type to type in social relations and value systems affecting the employment of Negro teachers.

For each type situation, two actual school system-community situations where desegregation of students has occurred will be selected. In one of these, desegregation of teachers will have occurred with success, and in the second, they will have failed. Thus, we would have a sample of 16 to 20 communities located as near as possible to St. Louis, but not necessarily in the states of Missouri or Illinois.

This pilot study would probably rely mainly on personal interviewing in depth and with a fairly open format. It may be that some fixed choice, highly focused interviewing or questionnairing can be used later in the study, depending on the patterns of response that emerge from the first personal interviewing. Data collection will be centered on processes of decision and composite elements that lay behind the absorption or rejection of Negro teachers in desegregated schools.

In particular, we will be seeking data on the knowledge and belief, the values and attitudes, the motivations, fears, and anxieties that have gone into decisions to act or not act with respect to the problem. Also, the interaction processes which occur between individuals or categories and groups of persons will be of central importance. In this latter connection, we would look especially for sequences and for the functions of various situational factors in the decisive processes. For example, what difference is there between the situation with a strong board and strong superintendent on the one hand, and the weak superintendent and weak board, or mixed possibility, on the other?

There would seem to be five kinds of people and social roles of particular importance in these decision-making processes:

(pg 6)

(1) "Policy" board members,
(2) School administrators, local and perhaps state,
(3) Negro teachers,
(4) White teachers,
(5) Parents,
(6) Children.

For each of these categories, certain questions come to mind on the basis of random observation and advice.

Taking the board members and administrators, a memorandum from the Southern Regional Council asks: To what do they respond in making their decision on teacher integration--personal prejudices, community fears, the perceived attitudes of their supervisors, regard for their professional status, particular group affiliations, factual knowledge, underlying political or social-ethical attitudes? Taking the Negro teacher, one wonders about the background factors responsible for positive or negative adjustments in desegregated situations. Of what importance are age, time and type of training, character of personal contacts with whites before desegregation? Also, what happens to the Negro teacher's status in the Negro community once she is not identified with an all-Negro school? Does this concern become a factor in the Negro teacher's decision-making? And how do provisions for teacher tenure affect placement in desegregated systems? What about the white teachers, their backgrounds, previous contact with Negroes, and so forth, as factors in decision-making and adjustment vis-a-vis desegregated situations? What about the problem of sending white teachers to previously all-Negro schools? Are there experiences here and if so what can be learned? Finally, what of the knowledge, beliefs, and sentiments of parents and of children? How do these figure in the decision processes of school administrators and of teachers? Under what conditions are they of importance, and what are the effects of various kinds of

leadership from school boards and other community groups? What information gaps, beliefs and attitudes make teachers' dealings with students across race lines more difficult? Is this reflected in such matters as compensatory behavior, undue leniency and/or severity relative to the necessity for showing impartiality, for example?

Results:

A variety of product is conceivable from even this modest pilot study. It is recognized, to begin with, that some action agencies and groups would be entitled to certain facts and advice coming from the study. These agencies, presumably, would be represented in an advisory body to the research staff. At the same time, the research director would make the ultimate decisions with reference to the planning and execution of the research. Also within his jurisdiction would be the publication of technical results in scientific journals, once he has consulted the advisory body as to the political or policy implications of this type of publication. As to the publication or other use of research results--for example, in training conferences, pamphlets, and so forth--these matters would fall within the jurisdiction of the advisory body, though in these cases the research staff would be consulted insofar as their competence in the applied area warrants.

In noting such arrangements as those outlined immediately above, the informal advisory group assembled in December, as well as research personnel, are aware of the highly sensitive and potent nature of the kind of inquiry envisaged here. A major result of the pilot study may be some kind of measured experiment with pre-selected action alternatives aimed at certain attitude and policy shifts. Or, a comparative analysis of the effectiveness of this or that kind of strategy or appeal in various type school-community situations may be indicated.

At the same time, it is also recognized that there is no hard and fast line between action research and theoretical research. It is planned that the pilot investigation outlined briefly here will yield new knowledge of decision-making processes, as well as new knowledge of the processes of desegregation and integration of different racial groups and subcultures.

Administration and Budget:

As the University's agent for the project, the Social Science Institute would be responsible for staffing and providing general supervision. The University's Graduate Institute of Education, as well as various educational leaders, both Negro and white, lay and professional, would assist in these matters, and also facilitate public school contacts. The project would be conducted primarily by its own Director and his assistants. The Institute would provide office facilities and services. A full range of statistical equipment and services is available through the University's Computer Center. The project would benefit from an Advisory Committee to the Director (as noted above).

Budget estimates for the 6 to 8 month project period are as follows:

Study director (summer grant-in-aid and release from teaching)	$3,000
Research assistants	3,700
Travel and per diem	2,000
Special typing services	1,000
Overhead (10%)	970
Total	$10,670

The study would move through the following phases and methods:

I. Reconnaisance of literature and research planning; including sampling procedures, schedule construction and testing, analysis plan. (1-2 months)

II. Data collection, chiefly by personal interviewing. (2-3 months)

III. Analysis and writing. (2-3 months)

N.J.D.

mih

RECEIVED JAN 29 1958

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis 5, Missouri

January 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold

Don't apologize for your delinquency, especially when you sent me such a useful memorandum. Please convey my thanks to Mr. Via. I borrowed heavily in my re-draft of the proposal which I have sent to Phelps-Stokes and Wilton Dillon for their comment. Here is a copy for you and Via and John Hope and anyone else who wants to look at it in the next ten days. Then I want to give it the final wrap-up and take it to the potential donor, but I hope for your candid criticism, if any.

Cordially yours

Nick

N. J. Demerath
Director

neg
Enc:

Rec 2/17

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis 5, Missouri

COPY

February 13, 1958

Dr. John Hope II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear John

I, too, am sorry to have missed you in New York. There ought to be some kind of bulletin board in mid-town Manhattan showing who is in town and when. Maybe the Social Science Research Council could keep such a clearing house, and we could simply check in when we arrive. This assumes that enough of us have both the time and the inclination to do this.

The enclosed carbon of my letter to Ron Lippitt is, I think, self-explanatory. How we could possibly organize anything before May or June I don't visualize, but maybe I am just too long in North Carolina!

I have heard nothing more from Wilton, but it is my understanding that Dr. Patterson will usher the revised version of the project to the money sources.

Sincerely

N. J. D.
mlh

N. J. Demerath

mlh
Enc.

cc: Dr. Pendleton Herring
Dr. Wilton Dillon
Dr. Herman H. Long
Mr. Harold C. Fleming

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

February 13, 1958

Dr. Ronald Lippitt
Center for Advanced Study in the
Behavioral Sciences
202 Junipero Serra Blvd.
Stanford, California

Dear Ron

How goes your year in sunny California? I must say I envy you what with snow 12 inches deep and my work basket about the same.

Several months ago, as a member of the Advisory Committee to the Society for Applied Anthropology, you suggested the prospect of one or more seminars to be attended by practitioners and research people. In Chicago, at the time of the American Anthropology meetings just after Christmas, about 15 members of the Applied Anthropology Executive Committee and Advisory Committee had two discussions. All of us thought well of your idea. More specifically, I was advised to suggest to you that one of the proposed seminars, and the sooner the better, might well deal with research and related action in the race relations area.

John Hope and the group around the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, have inquired as to our interest in such an undertaking. Their rough notes on the idea accompany my letter to you. It occurred to our group in Chicago that this would be an excellent undertaking for the SPISSI and SAA and, with some reservations, perhaps, for the sociologists' Society for the Study of Social Problems as well.

Do let me have your reaction to this idea as soon as you can, plus any other thoughts you may have as a member of our Advisory Committee. Incidentally, the annual meetings will be held at Syracuse, New York, April 3, 4, 5, and the detailed program will be announced in the

forthcoming issue of Human Organization, due out the end of this month.

Cordially yours

N. J. D.

N. J. Demerath
President

mlh

cc: Dr. John Hope II
Race Relations Department
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee
Dr. Wilton Dillon
Dr. Herman H. Long
Mr. Harold C. Fleming

FROM N. J. Demerath, Director
The Social Science Institute
Washington University
St. Louis 5, Missouri

TO Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF

THE
SOCIAL
SCIENCE INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY
St. Louis 5, Missouri

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

SAINT LOUIS 5, MISSOURI

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ROBERT J. SCHAEFER . . . . . (EDUCATION)
ROBERT E. SHANK . . . . . (PREVENTIVE MEDICINE)
CARL TOLMAN (VICE CHANCELLOR, DEAN OF FACULTIES)

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THE HONORABLE NOAH WEINSTEIN

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

of

THE SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

(July 1, 1957-June 30, 1958)

The Institute's objective is "to further the social and behavioral sciences and their practical applications". Professional personnel are retained only on a specific project or program basis, and are appointed chiefly from the University's regular corps of faculty and students. Thus, most of the salaries of faculty associated with the Institute are carried on departmental budgets. Financial support comes from contracts, grants, gifts, and University funds.

In its second year of operation, the Institute received $15,000 from the University. In addition, $150,000 came from contracts, grants, and gifts. What was accomplished on the basis of this financial outlay?

Central Office Services:

Seven book manuscripts typed and proofread by the central office staff was, perhaps, the most concrete contribution to scholarly work during the year. These were as follows:

Professors Eliot, Chambers, and Salisbury (in part), "American Government: Problems for Analysis"
Professor Robert Miller, "For the Welfare of Gods and Men"
Dr. Beatrice Miller (draft only), "Lamas and Laymen"
Dr. Burton Weisbrod (also a doctoral dissertation), "Nature and Measurement of the Economic Benefits of Improvement in Public Health"
Professor Harold Heye, "The Red Trade Opposition of Germany, 1928-1933"

Dr. Ronald Ridker (partial manuscript on the subject of Norwegian economic decision making)

In addition to the book manuscripts, more than 30 papers, monographs, chapters, memoranda were handled for the following members of the faculty: Bovard, Bunch, Carpenter, deCharms, Demerath (excluding Institute administrative work), Gerhard, Hamblin, Henry, Hexter, Hirsch, Kaplan, Macridis, Martin. For the Midwest Sociologist (editor Professor Paul Campisi), two issues were proofread and given editorial assistance. Accordingly, the scholarly work of six departments was advanced in some measure by this central office contribution, namely, Psychology, Economics, Education, History, Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology.

Specially Financed Research Projects:

"The Values Project", whose mentors are Professors Ralph Patrick and Huston Smith, was well along toward completion by the end of the fiscal year. Its financing had been assured by the end of fiscal '57. In cooperation with the University's Office of Television Activities and station KETC, the project will culminate in some 36 half-hour educational television programs on the theme "The Search for America", an application of social scientific and philosophical analysis to educational television. Scores of Americans, distinguished as well as little-known, were the "actors" in these highly original and promising productions. It may be that this project will provide a pattern for future applications of social science through the television medium. Support came from the National Educational Television and Radio Center in Ann Arbor, Michigan, a Ford Foundation undertaking.

The Adolescent Behavior Program, directed by Professor Robert Hamblin, began during the year, and is continuing during 1958-59 and perhaps beyond. Professor Hamblin has had an advisory committee composed of Dr. Norman Orgel (M.D.), Father Trafford Maher, S.J., of St. Louis University, and Mrs. Josephine Brown, Executive Director of the Missouri Social Hygiene Association. Dr. Hamblin has interviewed, with the help of a number of graduate student assistants, high school students throughout the metropolitan area. He is testing a number of theoretical propositions pertaining to the formation of behavioral norms and the dynamics of "deviant behavior" among young people. His preliminary reports have attracted favorable attention nationally, and his work with a Social Science Research

Council seminar in Santa Monica at the Rand Corporation in the summer of 1958 will aid his research here and elsewhere.

For a continuation of his analysis of metropolitan economic growth and development, Professor Werner Hirsch had an Institute research assistant for part of the past year, as well as central office support. Professor Hirsch, with the help of his assistant, has finished at least four major papers dealing with inter-industry flow and the implications of metropolitan growth and intergovernmental consolidation. These papers represent a continuation of data analysis begun during the course of the Metropolitan St. Louis Survey. This stipend for Professor Hirsch's assistant came out of the central Institute budget.

To begin a population program on the St. Louis area, Professor Carpenter was given the services of a research assistant during the year. The objective here was to establish a variety of data series as a basis for identifying population trends in greater St. Louis, the data to be available to students, community agencies, and to firms. From this work there came two papers dealing with certain population characteristics and trends in one of the county school districts. This research assistantship was supported from the central Institute budget.

For the autumn 1958 meeting of the St. Louis White House Conference on Education, Professors Hirsch, Lee, and Unruh, with the assistance of Mrs. Peter Rosen, prepared background materials dealing principally with the financing of public education in the St. Louis area, in the state and nation. Most of this work was done in May and June on a grant from an anonymous donor. By their services to this community group, the faculty members involved have helped discharge part of the University's responsibility to the improvement of public education in the St. Louis area as well as more generally. The Institute's role here was one of coordination and provision of office services.

New Programs and Proposals for Financing:

A major task of the Institute's Director, in every instance working with members of the faculty, has been to develop and negotiate proposals for support of research and graduate education. During the past year, seven specific proposals were developed and forwarded to likely sources of

financial support.

The greatest activity and achievement has been in the field of health research. This emphasis is justified, we feel, in view of the needs in the St. Louis area and the University's Medical School, the growing importance of social research in health in the social science profession, and the availability of funds. Accordingly, the Institute has aided the development of two proposals and two major personnel appointments in this field.

The National Institute of Mental Health has granted approximately $30,000 a year for five years (beginning June 1, 1958) in support of a training program of social scientists in mental health research, with particular reference to public health and preventive aspects. The Institute, in cooperation with the St. Louis County Health Department and two committees of the faculty (Advisory Committee, Technical Committee), will carry out this program leading to the Ph.D. either in sociology or psychology. Initially there will be four fellowships or "traineeships" available for graduate students beyond the M.A. level and some $17,000 for various outlays in support of the training program.

Awaiting a site visit in the fall is a proposal to the Commonwealth Fund, requesting support for research in a variety of health problems. This program will involve a number of people in the social science departments, as well as in Psychiatry, Preventive Medicine and Public Health, and certain of the hospitals.

The Institute, in cooperation with the Departments of Psychiatry, Sociology and Anthropology, and the Jewish Hospital, has participated in the recruitment and appointment of two assistant professors who will be working in the field of medical sociology and who took up their duties about September 1st--Dr. Albert Wessen from the University of Vermont, with a Ph.D. from Yale; and Dr. David Pittman from the University of Rochester, with a Ph.D. from Chicago. These men, in addition to the present faculty resources in both general and specialized aspects of social science applications to health, will give the University and the community one of the best facilities in the country for research and graduate training in this important and fast-developing field.

City and regional analysis is a second area in which the Institute, in cooperation with the faculty, seeks to develop

further program and facility. Thus, we have participated in the development of a proposal to give technical assistance to the comprehensive planning and development of the Meramec Valley watershed area. The work on this problem should give several of our faculty opportunities for research and application, and it should also aid a number of graduate students both financially and professionally. The proposal for this has gone forward from Dean Passonneau of Architecture, Dean Fischer of Engineering, and the Institute Director, acting in behalf of the University, to the newly formed Meramec Basin Corporation. Professor Roger Montgomery of Architecture began work in the summer of 1958 on certain aspects of this problem, and we now seek a Director of a Meramec Basin Technical Office on at least a two-year basis, who may also aid in the development of a planning curriculum and a continuing research program in metropolitan research and planning. The projected financing would come to something like $80,000 to $100,000 a year over a period of two to three years, though not all of this amount would be utilized by Washington University.

In the industrialization field, a proposal has been presented variously in behalf of the research being done in Mexico by Professors Merle Kling and Joseph A. Kahl on the social and political consequences of industrialization in that country. To date, only a few hundred dollars support has been attracted to this project. Several St. Louis corporations have expressed their interest in this research by granting entree to their plants, their workers, and by aiding in contacts in Mexico as well as here. The nature of the project is such that it does not fall clearly within the sphere of operations of many of the larger foundations.

Support for the establishment of a "Small Groups Research Center", with a laboratory facility, several research assistantships, and other forms of aid, was requested by Professors Bovard of Psychology, deCharms, Graduate Institute of Education, and Hamblin, Sociology and Anthropology. [The Office of Naval Research granted support in the amount of $21,000 a year, 3 year basis, beginning in September 1958.] Laboratory facilities will be established in Ellenwood House, where the Institute's offices will also be housed in December 1958.

In the field of crime and corrections, the Institute, in cooperation with a number of faculty members and community leaders, has planned a conference on correctional policy to be held the first week in December 1958 at the University. To

plan this conference, $500 was obtained by one of the interested civic leaders. The purpose of the conference will be to focus attention on the problems of correctional policy that confront Missouri and the opportunities and need for research and professional training in this part of the country. About 35 to 40 people will be invited to the conference, including leading professionals from the country and state, principal political figures, and judicial people from the state and nation. It is conceived as a kind of policy debate or discussion, with, hopefully, a product in the form of some kind of report and organized follow-up for the state and University.

Faculty Discussion Groups:

During the year there have been a number of faculty groups that have been more or less self-initiated and which have met with some regularity. Some of these groups have had a major part in developing the specific proposals referred to in the preceding section; first, a group on social research in health, which has included faculty from Sociology, Economics, Psychiatry, and Preventive Medicine--by name, O'Neal, Winokur, Guzé, Eli Robins, Lee Robins, Kantor, Glidewell, Weisbrod, Demerath; and for the Meramec Valley proposal, a group which has met around the common interest in urban studies, including Hirsch from Economics, McCandless from Political Science, Montgomery, Maki, and Passonneau from Architecture, Bishop from Social Work, Carpenter and Demerath from Sociology.

With leadership from Professor McCandless and his colleagues in Political Science, the planning and development of a curriculum in public administration has begun. The Institute has aided some of the contact work here, though no proposal for financial support has been developed. As yet undefined are the nature of a research activity associated with this program, and the program's relation to a curriculum in city and regional planning considered by Architecture and the urban studies group noted above.

Professors Kahl and Kling constitute a two-man team, and it is they who developed the Mexican study proposal.

Other groups that have met with some regularity, though they have not as yet developed concrete proposals or programs, include the following. In the field of industrial research, Professor Gomberg of Industrial Engineering has been the secretary for a group that has met at least six times during the

past year and has included Bunch and Meltzer from Psychology, Schoen and Towle from Business Administration, Nadler from Industrial Engineering, Kahl and Demerath from Sociology, and Sobel from Economics. This group has scrutinized the various course offerings and degree programs that involve human relations and institutional considerations in industrial settings. They have considered the possibility of a coordinate program of graduate training and research that would involve the specialties noted above.

Around a joint interest in "comparative studies", Professor Macridis of Political Science has met with numerous faculty in the social sciences. Although no stable group has emerged as yet, informal conversations and planning are expected to continue, looking toward support for research following a comparative method in various parts of the world. Macridis' work in France, Spector's in Malaya, and perhaps other researches by our faculty may gain from this kind of exchange.

In response to the need in St. Louis for more adequate applied research and support therefor, Chancellor Shepley, Judge Noah Weinstein and the Institute Director brought together a small group of St. Louis and Kansas City people in January to consider the needs and prospects. This led to the formation of a group of social agency and University people representing a variety of research interests in the metropolitan area. This group included Professor Henry Schmandt of St. Louis University (Political Science), Mr. Campbell Murphy, Executive Director of the Greater St. Louis Health and Welfare Council (formerly the Social Planning Council), Dr. George Ulett of the Malcolm Bliss Hospital, Mr. Kenneth Foresman of the Metropolitan Youth Commission, Mr. Victor Brannon of the Governmental Research Institute, and a representative of the Federal Reserve Bank. This group, so far unsuccessfully, has sought financing for a small coordinating and promotional staff whose functions would include (1) a clearing house of research bearing on metropolitan St. Louis problems, (2) arranging for technical assistance to agencies engaged in research, and (3) a variety of other functions aimed at stepping up the quantity and quality of data collection and analysis as a basis for social and economic policy and program in the metropolitan area.

The Institute "Coffee-Conferences":

More than a dozen of these Wednesday afternoon meetings were held during the course of the year. For some there were no formal programs, the meetings representing simply an opportunity for faculty members to meet and talk around coffee and cake in the late afternoon. For other conferences, there were speakers from our own faculty, as well as visiting scientists and scholars. The formal programs were as follows: November 6, discussion led by Professor Macridis on the question of the social sciences and their concern with questions of policy; November 13, Professor Patrick, the SSI's television project on values in American life; December 4, Professor Peter Rossi (University of Chicago), "Politics and Social Structure in Local Communities"; December 11, Professor Chandrasekhar (visiting at the University of Missouri), "India's Economic Problem and the Second Five-Year Plan"; March 19, Professor Lyman, "The First Labour Government in Britain"; April 9, Professor Sobel, "The Role of the Labor Force in Industrialization"; April 14, Professor Rosenthal (Philosophy, Columbia University), "Method and Substance in the Philosophy of Religion"; April 25, Dr. Singer, of the United Nations Secretariat, "The Concept of Balanced Growth in Economic Development"; May 7, Professor Sylvia Thrupp (History, University of Chicago), "Comparative Study in the Twentieth Century"; May 14, Professor Kahl, "What are Social Classes?"; May 21, Demerath, "The Work of the Social Science Institute in 1957-58".

Institute Personnel 1957-1958:

The staff--not including recipients only of summer grants, typing and other office services--was as follows.

1.	Robert Bell	Research Assistant (Psychology)
2.	Sarah Boggs	Research Assistant (Sociology)
3.	Carl Camp	Research Assistant (Economics)
4.	David Carpenter	Research Associate (Sociology)
5.	Richard deCharms	Research Associate (Social Psychology and Education)
6.	N. J. Demerath	Director

7.	Muriel E. Ferguson	Senior Research Assistant (Education)
8.	Nancy E. Gaines	Typist
9.	Howard Gall	Senior Research Assistant (Social Psychology)
10.	Robert Hamblin	Research Associate and Director of Adolescent Behavior Program (Sociology)
11.	Marilyn Harrington	Editor and Typist
12.	Werner Hirsch	Research Associate (Economics)
13.	Joseph A. Kahl	Research Associate (Sociology)
14.	Mrs. Beatrice Miller	Senior Research Assistant (Anthropology)
15.	Ralph Patrick	Research Associate and Director of Values Project (Anthropology)
16.	Mrs. Nancy G. Pendleton	Office Manager and Secretary
17.	Oliver Rose	Research Assistant (Sociology)
18.	Huston Smith	Research Associate and Co-Director of Values Project (Philosophy)
19.	James Wiggins	Research Assistant (Sociology)

Principal Needs:

The Institute's first report, for 1956-1957, listed seven needs or problems in the University-Institute situation. With reference to six of these, definite headway has been made in 1957-1958; (1) increased research competence in the faculty, (2) attraction of better qualified graduate students, (3) more diversified contacts and promotions, (4) more funds for social science research and graduate education, (5) improved library collections and scholarly services in general, (6) space.

The contacts and promotional work by several of the faculty and the Director have made the Institute better known in Washington and among the national foundations. The Institute's position within the University and in the St. Louis community needs to be strengthened. Almost the entire effort has gone to the promotion and establishment of a few specially financed faculty-student research programs, and the establishment of

central office services for the faculty at large.

The Institute's principal space needs in the foreseeable future will be met by occupancy in December 1958 of a part of the Chancellor's old residence, "Ellenwood House," at 6510 Ellenwood Avenue. The laboratory and offices of the Small Groups Research Program will be on the second floor. The central offices will be on the first floor, east wing. The parlor and dining room will be available from time to time for special meetings and conferences.

Nicholas J. Demerath
Director
December, 1958

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

John Hope, II - Memo from Hope to Demerath of the Social Science Institute

REGARDING:

Proposed Inter-Disciplinary Conf. of Social Scientists

DATE:
Un-dated

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

"Consultant Service Program - John Hope, II, Chief Consultant"

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

HCF:

B. A. Jones – Society for the Study of Social Problems

10 AM – Tuesday

MF – I saw this man about Nov. 25. Please file this for future reference.

HCF

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

An Affiliate of the American Sociological Society and
the International Sociological Association

January 27, 1959

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Your name has been selected from a nationwide list of people as one who would make a major contribution to a conference of sixty people meeting in New York City on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th of May (Friday through Sunday) to consider ways and means for improving strategy in handling the crucial issue of desegregation in the nation's schools. This is not a discussion meeting, though there will be keen discussion. Nor is it in any sense an occasion for publicity; as a matter of fact, the aims of the conference will be served much better without fanfare. Every effort will be made to keep the gathering on a confidential basis, and we respectfully urge you to treat the matter in this way. Rather, it is a work conference in which the best energies of each participant will be focussed on practical, realistic issues in concert with some of the best minds in the country.

The proposal is this: a joint meeting on an invitational basis of (1) influential leaders in Southern communities; (2) representatives of intergroup, governmental, and educational organizations who are responsible for policies affecting desegregation, and (3) social scientists who, because of their significant contributions and interest in practical issues, can furnish leads for both policy and policy-related research. Many of this latter group, of course, are also Southern and some of them have already made a beginning on research in this area. The present plan calls for a conference of sixty people, twenty from each of the above groups. By restricting it to this size, we can assure participation on the part of all who attend. In order to obtain the greatest results from the New York meeting, it is planned to have a nucleus from each of the three major groups hold a preliminary meeting in March or April to prepare an agenda for consideration at the larger conference in May.

The sponsoring organization is the Society for the Study of Social Problems, an organization composed of social scientists and others who are committed to the application of research as basic to the wise formulation of policy and to the choice of effective programs for the handling of social problems. It is an affiliate of the American Sociological Society.

The S.S.S.P. has submitted the plans for this conference to a major foundation, requesting financial assistance to pay the expenses of all delegates, both for preliminary meetings and the final conference. Although no decision can be made on this until the middle of February, the prospects appear hopeful. May we then ask whether you can keep the dates of May 22, 23 and 24 open on your calendar for us until we have word for or against our proposal? We recognize that you are a busy person and are "jumping the gun" only because we want to be sure of obtaining a place on your schedule before it is too late.

For your convenience we are enclosing a card and self-addressed envelope the return of which we would appreciate no later than February 1st.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

R. A. Schermerhorn

Richard A. Schermerhorn
President, S.S.S.P.

Enclosure

April 15, 1959

Dr. Butler A. Jones
Professor of Sociology
Ohio Wesleyan University
Delaware, Ohio

Dear Dr. Jones:

Thank you for your letter of April 14 with the welcome news that SSSP is planning to go ahead after all with its conference on desegregation and integration.

It is very kind of you and the other officers of the Society to include me in the limited list of those whose expenses will be paid. I am happy to accept and will look forward with anticipation to the meeting.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rcd 4/15/59

OHIO WESLEYAN
UNIVERSITY

DELAWARE, OHIO

April 14, 1959

Dr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

My dear Dr. Fleming:

This letter comes as a follow-up of President Schermerhorn's January letter alerting you to the plans of the Society for the Study of Social Problems for a meeting on desegregation-integration to be held in May. You may recall that President Schermerhorn emphasized in his letter that the proposed conference was to be small in size, without fanfare or publicity, and attended by a select group of persons representative of a fairly wide geographic base. A prime aim of the conference would be to bring together representatives from the action and academic areas for two days of discussion and planning. During this period an effort would be made (1) to identify some of the kinds of issues which tend to subvert or block effective action programs, (2) if possible, to clarify and restate these issues as researchable problems, and (3) to plan a program of continuing research upon the now defined problems with the ultimate end of finding ways either of resolution or of reducing their significance as impediments to intelligent and effective action. President Schermerhorn also called attention to the fact that the Society had made application to one of the philanthropic foundations for financial support of the project.

Unfortunately, our request for support of our proposed May conference has been rejected by the Foundations. In consequence of this, our plans for conference have had to be reconsidered. Upon such reconsideration President Schermerhorn and the officers of the Society felt so strongly on the question of the worth of this conference that they have decided to proceed with its planning. The conference will be held in New York City at the Henry Hudson Hotel on May 22, 23, and 24, but the limited financial support which the Society can give to the conference has necessitated a further pruning of the list of invitees. For some of the original list of invitees this will mean that attendance will have to be at their own, or institutional, or agency expense. There are, however, some among those who initially indicated that they could attend such a conference only if their expenses were paid, whose presence at the conference is so much desired that the Society has entered upon a program of soliciting support in the form of small individual grants to cover their travel and attendance costs. I am happy to say that you are among this latter

category of persons and I take pleasure in extending in the name of President Schermerhorn and officers of the SSSP a cordial invitation to attend the May conference. The Society will pay your airline, travel, hotel, and meal costs. I hope it will be possible for you to accept this invitation. May I hear from you in this regard at your earliest convenience?

Sincerely and cordially yours,

Butler A. Jones

Butler A. Jones
Professor of Sociology and
Chairman, 1959 Program Committee, SSSP

BAJ:ma

THE SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

An Affiliate of the American Sociological Society and
the International Sociological Association

Dept of Sociology
Western Reserve Univ.
Cleveland 6, Ohio

RECEIVED MAY 8 1959

May 6, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Butler Jones writes that you are planning to attend our meeting on Integration in the Public Schools under the auspices of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, May 22-24 at the Henry Hudson Hotel in New York City. Since I am now making up the program for the meeting, I am writing to ask whether you have been able to call together in Atlanta a group of interested people who would be able to suggest some lines of strategy suitable for research as seen by the Southern laymen. We should like to have you present this as the lead off point for the discussion on Friday afternoon. If you cannot get such a group together, we should like to count on you to present your own views on the subject that afternoon. It would also help if you could at least send an outline of this to Professor Jessie Bernard, Department of Sociology, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania before the meeting.

Hoping to hear from you soon,

Sincerely,

R. A. Schermerhorn

Richard A. Schermerhorn
President, S.S.S.P.

RAS:ds

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Society for Study of Social Problems Conf.

REGARDING:

Hotel reservations at Henry Hudson Hotel

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Oscar Cohen, ADL, N. Y.
Ltr. dated May 11, 1959

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N.Y., PLaza 1-1800

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RECEIVED MAY 15 1959

May 13, 1959

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Delighted that you will be coming to the meeting of the SSSP. Of course I was aware that you were No. 1 on the invitation list.

The meeting will begin at 11a.m., Friday, May 22nd at the New York Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64th Street.

We have made reservations for you and Les Dunbar at the Henry Hudson Hotel, 353 West 57th Street. That's near 8th Avenue, I believe.

Look forward to seeing you.

Warmest regards.

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms

VIA AIR MAIL

May 14, 1959

Dr. Richard A. Schermerhorn
Department of Sociology
Western Reserve University
Cleveland 6, Ohio

Dear Dr. Schermerhorn:

Following the suggestion made in your recent letter, yesterday I got together with Dr. Walter Chivers of Atlanta University, Mr. Robert Thompson of the Atlanta Urban League, and Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, the Southern Regional Council's director of research.

We do not know how tight the schedule of next week's meeting may be. But it was our collective feeling that -- time and agenda permitting -- it would be desirable to have at least two presentations by Southerners, representing two distinct approaches; that is, one by a social scientist in an academic situation and one by a practitioner in the field of intergroup relations. Of course, such remarks as I make will be from the latter perspective.

In our hour or so together, we tried to identify some of the strategic aspects of the segregation-desegregation situation in the South that invite research. Here, I will attempt no more than a rough topical listing, as follows:

(1) The role of the social scientist in the field of strategy and social action -- helping to define alternative approaches,

interpreting prior experiences and relevant research findings to community leaders, etc.

(2) Studies of Negro leadership patterns within various types of communities. How decisions are made, coordination or the lack of it, complementary or conflicting roles, how status is derived, the degree to which "rank-and-file" attitudes are reflected and influenced, etc.

(3) Comparable studies of white leadership patterns regarding race relations.

(4) Further investigation of the role of economic institutions and leaders in the determination of racial policies; economic leverages that Negroes can effectively exert; national "power structures" that may influence Southern leadership, etc.

(5) The growth of the urban Negro "middle-class" -- dynamics, means of accelerating it, implications for social action.

(6) Motivational research -- better understanding of the causes and possible cures of "apathy" and inertia within the Negro group; more studies of the interplay of conflicting values which determine the responses of white Southerners to pressures for racial change.

(7) Intra-racial communication and conflict -- recognizing that the desegregation controversy increasingly reflects differences in philosophy and strategy within each of the racial groups.

(8) Studies showing in depth and detail the intricate involvement of the whole national society with the pattern of race relations deriving from the South. This requires no especially new research, but rather the scholarly synthesis of generally well-known facts. Such a subject, for example, as segregated housing has consequences for education, city planning, the economy of the central city, crime, etc; it is influenced by the policies and practices of the national government, insurance companies and banks. Another example of a similar study would be of the factors determining the policies of life insurance companies toward Negro applicants, and the social effects of those policies.

I hope this very hasty and sketchy outline will be of some help, and I am looking forward to seeing you next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Professor Jessie Bernard

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Of B'nai B'rith

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Executive Assistant

RECEIVED MAY 18 1959

May 15, 1959

Dr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I suppose that you know that you are making a presentation at the SSSP conference? Probably on Friday you will give them an overview of the present situation in the South.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC
ms

HCF
Checked & added all
not on a list to
Research
list
MA

LWD

Did you get one
of these. Might
be useful for
selected
distributions.

HCF

MA - are the ~~people~~ owners checked
on any of our mailing lists? if not, add
to Research list

File

RECEIVED JUN 22 1959

CONFERENCE ON STRATEGY OF DESEGREGATION

The Society for the Study of Social Problems
May 22 through May 24, 1959
Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64 Street, New York City

PARTICIPANTS

William Bagwell, American Friends Service Comm., 1818 S. Main St., High Point, N.C.
Warren M. Banner, National Urban League, 14 E. 48 St., New York 17, N. Y.
Jessie Bernard, 608 West Fairmount, State College, Pa.
Algernon Black, Ethical Culture Society, 2 W. 64 St., New York, N. Y.
Herbert Block, 1624 Wales Ave., Baldwin, L.I., N. Y.
JC on list ✓Will D. Campbell, National Council of Churches, 1716 West End Ave., Nashville, Tenn.
R ✓Walter Chivers, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.
Ethel Christiansen, National Board, YWCA, 600 Lexington Ave., New York 22, N.Y.
✓Oscar Cohen, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., N.Y. 22, NY.
IA ? ✓A. Lee Coleman, Univ. of Kentucky, Lexington 29, Ky. (presently on leave at Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)
? ✓Martin Deutsch, 465 West End Ave., New York, N. Y.
? ✓Dan Dodson, New York Univ., Center for Human Relations Studies, Washington Sq., New York 3, N. Y.
Leslie Dunbar, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.
Favorable ✓James Evans, Defense Dept., 3A-914 Pentagon Bldg., Washington 25, D.C.
IA ✓Jean Fairfax, American Friends Service Comm., 20 S. 12 Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.
Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.
? ✓Paul B. Foreman, University of Alabama, Box 6126, University, Ala.
Johan Galtung, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.
R- ✓Mary Ellen Goodman, White House Conference on Children & Youth, 330 Independence Ave., S.W., Washington, D.C. Now Houston, Texas
JC on list George Grier, N.Y. State Commission Against Discrimination, 270 Broadway, N.Y., N.Y.
✓John Hope, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
Paul B. Horton, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Mich.
Robert Johnson, Nat. Conf. of Christians & Jews, 43 W. 57 St., New York, N.Y.
? ✓Butler A. Jones, Ohio Wesleyan Univ., Delaware, Ohio
David J. Kallen, Baltimore Council of Social Agencies, 22 Light St., Balti. 2, Md.
? ✓Otto Klineberg, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y.
J.C. on list } William Korey, ADL, 1640 Rhode Island Ave., N.W. Washington 6, D.C.
J. Oscar Lee, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
Alfred E. Levin, American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
J.C. on list } Mrs. Marguerite Levy, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y.
John Morsell, N.A.A.C.P., 20 West 40th St., New York 18, N. Y.
Earl H. Nash, Jr., Johns Hopkins Hospital (HPPC), Baltimore 5, Md.
Lionel Newsom, Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.
R ✓Mrs. Setsuko M. Nishi, National Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, NY
J.C. on list } Mrs. Olga Northwood, 635 High St., Newark, N. J.
Frederick D. Patterson, Phelps-Stokes Fund, 101 Park Ave., New York 17, N. Y.
Benjamin Ringer, American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.
? ✓R. A. Schermerhorn, Western Reserve University, Cleveland 6, Ohio
R — ✓June Shagaloff, N.A.A.C.P., Legal Defense Dept., 10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y.
R — ✓Robert A. Thompson, Atlanta Urban League, 239 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta 3, Ga.
R — ✓Melvin M. Tumin, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey
Leon Goldstein, American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y.
Peter Rose, Goucher College, Towson, Baltimore 4, Md.

RECEIVED MAY 21 1959

THE STRATEGY OF DESEGREGATION

Program Sponsored by
The Society for the Study of Social Problems
Friday, May 22 through Sunday, May 24
Ethical Culture Society, 2 West 64 Street, New York City

Friday morning	11:00 a.m. to 12 noon	Introduction. Officers of S.S.S.P.
Friday afternoon	2:00 p.m.	Harold Fleming. Overview of the changing situation in the South. Discussion led by Dan Dodson.
	4:00 p.m.	Martin Deutsch. Strategy suggestions for action research. Discussion led by Dan Dodson.
Saturday morning	9:00 a.m. to 12 noon	Case history session. William Korey of ADL on Arlington, Virginia; Tartt Bell or William Bagwell of American Friends Service Committee; Johan Galtung of Columbia University; Ernest Campbell of University of North Carolina. Discussion led by Dan Dodson
Saturday afternoon	1:30 p.m.	Melvin Tumin. Summary of research on desegregation for the past year. Discussion led by Dan Dodson.
	3:00 p.m.	Jessie Bernard. Suggestions for New Explorations in Research on Desegregation. Discussion led by Dan Dodson.
Sunday morning	10:00 a.m.	Lee Coleman. Research at the University of North Carolina on Desegregation. Discussion led by Dan Dodson.
Sunday afternoon	1:30 p.m.	Report of committee on strategy suggestions and new research projects arising from conference sessions. Plans for follow-up. Discussion led by Dan Dodson.

May 23, 1960

Mr. Paul Foreman
Professor of Sociology
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Foreman:

It is good of you to think of me in connection with the annual meeting of the SSSP. If you feel that my contribution will be of sufficient value to warrant the cost of getting me there, I shall be happy to accept.

I am glad that you have scheduled a session on "Sit-ins and the Strategy of Race Relations," for we need to do some new and heavy thinking about the meaning of this development for our future activities. I would welcome any guidance you might give as to the presentation or background materials that would be most useful.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

May 19, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have just drawn responsibility for program of the sections of the Committee on Intergroup Relations in the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in New York, August 26 and 27, 1960.

Would you do me the very great favor of being our keynoter in a session planned for 10-11:15 a.m., August 26 to speak on "Sit-ins and the Strategy of Race Relations, 1960"? I know that the Council has done the basic work on this and I would very much like to have you present it to the SSSP. Peter Rose will present the annual research census at the same meeting. We want you to have the spotlight alone in presenting this material. You can plan on forty minutes. I will squeeze time for you if you need it. If you would like to have materials duplicated as handouts for the session, I will be glad to have them processed if you can get them to me no later than August 1.

Yours cordially,

Paul Foreman

Paul B. Foreman
Professor of Sociology

PBF: jm

June 1, 1960

Mr. Paul Foreman
Professor of Sociology
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Dear Mr. Foreman:

Thanks for your further letter about the annual meeting of the SSSP. Of course, it is very much in line with SRC's interest to be represented there. The reason I raised the question of expenses is that we are planning to send Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar, our director of research, whom I believe you met last year. Les is the member of our staff who is best equipped to benefit from the sessions. Much as I would like to, our budget doesn't justify the expenses of two representatives.

In view of all this, I strongly nominate Les for the job you invited me to do. He prepared our reports on the sit-in protest and I know of no one who is more knowledgeable and more thoughtful on this subject. I have spoken with him and find that he would be willing to make the presentation if you would like him to.

In any case, I hope to see you again some time in the near future.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

May 25, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I certainly do feel that your contribution as keynoter on sit-ins to the panels of the SSSP would be worth the cost of getting you to New York--and then some. But, I'm embarrassed to say, the Society has no funds for travel or honoraria. I hoped you would be covering the joint meetings of SSSP--American Sociological Society and particularly the Intergroup Relations meetings where a good deal of current research will be audited and the question of further extension of the annual research census will be discussed.

I'm setting up plans now for an informal group, somewhat like the one we attended a year ago in New York, for an evening session. I hope a number of the people who attended the last New York meeting will be there.

I do hope you can see your way clear to come, even under these conditions. If the Council just cannot carry the expense, would you consider sending a paper up for one of your friends who will be there to read?

Yours cordially,

Paul Foreman

Paul B. Foreman
Professor of Sociology

PBF: jm

Rec'd 6/29

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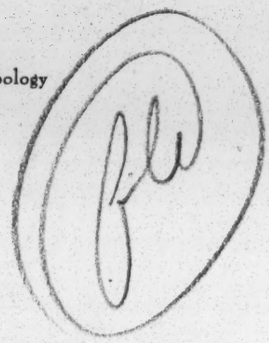

June 18, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the Washington convention program for the Committee on Intergroup Relations, SSSP. The panel on the Far Right should be outstanding. Morton Sobel will describe and then illustrate the ADL documentaries, pamphlets and films suitable for "regular" and TV instruction, adult education, community organization, etc.

SSSP has arranged good programs in the past, only to have limited attendance (probably because its meetings precede ASA). We are particularly interested in getting attendance at the business meeting listed on the attached sheet. We hope to seek better articulation with ASA programs and to discuss the future of the Research Bulletin. If at all possible, I hope you or some representative of your department interested in race or intergroup relations will attend this meeting. Several suggestions for service and research have been suggested. They depend on broader participation than we have had in recent meetings.

Would you help by attending, if at all possible? Also, would you call this program to the attention of other interested persons in your department?

Yours cordially,

Paul

Paul B. Foreman, Chairman
Committee on Intergroup Relations
SSSP

PBF:ju

Enclosure

SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

Committee on Intergroup Relations

PROGRAM FOR THE WASHINGTON MEETING

The Shoreham Hotel
Washington, D.C.
August 28-29, 1962

1:30 - 3:30 p.m.
August 28, 1962

THE FAR RIGHT: CURRENT IDEOLOGIES, ORGANIZATION, ACTION

Session Chairman: Peter P. Lejins, University of Maryland
W.C. Baum, Southeastern Missouri State College
C. Eric Lincoln, Clark College
Arthur L. Peterson, Ohio Wesleyan University

Discussion Leader: Oscar Cohen, Anti-Defamation League of of B'nai B'rith.

3:45-5:45p.m.
August 28, 1962

DOCUMENTARY SUPPORT FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTRUCTION

Session Chairman: Morton B. King, Jr., Southern Methodist University
Morton J. Sobel, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
"The Program of the Anti-Defamation League."

9:30-11:00 p.m.
August 28, 1962

SPECIAL DEMONSTRATION: ADL Pamphlets, Film Strips and Kinescopes.
Morton J. Sobel, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

1:45-3:45 p.m.
August 29, 1962

CONTRIBUTED PAPERS BUSINESS MEETING

Session Chairman: Paul B. Foreman, Pennsylvania State University

Eleanor P. Wolf, Wayne State University
"The Tipping Point in Racially Changing Neighborhoods"
Leland Hall, University of Delaware
"Correlates of Acceptance of Civil Liberties: A Replicative Study from the Heart of Dixie"

Business Meeting
Report on The Research Bulletin On Intergroup Relations,
Peter Rose, Smith College.
Election of Committee Officers
Articulation of SSSP-ASA Panels
Recommendations from the Floor.

Refreshments.

MEMORANDUM MAY 2, 1966

TO: Ruth Howard

FROM: Paul Anthony

Please pass the attached letter and check on to Ruth Alexander once you have finished with it.

Thanks/

Sonoco
4-25-66
Check for
$500

May 2, 1966

Mr. Charles W. Coker
President
Sonoco Products Company
Hartsville, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Coker:

Please accept our most sincere appreciation for the contribution of the Sonoco Products Company to the Southern Regional Council.

As Mr. Dabbs has discussed with you, support from within the region for the work of the Southern Regional Council is extremely valuable. It becomes increasingly necessary to indicate to sources of national support that persons and firms within the region are willing to support programs for regional development.

We are deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

SONOCO PRODUCTS COMPANY
HARTSVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA

CHARLES W. COKER
PRESIDENT

April 25, 1966

Mr. James McBride Dabbs
Rip Raps Plantation
Mayesville, South Carolina 29104

3

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

5-3-66 ✓

I am attaching the Company's check in the amount of $500.00 as a contribution to the Southern Regional Council and regret that I cannot increase it beyond this amount. We have so many calls for contributions, all of them worthwhile. For the next three or four years, we are heavily committed to the new Byerly Hospital at Hartsville.

I am asking Mrs. Watt to send the materials back to you that you left with me.

Sincerely,

Chas.

President

CWCoker
bw

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Sonoco Company

REGARDING

check for $250.00 to Mrs. Spearman, S. C. Countil on Human Relations

half of contribution from above

letter from P.A.

DATE

10/3/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

South Carolina Council on Human Relations

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia
U. S. A.
August 24, 1953

Mrs. Maisie Aronstein
Publications Department
South African Institute of Race Relations
P. O. Box 97
Johannesburg
SOUTH AFRICA

Dear Mrs. Aronstein:

You will perhaps be interested in the distribution given here to the pamphlet RACE: WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY? Our own office has sent it out to the attached list. Twenty-five copies were purchased by the Division of Christian Relations of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. (which is the Southern branch of the Presbyterian Church). I don't know exactly what distribution these copies were given, but presume they have been mailed out to Presbyterian leaders over the South.

Another twenty-five were purchased by the Southeastern Office of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States, and the director there, Mr. Ernest Arnold, tells me that he has sent them out widely in the Southern States.

As we have exhausted our supply, perhaps you would be good enough to post on to us so many additional ones as our remaining balance of 9/7 will pay for and pay carriage for.

Many of those who have received the pamphlet here have already written and expressed real appreciation for it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

THE S.A. INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

(INCORPORATED)

Registered under the Welfare Organisations Act, W.O. 219

TELEPHONES 44-4360
44-4368/9
POST OFFICE BOX 97
TELEGRAMS "UBUNTU"

REF. No.

RECEIVED
AUG 19
Southern Regional Council

TRANSVALIA BUILDING
21, STIEMENS STREET
BRAAMFONTEIN
JOHANNESBURG

Mr. G.S. Mitchell,
Southern Regional Council,
63 Auburn Ave., NE, Rm. 432,
Atlanta 3,
U.S.A.

24th July, 1953.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you very much for your letter dated 30th June, 1953. With regards to your order for 75 copies of "Race - What does the Bible Say?" the total is £4.0.4 of which 5/4 is postage. After cashing your cheque ($ 12.75) we find that you have a balance of 9/7, for which we have opened an account. Would you like any other publications to this value or shall I send the balance on to you? Please let me know and I shall act accordingly.

Yours faithfully,

(Mrs.) Maisie Greenstein.

PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT.

SOME FACTS—

FOUNDED in 1929 for peace, goodwill and practical co-operation between the various races of Southern Africa.

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The late Dr. C. T. Loram
The late Rev. Prof. J. du Plessis
The late Prof. R. F. A. Hoernlé.
Senator Dr. the Hon. E. H. Brookes
The late Rt. Hon. J. H. Hofmeyr
Maurice Webb, Esq.
The late Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones.

HEADQUARTERS

Johannesburg

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DIRECTOR: QUINTIN WHYTE.

January 30, 1956

Mr. Quentin Whyte
South African Institute of Race Relations
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Mr. Whyte:

The New York Times carries a small notice of Dr. B.B. Keet's book and gives us some pleasant quotes on it on Christian principles opposed to Apartheid.

I hesitate to order the book but I would like to hear some more. If Secretary # 7-L will be kind enough to watch for notices that will give us more quotes and will send them over we will be most grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

March 30, 1956

Mrs. Maisie Arenstein
South Africa Institute of Race Relations
Transvalia Building
21 Stiemens Street
Braamfontein,
JOHANNESBURG, South Africa

Dear Mrs. Arenstein:

How very kind indeed that was of you. I would take that much trouble for your ~~schools~~ Institute, also.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

RECEIVED MAR 26 1956

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

P.O. Box 97
Telegrams: 'Ubuntu'

Transvalia Building,
21 Stiemens Street,
Braamfontein,
JOHANNESBURG.
21 March 1956.

George S. Mitchell, Esq.,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
ATLANTA 3,
Georgia, U.S.A.

Dear Mr Mitchell,

I have much pleasure in enclosing, as you asked in your letter of 30 January, a copy of a review of Professor B.B. Keet's SUID-AFRIKA - WAARHEEN? It is written by Professor E.F.W. Gey van Pittius.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs) Maisie Arenstein,
ASSISTANT PUBLICATIONS OFFICER.

November 12, 1956

Mr. Quentin Whyte
South African Institute of Race Relations
Box 97
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Mr. Whyte:

Your man named Van Wyk is here.

We all miss you both.

Van Wyk says be sure to send you this little blue one about police, and to ask you to dig in your files and hunt up a green one called Race in the News, which is now six or seven years old. He is excited about both of them. I am pretty sure you saw them both.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl. Race and Law Enforcement

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
W.O. 219
AUDEN HOUSE, 68 DE KORTE STREET
JOHANNESBURG

DIRECTOR: QUINTIN WHYTE
ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE DIRECTOR

TELEPHONES: 44-4360/8/9
TELEGRAMS: "UBUNTU"
P.O. Box 97

31st December, 1956.

Mr. George S. Mitchell,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA.

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

I write to acknowledge receipt of and thank you for your letter of November 12th, 1956, together with the enclosure. Mr. Whyte is out of office and I am sure he would wish me to say how grateful he is.

Yours sincerely,

Ann Blanckenberg

DIRECTOR'S SECRETARY.

RACE RELATIONS NEWS

IN THIS ISSUE . . .

New African leadership — p. 57
Multi-racial conferences — p. 59
Eyes on Little Rock — p. 66
Votes for Federal Non-Whites — p. 67
Death of Dr. Auden — p. 68

VOL. XIX Nos. 9 & 10 SEPT.-OCT., 1957

The men between the State and the Africans

Our monthly letter

Dear Member,

On my way to attend the annual conference of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, I attended the installation of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi at Mahlabatini in Zululand. At the ceremony, Chief Buthelezi, a graduate of Fort Hare, spoke feelingly of his decision to accept the chieftainship. He was, he said, like a length of rope in a tug-of-war — the Government pulled at one end and his people at the other end and he had to bear the strain. He could have devoted himself to more lucrative occupations but he felt that he had this duty to his people whom it was his desire to serve. His speech struck a note of deep sincerity and was symptomatic of the strain under which the policy of the country has put a sincere, Christian and sensitive man.

At Margate, where the administrators met, there was another bit of rope — strong and with many strands of varying texture. For these administrators, too, stand between the Government and the African people. It is true that the majority did not feel themselves in the position so heart-rendingly described by Chief Buthelezi, but nevertheless there was evidence that on this rope, too, great strain is being placed.

A Change of Attitude?

At last year's conference in Bloemfontein one gained the impression that the majority of administrators approved and backed the severity of government-control measures. Perhaps this was owing to the presence there of the dynamic Minister of Native Affairs. This year they did not seem to have the same attitude and approach to urban African administration. This may have been due to a number of factors. The Native Affairs Department was represented by the Chief Native Commissioner for Natal, and the person who moved the vote of thanks commented adversely on the absence of Under-Ministers and Under-Secretaries from a conference of men who are responsible for the implementation of Government policy. The paper by Dr. Eiselen, which did not contain the word "apartheid", was a paper which indicated certain anxieties. He asked for understanding, tact and flexibility in the administration of the law. Perhaps the nature of the subjects discussed was such that it did not lend itself to emotive thinking. Whatever the cause, the Conference adopted a more scientific and objective approach which was very welcome.

The lead was possibly given by the paper from Kitwe — a paper which revealed a humanity and flexibility in urban administration and which demonstrated the usefulness of research and academic assistance in the administration of urban African peoples.

New Leadership

Prof. Coetzee of Potchefstroom did not make judgments in his paper. He set forth the considerations of the new developing situation in urban South Africa as he saw them. Perhaps the most significant contribution

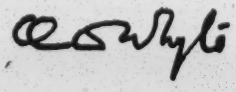
was the stress he laid upon the new leadership which was emerging and which was superceding the old tribal authority. This "acquired" leadership, as he called it, was not Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana — it was Bantu and representative of the urban African group! He suggested that Administrators must learn to consult and co-operate with it. Similarly, the paper on juvenile delinquency, which was intensely interesting and constructive, pointed up the necessity for administrators to think of the human problems involved and not only of administration.

This body of men who are so responsible for the happiness of Africans is a strong body. Its members are developing a professional pride and are increasingly aware of the difficult nature of the work they do and of the need for a more scientific and a more human approach. One lack in the deliberations was the isolation of the urban from the rural situation, and one felt that a strong call by this body of administrators for the development of the rural areas would have influenced the Government. Urban and rural problems must be tackled simultaneously, for it would appear that the problems and poverty of the reserves are being piled upon the cities.

Why not an African?

I suggest to you, whether you are in a dorp or a city, that you will find amongst the administrators a co-operative attitude and a willingness to discuss differences that may arise locally. Like Chief Buthelezi, the administrators do not make the law. They are licensed by the Government and they have to carry out the law whether they like it or not. Many of them seek most sincerely to mitigate the harshnesses that rigid application of it involves.

One might add a question in postscript—"Why not have an African of ability to address the Conference next time?"



Director.

The grim mid-September riots in Johannesburg

BLOODY FIGHTING in the week-end of September 15-16 between "Russians", who represent a small section of the Reef Basuto, and the "Zicazas", who again represent a small "floating" section of Johannesburg's Zulu population, has led to further tension between the Johannesburg City Council and the Ministry of Native Affairs.

The "Zicazas" (lit: 'opening in ear lobe') are the Zulu "flat boys" whose removal from the city was ordered under Dr. Verwoerd's "locations-in-the sky" ban. Some 5,000 of them — unattached rural men who come mainly from the Native territories of Natal and are distinguished by their tribal wooden ear-plugs -- were quartered in the Dube Hostel, among the hundreds of settled, urbanised, multi-tribal families of Orlando, among whom tribal tensions have long since ceased.

The Zicaza "bachelors" became the prey of township tsotsies, themselves recruited mainly from the legions of young men who, under present influx control regulations, are not allowed to enter Johannesburg to seek work. Rather than seek it elsewhere, and under Dr. Verwoerd's legislation lose domiciliary right in the place in which many of them were born, these youngsters have turned "tsotsi", to subsist on robbery and violence.

Call for Judicial Inquiry

The Dube "Zicazas" retaliated by attacking as "tsotsi" all who were not of their own faction. Mysteriously the "Russians" entered the scene as tsotsi allies, and in the bloody week-end of mid-September more than 40 were killed and more than 100 wounded — mainly "Zicaza" Zulus, and mainly as a result of police bullets fired in suppressing the riots.

The Johannesburg City Council, backed by other organizations, called on the Minister of Justice for a judicial inquiry into the rioting. Not only was this refused, but Dr. Verwoerd and the Nationalist group of the Johannesburg City Council, in intemperate language, accused the Johannesburg City Council of deliberately, and from political motives, failing to maintain law and order.

Among meetings called to discuss the riots was one representing 61,300 African, Coloured, Indian and European members. The delegates pledged themselves to organise anti-pass committees in every area, to organise Africans "to defend themselves and their legitimate rights" and "to set a definite date to rid ourselves of the vicious pass laws before the general election of 1958."

Other Resolutions

Other resolutions were:

". . . We shall unite all against the vicious group areas and ethnic grouping system; we shall organise the workers in agriculture and industry in every corner of the Transvaal . . . form workers' committees . . . support anti-Nationalist unity and the National Multi-Racial Conference."

Mr. Hymie Miller, Chairman of the Non-European Affairs Committee of the Johannesburg City Council, announced that his committee would request the City Council to appoint its own commission of inquiry under the chairmanship of a retired judge of the Supreme Court.

A statement given to the Press by our Director on behalf of the Institute received wide publicity. He described the riots as "an appaling price for the Africans — and we ourselves — to have to pay for the theoretical niceties of apartheid." He urged a swift meeting of representative authority, and immediate steps to disarm the rival groups.

A Warning

The riots were described by Mr. Jordan K. Ngubane, well-known African journalist, as "a warning to democrats on all sides of the colour line. The rioters' hatred directed towards their own people is fundamentally hatred for the apartheid tyrant. The iron has entered the African soul so deeply that violence is regarded as a feasible way out. At the moment it is directed against weaker objectives. I am not alarmist. But I get the feeling that the day is not far when it will be directed against the mad overlord who stimulates it wickedly to advance his own selfish interests. Unhappily, when the chickens come home to roost, all of us will be involved, whether or not they support apartheid."

Definition at Last

A committee of senior civil servants has been set up by Dr. Dönges, Minister of the Interior, to define and standardise race classifications with the object of bringing about a uniformity of definitions in the Nationalist government's race legislation.

Multi-racial Conference: 1

A multi-racial conference, "to discuss and explore the steps which can bring about friendly and effective co-operation among the different racial groups," is to be held in Johannesburg from December 3 to 5.

The organisers are sending out invitations to people of all political opinions, including Nationalists, though they do not intend it to be a political congress. Chairman of the planning committee is Mr. J. S. D. Dey, and there are more than 60 sponsors of all races, including Bishops, M.P.'s, Senators and leaders of Non-European thought.

"We are doing our best to get representation from all sections," Mr.

Dey said. "The people we are inviting are asked to attend in their individual capacities and not as representatives of organisations, otherwise they would be tied to the policies of those organisations."

Multi-racial Conference: 2

SABRA, declaring that it was necessary to create a good relationship between the European and African population, announced last month (September) that it had decided to hold a conference "with representatives of the Bantu community to discuss matters of current interest".

Conference: 3

In order to consolidate the growing interest in civil rights and to awaken further public awareness of the situation regarding the systematic invasion of civil rights in South Africa, the Committee of the Civil Rights League of South Africa is planning a national conference on civil rights to be held some time after the general election next year.

The conference will be planned to cover the whole field of civil liberties before and since Union, and to show clearly not only where they have been encroached upon but where they fall short of the standard laid down by the Declaration of Human Rights made by the United Assembly in 1948.

The League hopes that from the conference a permanent national organisation will arise for the defence and extension of civil rights.

As "Die Vaderland" Sees It

"Human relations," said *Die Vaderland's* leading article on September 6, "is a current expression which means precisely the opposite of what one would suppose it to mean. It has nothing to do with the fine concept of 'humanity'; for what annointed speakers from a thousand platforms mean to brand is inhumanity. Nor do they mean human beings, but races — and specially coloured races. And in South Africa specially you are expected to hang your head in shame for your 'oppression' of the Non-Europeans."

The writer of the article regards what he calls the current connotation of "human relations as conceived and born in sin" but declares that painful experience in South Africa has taught that it cannot be disregarded. "However undeservedly, our good name is involved. We know that even our best endeavours are immediately injected with the germ of rot (verrotheid). And the saddest of all is that even the Native who would like to favour us (ons begunstig) is told against the evidence of his own eyes that the glories (heerlikhede) of Meadowlands are a delusion and that the filth of Sophiatown is really his heaven on earth."

Government "Busy Night and Day"

The article goes on to say that it goes without saying that the European must defend himself against this sort of thing. "The Government is busy with it night and day. The (church) Mission never sleeps. But it is also essential that the ordinary citizen must give conscious aid."

For this reason the article welcomes the news that SABRA "has gone out of its way to try to create machinery for inter-racial conferences with the leaders of the Bantu community, with the object of promoting mutual good relations by learning to understand and reconcile feelings and viewpoints on both sides."

The leader-writer declares that "one can only deplore that the need for such a thing should have arisen (for) there was a time when a Boer could go on commando and, without the least anxiety, leave his wife and children and his entire farm in the care of a faithful creature ('n getroue skepsel)."

For the deterioration in race relations, which it admits as being only too regrettable, *Die Vaderland* blames "bunglers and agitators".

Non-Europeans "Will Laugh"

If SABRA gets to work with an action committee and every European follows the advice of Dr. William Nicol, Administrator of the Transvaal,

to befriend *even one* Non-European, *Die Vaderland* believes that the "human relations group of the world will honestly find that the Non-Europeans about whom they are so concerned will laugh them out of countenance for their clumsy and uninvited interference."

Another "Ban" Promotes Integration

In response to a circular from the Government Department of Native Affairs, calling on local authorities to properly enforce the law that Africans should be employed to serve their own people, the Johannesburg City Council is to review its already strict (8 a.m. to 4 p.m. on week days only) regulations for white persons wishing to enter the Native townships on business. The *Star* (Johannesburg), in a leading article (Sept. 11) said that, in so far as it allows some Natives to improve their status and their standard of living the decision to ban European commercial travellers and insurance agents is commendable. In so far as it puts some hundreds of Europeans out of work, or drastically reduces their earnings, it must be condemned.

"It is likely that, without intervention from a government with a passion for ordering the community's life from above, the good could have been achieved without the bad." Firms would have found increasingly that it paid them to employ Native travellers in Native areas.

Decision Serves Integration

"The present decision will no doubt be defended in the name of apartheid, because it allows Natives to serve their own people in their own areas. Yet it can equally be argued that it serves integration, because it means the growing employment of Natives in more senior positions in European firms. Here is another illustration of how futile and how muddled are the attempts to apply a policy which in theory aims at apartheid but which in practice promotes integration".

Statement by Travellers' Union

The ban is being opposed by the National Union of Commercial Travellers. In a statement issued to the press it claims that about 800 European commercial travellers will be deprived of their livelihood by the ban, which is to be enforced at the end of December. The Union declares itself to be not opposed to the employment of Non-Europeans as commercial travellers as long as they have equal rights and wages with the Europeans. It feared the enforcement of the ban would lead to the employment of African commercial travellers at lower wages than the rates for Europeans.

Nurses Do Not Accept Apartheid

November 2 and 3 were provisionally set down for a national conference of nurses to discuss the changed conditions brought about by the promulgation of the Nursing Act, 1957, which a large — and perhaps majority — body of nurses rejects as alien in its racial discrimination, to the ethics and traditions of the profession of nursing. An initial circular sent out by the organising committee says: "The implementation of apartheid in the profession must lower the status of the South African nurses, both locally and internationally, and not only adversely affect the standard of nursing in this country but destroy the harmony and co-operation between nurses of different racial groups which has existed in the past."

More Apartheid Orders

The local Transportation Board has presented the Johannesburg City Council with a demand for full apartheid on the whole of the city's transport services from January 1 next.

The Durban City Council, on which a similar order was served, has decided to appeal against it to the National Transport Commission.

Enforcing More Apartheid

The Minister of Labour, Mr. de Klerk, has announced that the industrial tribunal's proposal for reserving certain occupations in the clothing

industry for certain races are about to be published and enforced. This will be the newest and most revolutionary aspect of the revised Industrial Conciliation Act, which came into force at the beginning of this year.

Industrialist Attacks Job Reservation

The policy of reserving skilled jobs for Europeans had created a tremendous man-power vacuum in South Africa, an industrialist, Mr. J. H. Wessels, told the recent man-power conference sponsored by the National Development Foundation. He said that a large expansion scheme for a major industrial enterprise had been cancelled because of the lack of the men to run it.

Because of the official colour policy, leaders in South African commerce and industry were subjected to stresses and strains unknown to their contemporaries in other parts of the world. Elsewhere, men for the top posts could be drawn from all classes. In the Union the selection stopped at the broad bottom barrier which comprised the Non-European and a tiny class of Whites who were fitted only for sheltered employment.

The position in industry was becoming increasingly critical with the racial changes in the labour force.

15,000 Can Lose Jobs in the Cape

The reservations which have been proposed for the clothing industry by the industrial tribunal will reserve practically the entire industry for Europeans only, and in the Cape alone, apart from the large numbers of factories on the Rand and in other areas, more than 15,000 Non-Europeans are threatened with the loss of their means of livelihood.

No Apartheid

Some years ago the International Medical Association refused to hold a conference in South Africa because its apartheid policy would be offensive to Non-White members of other countries. Whether or not this was responsible for the total lack of segregation at the Association's recent conference in Durban, the fact is that apartheid was so far excluded that Non-White doctors and their wives were encouraged to take part fully not only in the academic proceedings but in the social activities as well. The Non-White doctors were included in all functions. They attended the civic reception, the dinner in the Durban City Hall and the ball.

What Price Apartheid?

Apartheid from a purely objective standpoint has as yet produced little in the way of material results, writes Lord Hailey in the revised edition of his monumental work, "*An African Survey,*" recently published by the Oxford University Press.

In analysing the progress of apartheid from 1948 to 1956 he says: "The Native reserves stand much as they did in 1948. The great growth of secondary industries has made the factories more than ever dependent on African labour.

"Apartheid has not reversed the trend of the movement of Africans from the rural to the urban centres. White labour has not been attracted to the Union to take the place of the many Bantu who in theory should be sent back to the reserves. There is no indication that the Bantu in general are giving a welcome to a procedure of education or to the formation of types of local government institutions which will reflect Bantu traditions rather than those of Europe.

Crucial Question

The doctrine of separatism, Lord Hailey contends, has still to face the crucial question whether the economy of a modern industrialised state will permit the maintenance of a crude form of differentiation against a major part of the manpower on which it is dependent.

In no country south of the Sahara — the area covered by the survey — is there any such stark insistence on the principle of differentiation as in the Union.

Almost everywhere else there are signs of the closing of the gap which once seemed to separate African institutions and usages from those prevailing in the Western world.

Nationalist's Call for Black-White Alliance

A plea for an alliance between Black and White nationalisms was made by Prof. L. J. du Plessis of Potchefstroom University, at the recent National Development Foundation conference on man-power in Johannesburg.

South Africa could include both in solving its industrial problem, he said.

Native wages should be raised as a step towards this development. The level could be lifted by increasing the pay for unskilled work and also by opening more fields for semi-skilled work to Non-Europeans. This would make a White labour policy in the European areas an economic proposition. By that time Non-European industry and commerce might be able to absorb the available supply of Black labour both skilled or unskilled, not required in European areas.

Professor du Plessis attacked the address given by Mr. Harry Oppenheimer, M.P., at the Duke of Edinburgh's conference on industry. Mr. Oppenheimer's plan for integration could only lead to the Bantufication of South Africa's labour force as a whole, he said.

"Black nationalism if advanced by legislation might, however, save White nationalism and lead to a full development of South Africa's resources by Black-White co-operation in separate national homes."

Government Moves—Slightly

Government revision of basic wage rates for certain categories of Africans in Port Elizabeth have been received in the Press as sound in principle and a hopeful sign of Government recognition of the need for an improvement of the economic lot of the Africans — but most newspapers condemned the increase as inadequate, still below the breadline and below the minima which many employers are in any case already paying their African labour.

Nationalist Urges Bantu Championship

"We cannot allow England to create independent Bantu states within our borders, which will certainly happen if we do not forestall it; or the United Nations to take South-West Africa under trusteeship, which will also certainly happen if we do not grant full political rights to the Natives there; or the United States and Russia, in rivalry with each other, to incite successfully our own Non-Europeans to a general revolt against White supremacy, which is also certainly on the way if we do not provide the prospect of real self-government to the rising Bantu nations." In these words, in an article in *Dagbreek en Sondagnuus* (8/9/57) which was widely quoted by the English press, Prof. L. J. du Plessis, of Potchefstroom University, declared that there was little hope of progress with the present policy of incorporating the British Protectorates in the Union on the basis of its slowly developing Native policy.

He urged that "our only hope of progress is for us to act as champions of the Bantu peoples concerned, even if necessary against the United Nations and the United Kingdom, namely to liberate them from all foreign domination, with the proviso that for their own safety . . . they remain in the Western defence system together with the Union against Eastern imperialism, and mainly that of Communism."

He said that the Union should declare as its policy the establishment of independent Bantu states in Basutoland, Bechuanland, Swaziland and Ovamboland. If this proved successful further Bantu states could be developed in Zululand, Xhosaland, etc.

University Apartheid Inquiry

The commission of inquiry, consisting of 13 M.P.s of all parties originally appointed as a select committee, which is to discuss details of

the University Apartheid Bill, will meet in Pretoria on November 1. It will then begin considering the written evidence which has been submitted.

The select committee appointed by Parliament was converted into a commission at the end of the session so that it could continue its inquiries.

It is headed by Mr. M. D. C. de Wet Nel (Nat.). The other members are: Mrs. V. M. L. Ballinger (Native Rep.), Mr. R. Butcher (U.P.), Dr. C. de Wet (Nat.), Mr. A. Hepple (Lab.), Dr. A. Jonker (Nat.), Dr. H. G. Luttig (Nat.), Mr. W. A. Maree (Nat.), Mr. P. A. Moore (U.P.), Mr. D. J. J. Mostert (Nat.), Mr. H. A. Rust (Nat.), Dr. L. Steenkamp (U.P.), and Dr. J. Steyn (Nat.).

D.R.C. Stands by Church Clause

A Dutch Reformed deputation to the Government convinced itself that the basic principle of religious freedom and freedom of bona fide Christian worship was in no way impaired or interfered with by the church clause, says a statement recently sent overseas by the D.R.C.

The Bill was only aimed at the curbing of possible nuisances which could arise if and when large numbers of Bantu gathered in essentially White residential areas with the real or ostentatious purpose of attending religious worship, the statement added.

The message was contained in a communication replying to a query from the general secretary of the World Council of Churches (Dr. W. A. Visser T'Hooft). The Rev. W. A. Landman, on behalf of the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa, wrote the letter setting out the attitude of the Dutch Reformed Churches towards the Native Laws Amendment Act and race relations generally.

Stellenbosch Makes Contact

An audience of about 100 students and several lecturers of Stellenbosch University are reported to have received with enthusiasm (and an enthusiastic resulting discussion) the address in which Dr. E. van der Ross, Coloured principal of the Battswood Training College, claimed at a meeting of the Stellenbosch University Contact Study Group (Sept. 12) that the supremacy of a racial group in a multi-racial society could only be maintained by legislation, administrative brutality and discriminatory education.

Dr. van der Ross said that there were three possibilities in the South Africa of tomorrow: a multi-racial community with one race clearly dominating the others a mixed race with no cultural or racial differences; and a community where colour and culture would differ but with no political, economic or educational discrimination.

Education would have to be determined according to the South African community desired.

Brutality is Inevitable

He mentioned the conditions under which the first alternative would operate:

Maintenance of a position of power by legislation is so generally accepted in South Africa today that most Europeans and Non-Europeans regard it as natural, inevitable and even morally right.

"Brutality is the inevitable result of discriminating legislation. Unjust pass laws and other segregation laws must end in revolt and resistance with baton charges and sten guns.

"An educational system is the result of a purposeful effort of the State to produce a certain type of people and way of thinking," he said.

Dr. van der Ross dismissed the idea of general integration with no racial or cultural differences. "Even in the highest degree of integration the Bantu and the Coloured will keep their identity; and I make this plea for political and economic equality in the knowledge that the protagonists of apartheid have nothing to fear from us, as anyone who knows our people well can state.

"If we do not work together now and plan our education in this direction we are heading for a catastrophe for which our self-conceit and short sighted prejudice will be responsible," he said.

Nationalist Doubt Department

"Dear Sir — I have read and re-read all the Government's declarations of policy. Yet questions remain which keep me awake. Help me with the following few:

"Dr. Malan once rightly warned that nationalism could be as little stemmed as the east wind by a sieve. He spoke of white nationalism in South Africa. But isn't it just as true of the Bantu and other Non-Whites? Nationalism has already taken hold among them. Isn't there the real danger that, with the power which their position in the economic life of the country gives them, they will enforce it?

"I do not for one moment believe that the Native, and particularly the developed Native who neither belongs nor wants to belong to any tribe, will go without force to the inadequate reserves. And what a witches' brew will cook in those territories!

"I believe that it is now quite clear that we will not get the Protectorates, for the simple reason that no British Government which handed them over could hope for political survival. However strongly and genuinely we might feel about apartheid, our name has been blackened with it over the entire world. Do we perhaps owe this to too noisy propaganda?

"And the Coloureds. How do we see their future, without even a little reserve of their own? Wasn't General Hertzog right when he preferred not to drive the Coloureds away by putting them on a separate voters' roll, offsetting instead their political domination by raising the franchise qualifications?

"My last question: Our Minister of Defence is doing his best to get the defence of South Africa in good shape. But this will have to be done in co-operation with other African territories, which all employ black troops. Yet according to tradition we do not arm Non-White troops? What's to be done about that?

—*Correspondent in 'Dagbreek en Sondagnuus' (Oct.* 20, 1957.)

Basutoland's Five Demands

The Basutoland African Congress has written to the Paramount Chieftainess of the Basuto asking her to make five demands, including a Legislative Council for Basutoland, when she meets the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in London.

A copy of the letter to the Paramount Chieftainess, Mantsebo Seeiso, who is on a visit to Britain, was sent to the Secretary of State.

The other four demands were for an impartial commission of inquiry into the evil of alleged "medicine murders", the removal of the present Resident Commissioner, Mr. A. G. T. Chaplin, a declaration by Britain that the territory should never be incorporated within the Union of South Africa unless two-thirds of the Basuto approved, and that colour discrimination should be outlawed in Basutoland.

Elected Council

The Congress demanded that the Legislative Council should be established immediately, and that the majority of the members should be elected.

This body should have the sole right to deal with all domestic matters, and there should be no unwarranted interference from the British Government.

"It is the feeling of the majority of the Basuto that a Legislative Council is long overdue, and that the glaring mistakes, administrative and political, which are so detrimental to the welfare of this country can only be properly handled by a legislature of this kind.

Rams for the Pondos

Mr. R. M. Kingwill, a Merino farmer of Jordanville, near Graaf Reinet, has presented a pedigree stud Merino ram to Chief Tuto Nhanase, heir to the paramount chieftainship of the Pondos. Mr. Kingwill will give seven breed rams in all to Pondo chiefs to improve the flocks of the African farmers in the Transkei. Mr. Kingwill and his wife decided to do this when they visited the Transkei and saw the poor flocks and ravages of soil erosion. Mr. Kingwill told a gathering at Umtata: "I want to do something in return for the loyalty and service the Pondos have given me".

African Welfare Officials

The Anglo-American Corporation is to train its own African welfare officers for work among its thousands of employees in the mine compounds of the Union and Rhodesia. Thirty-two Africans, chosen from the Transvaal, Free State and Northern Cape, are at present attending an intensive six weeks' course at the President Brand Mine. According to Mr. Dan Botha, group training officer, the men were all picked for potential leadership.

The Little Rock on which so much could split

THE WORLD IS WATCHING the outcome of an extraordinary collision over the integration principal between Federal and State authority in the city of Little Rock, in the State of Arkansas.

Two months ago integration was ordered for the first time at the Little Rock High School by a Federal judge. The reaction of the State Governor, Orval Faubus, was to order 200 armed National Guardsmen to forcibly prevent a teenage Negro girl from entering the school, under the pretext of maintaining law and order. His action loosed another outburst of riots, dynamite blasts and rabble-rousing in the American Deep South.

With world attention focussed on Little Rock, and the issue there becoming a national one, President Eisenhower, after a period of deadlock, took the dramatic course of placing the State guardsmen under Federal orders and posting an airborne division of the Federal Army, many of them seasoned combat troops, to enforce the order of the Federal court. Demonstrations by small White groups were quickly put down.

Eisenhower Meets Governors

Nine Negro children are now attending the school under reduced military guard, but a situation of extraordinary paradoxes persists. A meeting has taken place between President Eisenhower and the governors of some of the Southern States who rallied to the support of Governor Faubus; and unlike South Africa, which withdrew from the United Nations, President Eisenhower hastened to forestall Russian attempts to capitalise on the Little Rock situation by putting the American case before the United Nations.

While the Ku Klux Klan fiery crosses burn periodically and all the old prejudices boil over in spasmodic outbreaks of violence in the South and the nine Negro children of Little Rock quietly attend school, Governor Faubus, who has incurred far more opprobrium than praise for his attitude, behaves like a man in a trap. He declares plaintively that he is "willing to meet with anyone who seeks a solution" and that he would be "satisfied with an armistice or a truce." He continues, however, to evade the firm suppression of Negro intimidation on which the President insists.

At the same time integration is steadily taking place in other parts of the Deep South, "White" hotels, which never did so before, are admitting Negro delegates to church conventions, and Wilfred M. Calnan, director of the Harris County Welfare Department, Texas, has resigned rather than carry out an order to separate patients in a convalescent home on a basis of colour rather than of ailment.

The general picture is of Jim Crow die-hards fighting a slowly losing battle in the face of changing public opinion and Presidential determination to uphold the integration ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States. »

Satchmo "Consigns" his Government

Negro trumpet player Louis Armstrong — "Satchmo" to his admirers the world over, and a man who is reported to be regarded by the State Department as one of America's most effective unofficial goodwill ambassadors — cancelled a U.S. Government-sponsored visit to Russia and said his "government can go to hell" in protest against the Little Rock school deadlock in Arkansas. He accused President Eisenhower of having "no guts" and described Governor Orval Faubus, of Arkansas, who used State troops to exclude Negro school-children from the Arkansas school, as "an uneducated ploughboy".

President Eisenhower's firm action in sending Federal troops to

enforce the Supreme Court's integration order, and placing State troops under Federal command, caused Satchmo to revise his decision. He is now ready to "fracture them cats" in the Soviet Union and has the answer "if people over there ask me what's wrong with my country".

U.S. Bureau of African Affairs

The United States Government is to establish a Bureau of African Affairs under an Assistant Secretary of State.

Mr. Loy W. Henderson, Deputy Under Secretary of State, has informed the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Sub-committee in Washington that the Bureau was warranted by the "increasing world significance of political, economic, and social developments in Africa, the importance of Africa to the United States and the growing need to counter-influences which are showing increasing interest in Africa."

Under the plans, 226 new African students would be studying in the United States. At present 1,424 African students are there under various types of sponsorship.

The new Bureau of African Affairs would include all of the African continent except Algeria, Egypt and the Sudan.

38,000 Federal Non-Whites to be given the vote

TWENTY-SIX THOUSAND AFRICANS and 12,000 Indians and Coloureds in the three territories of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be given the vote under the Federal Government's franchise scheme published this month in a White Paper.

The constitution provides for a legislature consisting of a single chamber of 35 members. The race of nine of these members and the method of their selection is set out. The race of the other 26 members is not specified.

It also provides that a quarter of the Federal Assembly's members should consist of Africans and Europeans charged with the duty of representing African interests. It provides no special safeguards for European interests.

Higher Pay for Chiefs

African Paramount and other Chiefs are to get substantially higher pay to correspond with their responsible offices, the Northern Rhodesian Government decided recently. Salaries of not less than £2,000 are to be paid to Paramount Chiefs, together with a car and driver provided and paid for by the Government.

"Exemplary" on 105,000 Pints!

Africans in Salisbury's and Bulawayo's townships consumed £11,500 worth of European beers and light wines in the first week of legalised drinking. In Salisbury's Harari Township the consumption was 100,000 pint bottles of beer, 2,500 quart bottles of beer and 2,500 bottles of wine. Every day men and women "clocked in" at opening time — 10.30 a.m. — for their "pint". The bars close at 6 p.m.

Despite what appears to have been a considerable first week's consumption, municipal authorities in both cities described the behaviour of the Africans as "exemplary".

African Women Police

Tanganyika is to have its own women's branch of the police force. Recently Miss Irene Pye, a former sergeant in the Liverpool City Police, arrived in Tanganyika to form the new section. She was given the rank of Assistant Superintendent. At the moment it is not proposed to accept Europeans. Non-White applicants with the necessary qualifications, will undergo a training period of at least six months, probably at the Police Training School at Moshi, in the Northern Province.

Industrial Farm School for Africans

The Southern Rhodesia Native Education Department is to establish an industrial farm school for Africans in the Midlands. 2,000 areas have been set aside for it in the northern section of the Que Que Native Reserve. The first pupils numbering about 80 would be admitted at the beginning of 1959. The school will eventually accommodate about 340 pupils. Students will take four-year courses in agriculture, building, carpentry and later, sheet metal working. Experiments would be carried out in farming on the 2,000 acres and courses would be fitted to the needs of farmers in the midlands area.

30-million Acres for Africans

By the end of 1960, the Southern Rhodesia Government plans to have 30-million acres, or about three-tenths of Southern Rhodesia, settled by rural Natives under approved standards of agriculture.

The nerve centre of the project, which involves the implementation of the Native Land Husbandry Act, will cost more than £6,000,000.

All the initial survey work has been completed and photographic maps reveal the change that has already taken place from the over-populated and eroded system of communal settlement to the planned agricultural system of today.

About 3,500,000 acres of the Native areas have been allocated to rural Natives for re-settlement, and much of this land is already under the plough. About the same acreage has been allocated for stock grazing.

Among Ourselves . . .

THE INSTITUTE LOST one of its most devoted members and supporters when **Dr. Francis Thomas Auden** — after whom, and in commemoration of whose generosity our head-office was named Auden House — died at his home at Umtentweni, on the Natal South Coast, on September 21, at the age of 88 years.

Dr. Auden was a rugged liberal and individualist, and an uncompromising champion of justice. He was a man who scorned "tribal" thinking and "herrenvolkism" in all their forms; and his life was a shining example of fearless adherence to the principles of civilised men.

Born of a family of churchmen at Wellingborough, England, on July 5, 1869, he came to South Africa as a young doctor of 21 years in 1890. He first practised in the Eastern Province, where he married Nurse Hutton, a granddaughter of Sir Andries Stockenstroom. Of this marriage there was a son, who died unmarried, and a daughter who followed her father's profession.

Beloved and Legendary Figure

After his marriage he practised in Rustenburg, where he became a beloved and legendary figure. A personal friend of President Paul Kruger, he rode impartially between the Boer and British lines in the South African War, giving help where it was needed.

Too old for active service in the First World War, he offered himself to the British Colonial Office and was sent to such places as Barbados, Cat Island, Turks and Cacos Islands, Grenada, Honduras, Jamaica, Java and Malaya, the Seychelles and parts of Africa, where he acted in such an extraordinary variety of roles as governor, medico, magistrate, pastor, postmaster and veterinary surgeon.

Not only South Africa but mankind generally lost a splendid personality with the passing of Dr. Francis Thomas Auden, and the sympathy of Institute members will go out to his daughter and to his widow, who is living at Umtentweni.

A Second Great Loss

A second serious loss to the Institute in the ranks of its active members occurred when **Mr. William Garner Hoal, Q.C.,** former Secretary for Justice and Director of Prisons, and member of the Institute's national executive committee, died at his home, the Outspan, at Fish Hoek, on October 6. Mr. Hoal, who was 71 years old, died after a heart attack which confined him to his bed on September 18.

Before his illness he had been preparing for publication one of the two latest volumes of Gardiner and Lansdown, the standard legal work in South Africa, which he had been bringing up to date since 1955.

On September 24 Mr. Hoal and his wife celebrated their 45th wedding anniversary.

Penal Reform

In addition to work on the committees of several charitable organizations, mainly those helping children, Mr. Hoal was active in the penal reform movement and was also the director of the Institute of Citizenship.

He was born at Fort Beaufort, the son of the last Postmaster-General of the Cape Colony and first Postmaster-General of the Union. He began his legal career as a clerk in the magistrate's office at Woodstock in 1906. He rose to professional assistant to the Attorney-General in Pretoria in 1920, was Government Attorney from 1924 to 1928; Attorney-General, Bloemfontein, 1929 to 1934; Government law adviser 1935 to 1937 and Attorney-General, Cape Town, in 1937. He become King's Counsel in 1929.

Could have been Judge

In 1939 he became Secretary for Justice and in 1945 he was appointed Director of Prisons. After 40 years of public service, Mr. Hoal retired as Secretary of Justice in 1946. In 1948 he retired as Director of Prisons. He served on several Government commissions including the interdepartmental committee on crime on the Witwatersrand (1943), of which he was chairman, the archives commission (1944) and the Lansdown commission on penal reform.

On his retirement as Director of Prisons Mr. Hoal was offered a judgeship in South-West Africa, but as a member of the Lansdown commission, he declined.

Third Member Dies

A third member of the Institute to die since the last issue of *Race Relations News* was the Rev. Josiah Mdelwa Hlongwane, who died at his home in the Pimville Native Location on October 24.

Born on December 14, 1887, he qualified for the Methodist ministry in 1907 and was appointed to Johannesburg in 1912. Thereafter his pastoral duties took him to many towns, including Ermelo and Middelburg.

As a result of some friction with a European Superintendent of the Church, who remonstrated with him for acquiring a motor car to carry him on his pastoral rounds instead of keeping to the usual locomotion of his feet or a bicycle, he broke away from the mother church and established his own Bantu Methodist Church in 1932.

Mr. Hlongwane served on many committees and public bodies concerned with African welfare. He was a member of the Pimville Advisory

Board and the Pimville School Board and former president of the Federation of Bantu Churches. He was local chairman of the Road Safety Association, Pimville, and a former Executive member of TIAMA.

A memorial service was held at the Bantu Methodist Church, Pimville, on October 20 and the funeral took place at Groutville, Natal, on October 22.

Could any letter have made us happier?

". . . It has given me great pleasure to become a Donor Life Member of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. You do a wonderful work, and I am so glad to be able to help a little.

"You will be amused to know that the cheque enclosed (for £105) was a birthday present to myself on my 84th birthday!

(This letter was received at the Institute's head-office from an old lady living in the Eastern Transvaal.)

Penal Reform Conference

All members of the Institute of Race Relations and other interested persons, are invited to the conference of the **Penal Reform League** (an early offshoot of the Institute) which will be held on November 4 and 5 in the Sadu Hall, 166 Visagie Street, Pretoria. Discussion on the first day will be on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, and on the second on "Chaplains, Prisons and Government Institutions". Intending visitors should previously notify the Secretary of the League at P.O. Box 1385, Pretoria.

Fellowship for Mr. Ngcobo

Mr. Selby B. Ngcobo, senior lecturer in economics at Fort Hare and for many years a member of our Institute, has been awarded a fellowship of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, tenable for one year at the University of London. Mr. Ngcobo holds the degrees of B.A. (S.A.), M.A. (Yale), and B. Econ. (Natal). He was born in Maritzburg.

£1,600 Raised at Durban Fête

The **Natal Coastal Regional Committee** wishes its sincere thanks expressed to all persons, members and non-members of the Institute, who contributed to the very successful fête held in the Durban City Hall on August 19 and 20. A preliminary statement shows a nett profit of approximately £1,600.

But for the 'flu . . .

An epidemic of Asian 'flu caused a drop in what was hoped would be the financial result of the jumble sale (Aug. 31) and street collection (Sept. 7) organised by the **Cape Eastern Regional Committee** in Port Elizabeth. The jumble sale yielded £13 1s. 6d. and the street collection £90. This was slightly lower than last year.

Current Quotes . . .

? ? ?

"*We who grew up on the farms know. We had law and order . . . our workers trusted us . . . they came to sing at our graves.*" — **Mr A. L. Raubenheimer (Nationalist) opposing at a meeting of the Johannesburg City Council the United Party request for a judicial commission of inquiry into the recent "Russian"-"Zicaza" clashes in the south-western townships.**

What apartheid stands for . . .

"If any municipality feels that it is a Christian duty to pay pensions to these kaffirs, let it do so. We stand for apartheid. Let us reject this (proposal) at once." — **Mr. G. J. du Plessis, delegate from Zeerust to the recent conference of the Transvaal Municipal Association, on the proposal (carried) to admit Non-Europeans to the Joint Municipal Pension Fund.**

. . . and the pass laws

"It is the Government, through the operation of the pass laws, that is responsible for the crime, misery and lawlessness that is the lot of many Africans today." — **Leading article in the (formerly Bantu) "World".**

The guilty secret

"There is no disputing the admission subconsciously made by all thinking people that we are horribly underpaying the Non-White worker. —**Mr. J. H. Liebenberg, President of the Artisan Staff Association of the South African Railways and Harbours, in an address to the recent national management conference held in Johannesburg.** He added that if the Union's Non-White labour reservoir was to be of any value in the future, the time had arrived for the White man to *"change his spectacles and face realities, of which the very first is a revision of the Native wage structure."*

A senseless act . . .

"The application of white job reservation in the clothing industry by the Minister of Labour is a senseless act, unsupported by facts and unworkable in practice. But it is likely to do severe harm to the industry by the uncertainty which it creates. The 2,000 White employees (in the Cape clothing industry) largely depend for their employment on the existence of a large Coloured labour force. The Minister will be forced to grant wholesale exemptions for the employment of Coloured workers, or he will himself be the cause of white workers being out of jobs."— **Mr. Dan Rabie, chairman of the Cape Clothing Manufacturers' Association.**

The Non-White View . .

ILANGA LASE NATAL, the Zulu weekly, dealt editorially (14/9/57) with a letter in which a writer, calling himself an "English-speaking South African", wrote to the *Natal Mercury* wondering if giving the African a stake in the country would be wise in view of the fact that "if the Native were given a firm foothold among European and other races would he stop his assaults on white women on lonely farms, and violent robberies of the aged and helpless"?

Ilanga agreed with the letter writer that Africans who want a stake in the country should prove that they are responsible and can behave like human beings, but points out that responsible Africans today are in the forefront of those who criticise the irresponsible acts of their fellowmen.

"But responsible Africans feel that if they, who appreciate the civilised way of life and behaviour, were to be given more responsibility and freedom to move freely among their people, and to take an active part in educating and advising their less educated fellowmen, there would be some noticeable changes in the behaviour of the majority of these people".

The journal expressed the view that there is no incentive even for the law-abiding and self-respecting African to prove his worth. "He suffers the same indignities, if not more, from those on the other side of the colour line who pander to the belief that fraternising with Africans, no matter at what stage their development, is undermining the white man's influence in this country."

"These Africans, who should have a stake in the country, who should feel safe and secure in their homes and work, who should be encouraged by being treated with courtesy and consideration in their dealings with their White fellowmen, are not given this recognition except by a few whites who, in turn, are accused by the other whites of giving the Africans a wrong impression of their superiority," the article declared.

The writer affirmed his sincere belief that if these Africans were given all facilities and encouragement to do things for themselves among their own people, to lead their people with words and not deeds, there would soon be less ill-feeling and frustration. "We resent being judged by the ill deeds of others. Even among white people with all their civilisation many still behave exactly as some of our worst types, but they do not suffer in the same way."

"Mna" and "Mi" are meaningless *

"This new invention, *Mna'* and *'Mi'*, will cause great confusion. School Board secretaries, teachers, Sub-Inspectors and supervisors of Bantu schools will have to use these two ignominious and meaningless words in official communications with one another," said a letter-writer in *Langa Lase Natal* (Sept. 21).

"It is perhaps not wrong to assume that teachers will be directed to teach these words in schools. But will they dare to mention that the purpose is to relegate Africans as a whole to a certain position?"

"In business and friendly correspondence, however, they will be referred to in the old European way. The invention is cumbersome and may cause school boards and teachers to view with suspicion the new 'Bantu Education'."

---

* Rand Zulus, too, reject the "Mna." and "Mi.", decreed by the Native Affairs Ministry, as "meaningless" and "offensive," with no apparent root in the Zulu language. Zulus other than N.A.D. officials in official correspondence will continue to use the European forms of written addresses or the established Zulu "Mnu." (short for Mnumzane) in letters addressed to men, "Nkz." (for Nkosikazi) for Mrs. and "Nks." (Nkosazana) for Miss.—Editor.

What sense does "economic basis" make to those who live below the bread line?

WHITE LEGISLATORS AND EMPLOYERS are increasingly appreciating that adequate housing and transport services are essentials for Africans in urban areas, as roads, bridges, dams and dipping tanks are in the reserves, and schools in all parts of the country. But, so far, they have not faced the economic consequences squarely. Hence the attempt to place all these services on an 'economic basis' so far as possible.

Africans in the reserves are being called upon to bear a 'reasonable share' of the costs of developmental works and to contribute free labour. Large numbers of chiefs have agreed to the imposition of tribal levies (67 new ones were imposed during the past year), and tribal, regional and territorial Bantu authorities are all to be empowered to levy rates: this in addition to the other forms of taxation paid by Africans.

In urban areas, all new housing has been placed on an 'economic basis', and, furthermore, Africans are being called upon to pay up to 2s. a month to cover the costs of lower primary schools. Throughout the Union they must contribute £ for £ to the costs of erecting higher and post primary schools.

"Organic Contact"

The Minister of Native Affairs has justified this policy by saying that it gives the people organic contact' with the various projects, engendering pride based on achievement. This is, no doubt, true. But he is overlooking the facts that, according to various reliable surveys, between 69 and 87 per cent. of the Africans in urban areas were living below the poverty datum line even before these new taxes were imposed, and that, as the Tomlinson Commission once again showed, most of those in the reserves are desperately poor, the real **per capita** income in these areas having even fallen during recent years owing to increasing population.

The authorities have for some time realized that, in the larger cities where African townships are situated a long way out, railway passenger services must be subsidized. A few bus services have been subsidized, too, from the Native Services Levy Fund. But the recent bus boycott on the Reef and in Pretoria proved conclusively that the fares were still beyond the ability of Africans to pay. For a time the authorities condemned the boycotters as 'political agitators'; but eventually they introduced the Native Transport Services Act, providing for increased contributions by employers in the larger towns.

Pretoria's "Luxury" Scheme

A situation has recently arisen in Pretoria which re-emphasizes the fact that it is pointless to try to place services on an economic basis when the people served are living below the breadline. In most of the larger towns there are still sub-economic housing schemes, built under the old ¾ per cent. or 3½ per cent. loan schemes, in which the rentals payable by African families earning below £15 a month are 'sub-economic', that is, they do not cover interest and redemption of the loans obtained for the houses concerned. A sliding scale is used to determine the rentals of families with over £15 a month. Losses on these schemes are shared by the State and the local authority.

Pretoria had one sub-economic housing scheme only, at Atteridgeville, to the west of ISCOR. This is a so-called 'luxury' scheme with well-built houses and individual sewerage, light and water. Losses were consequently high, totalling £44,770 a year. It was thus decided recently to convert the scheme to an economic selling or letting basis. Families living there were given the choice of buying their homes, or paying a fully economic rent for them, or of moving to cheaper housing schemes at Saulsville, beyond Atteridgeville, or at Vlakfontein, the new township which has developed with astonishing speed some thirteen miles out on the other side of the city, to the east. But the rentals charged at Saulsville and Vlakfontein, comparatively low as they are (£2 16s. 1d. a month, including sevices, for a four-roomed house) are still higher than the sub-economic rentals previously charged at Atteridgeville and the houses are not as good; consequently only 93 of the 1,532 families moved. Very many of those who stayed are now in arrears with their rents.

Rent Arrear in Vlakfontein

At the same time, families have been moved into Vlakfontein from a number of squatter camps to the east of Pretoria. Many of these families are extremely poor. In order to assist them, the municipality built some two-roomed houses which can be extended when the families are able to afford this, but as foundations for four rooms were provided initially, the cost of the dwellings was not much reduced. The rent charged for these smaller houses is £2 6s. 5d. a month — only 10s. less than for the four-roomed dwellings. Consequently, most of the families plumped for the larger ones. Very many of the Vlakfontein residents, too, are in arrears with their rent. A contributory reason is that transport costs are exceptionally high in Pretoria: the average Vlakfontein worker pays £1 14s. 8d. a month, although the fares are subsidized.

Altogether, between £50,000 and £60,000 is now outstanding in rentals, this sum being spread over some 10,000 families. Some owe as much as £30. It appears certain that a very large proportion of this amount will have to be written off.

The impossibility of attempting to place all housing on an 'economic basis' has, thus, been proved in Pretoria. Wage-levels in that city are low: even before the rents were raised at Atteridgeville (which is the township where the middle-class Africans live), only 22½ per cent. of the families there were 'economic' according to the Government's own formula of £15 a month. In fact, a family needs much more than this — probably between £20 and £25 a month — to cover minimum requirements for health and decency.

Thorough Inquiry Needed

It is obvious that a thorough inquiry is needed, by an impartial commission, into the economic position of urban Africans, and the minimum earnings required per family before transport services, housing and education can be placed on an economic basis. Wage-levels will gradually have to be raised to these minimum amounts, and training schemes instituted by commerce and industry to enable African labour to become more productive. In the meanwhile, however, it is undoubted that sub-economic housing schemes and subsidized rentals are still required for a large proportion of the urban Africans. If the authorities are going to be forced to write off large sums outstanding in rentals, they might more usefully subsidize the rents in the first place, thus avoiding the necessity for wholesale prosecutions.—**M.H.**

NOTE.—Since this article was written the Pretoria City Council has agreed to grant tenants remission of that part of their rent which exceeds one-fifth of the family income. This suggestion was put to the municipal authorities by the Pretoria Joint Council of Europeans and Non-Europeans. —Editor.

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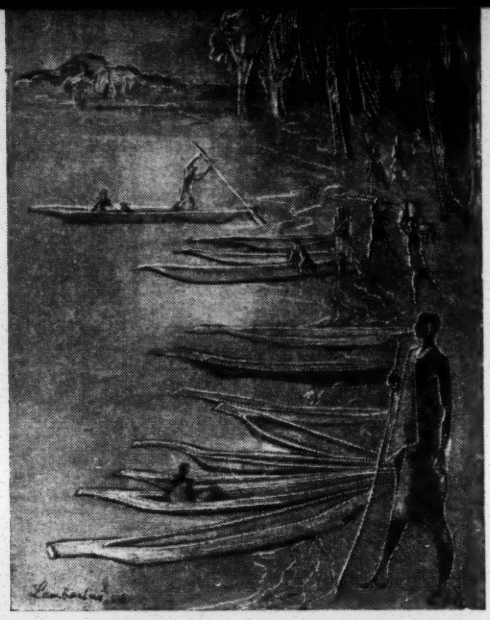

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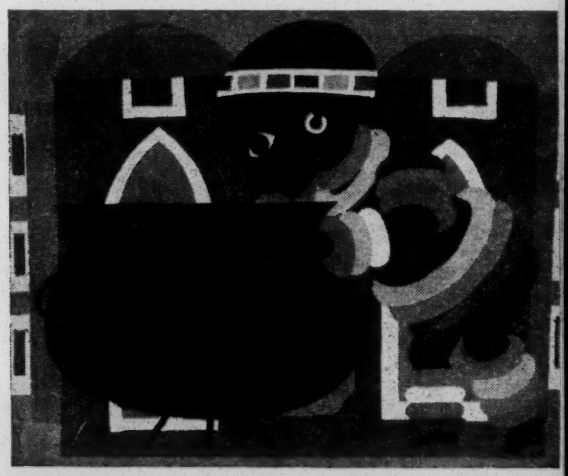

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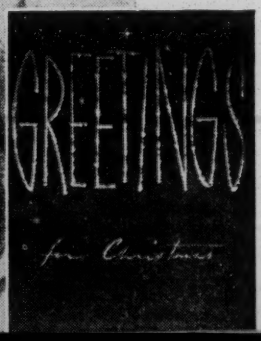

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SA Defense Fund

April 25, 1957

Mr. John Gunther, Co-Chairman
South Africa Defense Fund
4 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Gunther:

The enclosed check for ten dollars is just a token of our interest in the defense of South Africans who suffer legal and other harassment.

We feel that our first concern must be with our own daily problems here in the South - through our own organization and other channels. But we do want to join personally with you and others to make some expression of interest in the South African situation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

John Constable

Harold C. Fleming

Frederick B. Routh

Emory F. Via

EFV:mm
Enclosure

December 16, 1957

MEMO

To: A. L. Rivers

From: M. Flowers

Please see that the following person receives New South and other occasional publications released from this office.

Mr. F. J. van Wyk
Assistant-Director
South African Institute of Race Relations
W. O. 219
Auden House
68 De Korte Street
Johannesburg, South Africa

December 16, 1957

Mr. F. J. van Wyk
Assistant-Director
South African Institute of Race Relations
W. O. 219
Auden House
68 De Korte Street
Johannesburg, South Africa

Dear Mr. van Wyk:

How nice to hear from you.

Of course we know your publications and should be delighted to exchange with the South African Institute. I am arranging for you to receive New South and our other occasional publications free of charge.

We remember your visit with pleasure, and I continue to hear about you as I move about in human relations circles. We were also glad to have a visit from Dr. Hellman recently.

The Mitchells are safely enconsed in Scotland - address, Glencoe, Argyll, SCOTLAND. I know that they would be delighted to hear from you.

With all good wishes to you and your colleagues,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
(Dictated by Mr. Fleming but signed in his absence.)

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS
W.O. 219
AUDEN HOUSE, 68 DE KORTE STREET
JOHANNESBURG

DIRECTOR: QUINTIN WHYTE
ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO THE DIRECTOR

TELEPHONES: 44-4360/8/9
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10th December, 1957.

Mr. Harold Fleming,
Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue,
Atlanta 3,
GEORGIA : U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Fleming,

We have just received your notice asking for the renewal of our subscription for your "New South". We appreciate very much receiving this most interesting news letter, and also copies of your other publications, and in this regard, we shall be grateful if you will kindly consider the suggestion that we send you all our publications free of charge in exchange for "New South" and your own occasional publications. Our publications are as follows:

Regular : "Race Relations News", six issues a year;
"Race Relations Journal", two issues a year and our Annual Report.

Occasional: About six booklets a year. See the enclosed list.

If this suggestion is not acceptable to you, kindly let me know and the subscription for "New South" will then be forwarded to you.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

F. J. van Wyk

F. J. van Wyk,
ASSISTANT-DIRECTOR.

Encl:

P.S. I recall so clearly the hour or so which we spent together; also the lunch we enjoyed together. My wife & I follow with very deep & warm interest all developments in the field of race relations in your country.
Would you kindly send me the Mitchells' address.
Sincerely,
Fred van Wyk.

South African Institute of Race Relations (Inc.)

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Further information obtainable from the Secretary

P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg

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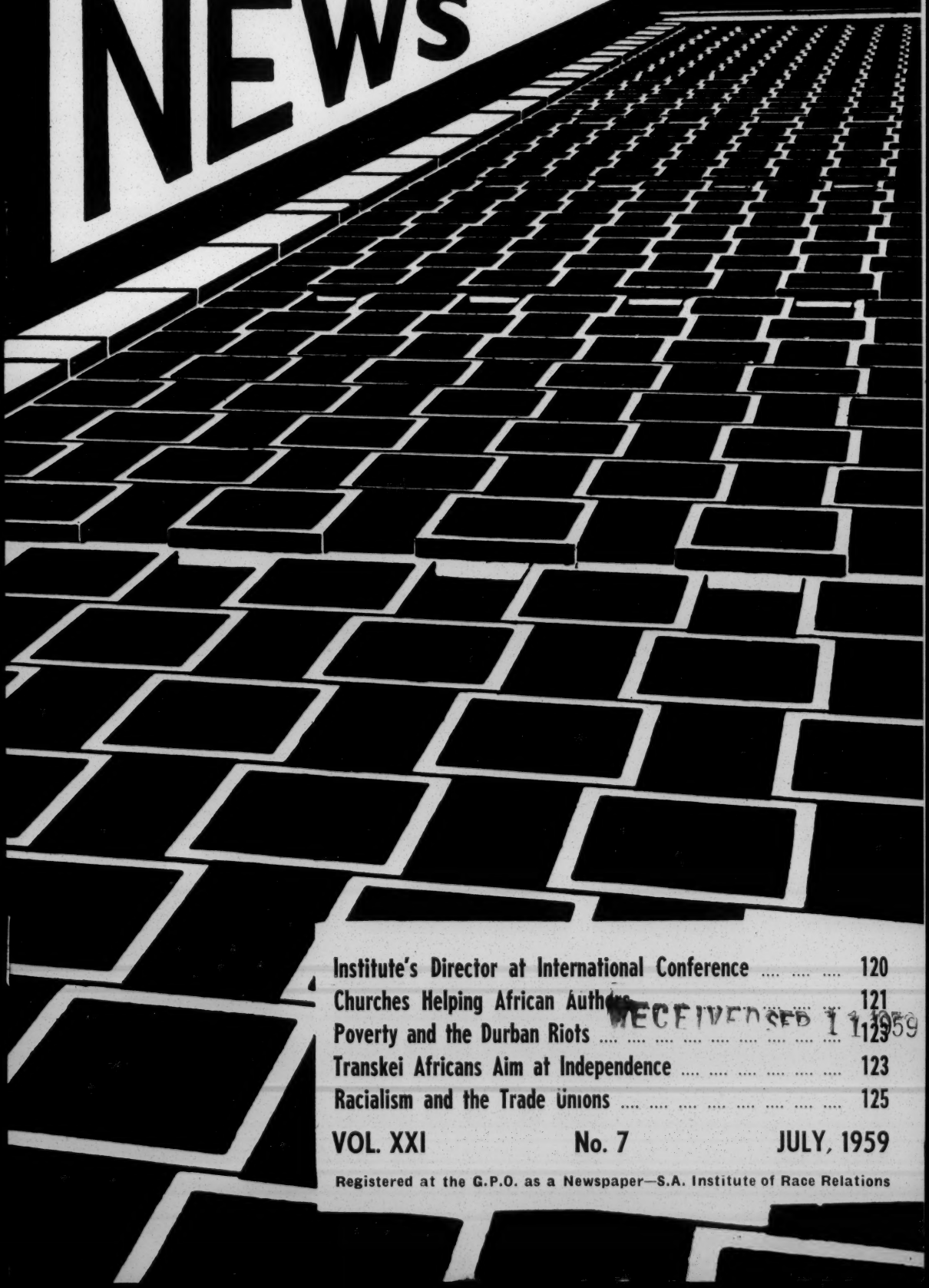
RACE RELATIONS NEWS



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INSTITUTE'S DIRECTOR AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

A Letter to Members

THE Institute's Director, Mr. Quintin Whyte, was honoured last month with a special invitation to an international conference on Means of Combating Prejudice and Discrimination. This conference, which Mr. Whyte attended in his personal capacity, in Geneva from June 22-26, was attended by representatives of well over 100 non-governmental organisations throughout the world, and concerned itself with all types of discrimination: sexual, religious, and racial. Summing up his impressions for Institute members, *Mr. Whyte writes:*

THE conference was emphatic that discrimination, of one kind or another, and its consequences is the biggest "killer" in the modern world. Delegates were, in the best sense of the word, passionate in their determination that discrimination must be fought, and fought hard right now. I was particularly impressed by the combination of this passion with the delegates' objectivity — there was no "holier-than-thou attitude" and no singling out of South Africa or any other country or group for attack or condemnation. Perhaps this objectivity was helped by the fact that this was a conference of *non*-governmental organisations. There was no national maneouvering, and no one had to speak to a brief. Instead, this was a conference of *people,* meeting across national and other boundaries to discuss the most effective methods of getting an equal opportunity of living a full life for all human beings.

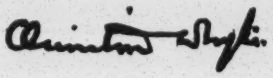
Not that the effectiveness of governmental action was neglected. Here the stress was, however, on what could be achieved by inter- and supra-national action and agreement. It was felt that much too little had been done in this field during the past ten years, and that the need for action was urgent, especially by the United Nations.

I only wish that South Africa would contribute substantially to the four humanitarian agencies of the United Nations — many much smaller and poorer countries have set examples which shame us.

The consequences of this Conference will not make newspaper headlines, though its report will be presented to the United Nations and to governments represented at it. But I feel sure that members of the Institute will feel heartened, as I have been, by the primary importance which the conference attached to the work of voluntary, unofficial groups in combating discrimination.

My visit to Geneva has confirmed me in my belief that in the work of voluntary groups like our Institute lies the best hope of combating discrimination, which in South Africa means improving race relations.

Yours sincerely,



QUINTIN WHYTE.

The Economic Development of the Reserves

Executive Committee's Statement

THE Executive Committee of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, during its meeting in Johannesburg this month, had before it a press statement made recently by Mr. C. W. Prinsloo, Chief Information Officer of the Department of Bantu Administration and Development. In this statement, Mr. Prinsloo attacked the depth and accuracy of a new Institute Fact Paper, "The Economic Development of the 'Reserves' — the extent to which the Tomlinson Commission's recommendations are being implemented".

The Executive Committee of the Institute now states that its Fact Paper included all the facts about the Government's development of the reserves which have been made public. Contrary to Mr. Prinsloo's assertions, which were made before he had read the Fact Paper,

forestry development in the reserves has been acknowledged.

If the Government or its information officers have additional information which they have not made public, they cannot expect it to be included in studies by the Institute or other bodies. Unless such information exists and is released, the conclusions of the Institute's Fact Paper cannot be challenged. The extent of both industrial and commercial development in the reserves might be termed well-nigh infinitesimal in comparison with that recommended by the Tomlinson Commission.

The S.A. Institute of Race Relations is interested in facts, because without accurate information race relations cannot be improved.

The government of the day is making many glowing promises for the economic future of the "Bantustans". At the same time, it has refused to accept the most fundamental of the Tomlinson Commission's recommendations, and is voting money for the development of the reserves at a very much lower rate than the Commission considered minimal. On this basis, the hopes which have been raised in many Africans by the "Bantustan" plans must soon be dashed. Disillusionment and increased bitterness will then result, and race relations suffer.

**Available from Institute Offices, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg, and good booksellers at 1s. 6d. (plus 3d. postage), by Miss Muriel Horrell, the Institute's Research Officer. See last month's Race Relations News.*

CHURCHES HELPING AFRICAN AUTHORS

Vernacular or European Languages ?

THREE events this month underlined the increasing interest which churches are taking in providing literature for Africans, both in vernacular and in European languages.

Firstly, a Bantu Author's Conference was held in Atteridgeville, Pretoria, from July 7-9, called by the Continuation Committee and Literature Commission of South African Churches. Secondly, a Literacy and Writing Centre opened in Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, with a two months "workshop" for African writers, sponsored by the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature. And thirdly, the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africans was wound up, its work being taken over by the larger Christian Literature Council.

The Bantu Author's Conference in Atteridgeville was planned to give technical guidance to authors, and was attended by 89 authors from the Union, the Protectorates and from the Federation, with 245 published works between them. This conference was a result of one held in 1956 on Christian Literature for the Bantu of Southern Africa, in which almost all non-Roman Catholic churches and missions participated. This month representatives of churches, missions, education departments, universities, literacy bureaux and publishing houses also attended, and papers were read on the author's problems and responsibilties, types of literature, the function of the publisher, hints on writing and the need for classification.

A Correspondent at the Conference writes: Though English was the language used throughout, the stress was on writing in the vernacular. Several official addresses and papers stressed the belief that this was the best, if not the only, medium in which authors could express themselves, though the conference was not intended to promote vernacular writing at the expense of English or Afrikaans.

Thus Dr. H. J. van Zyl, Professional Advisor to the Union's Department of Bantu Education, stated: "If . . . a talented person with an aptitude for writing, chooses to write in a foreign language, it is a loss to his own language which rightfully has a claim on his talents." He went on to say that only his mother tongue "enables a person to give form to his innermost experiences and firmest convictions spontaneously and without effort."

This attitude was strongly challenged by a small number of authors in discussion. Reference was made to the large number of African dialects, and to the fact that in order to reach a wider public one must use a language which is more widely known. It was also pointed

out that in a country like South Africa, it was wise to master the languages of all those who owed allegiance to the country, and to use any of these languages to speak to the people. "We do not want to lay stress on the things that divide", said one speaker. Authors who had achieved eminence in English literature, but who themselves were not English, were referred to. More than one speaker warned against the tendency towards an excessive and irrational veneration of one's own language which inevitably leads to exclusiveness. The needless and stultifying introduction into African languages of word forms that serve no useful purpose other than the convenience of the authorities was also attacked, examples being the official substitution of "Mna" and "Mni" for "Mr." and "Mrs."

The important point was made that the South African Bantu author has a very limited market for his work, consisting almost entirely of schools. Dr. C. J. Oosthuizen warned against undue optimism about the expansion of this market, pointing out that even with the spread of literacy the number of Africans who would buy books would remain small. The majority could hardly afford the necessities of life — clothes, food and rent — and they could not be expected to spend money on books.

1 Pupil in 40 Reaches Secondary School

Dr. Oosthuizen quoted figures to show that of the one and a quarter million African pupils now at school, 65 per cent. are expected to leave between Sub. B and Standard II (the second and fourth of the seven primary school classes). Only 40,000 of the present pupils are expected to reach secondary schools. These comprised the present potential market and, when distributed amongst the Union's seven main Bantu languages, would mean the printing of small editions at high cost.

Authors felt that the small, officially controlled school market "cramped" their style. For fear that books would not be prescribed for schools, they did not feel free to correct the African stereotypes created by English and Afrikaans authors, to portray an African triumphing over a White man, or generally to express the struggles and aspirations of their people.

At the end of its three-day meeting, the conference unanimously expressed its desire for a "vigorous and healthy Bantu literature". It requested the Continuation Committee and Literature Commission of South African Churches to establish a Bureau of Literacy and Literature "to assist in combating illiteracy among the adult non-White people of the Union", and to have a complete catalogue of publications in the Bantu languages of Southern Africa completed, published and kept up to date. The conference also appointed a committee to investigate the feasibility of establishing a Bantu Academy, to concern itself with Bantu orthography and vocabulary.

MEANWHILE, in Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, a Literacy and Writing Centre was opened at Mindolo, sponsored by the Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature, representing about forty American and Canadian mission boards and church groups, and by the Committee on Christian Literature for Women and Children in the U.S.A.

The centre opened with a two-months writers' "workshop". English is being used at present, but later courses may be conducted in French. The trainees are being given a general writing course and assistance in solving problems arising from the adaptation of an English text to the vernacular languages. They are being lodged in the newly-constructed dormitories of the Copperbelt Christian Service Council, and the centre is under the direction of Dr. and Mrs. Wesley Sadler, formerly of Liberia.

OUTSTANDING assistance is also being given in Southern Rhodesia to African vernacular authors by that country's African Literary Bureau, which encourages and helps them to have published books suitable for Africans who have had only a few years of primary education. With the help of leading British publishing houses, editions of about 5,000 are brought out, selling at about 3s. per copy.

FROM London, at the same time, has come the announcement that ICCLA (International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa) has been absorbed by the Christian Literature Council, which will continue the quarterly *Books for Africa* established by ICCLA in 1931. The Rev. Claude de Mestral, who is returning to Canada after 7 years as ICCLA's secretary, has been succeeded as Editor of *Books for Africa* by Miss Freda Dearing. This publication, available from Edinburgh House, "Eaton Gate", London, S.W.1., is recommended to readers of *Race Relations News*.

POVERTY AND THE DURBAN RIOTS

THERE has been much discussion about the causes of the riots which swept Durban's Cato Manor district last month, but few of the contributions to this discussion have been more important than that made by Mr. S. Bourquin, Durban's Director of Bantu Administration.

In a letter to the Town Clerk a few days after the riots, Mr. Bourquin referred firstly to grievances connected with "kaffir beer and illicit liquor, transport and housing, shack removals and influx control, the keeping of livestock and the keeping of husbands, gambling dens and shebeens. People have talked about these subjects as if they mattered for their own sake. Only here and there did the real, naked reason break to the surface: money, or rather the lack of it.

"Whatever is said about the cause of this upheaval, whatever the nature of its contributory and superficial factors might be, the basic and ultimate reason is an economic one: the poverty of the urban Bantu; the discrepancy between his earning capacity and his cost of living; his inability to meet the demands of modern times in a city modelled on the western way of life; his inability even to meet the barest necessity of life, to feed, clothe, educate and house himself and his family."

In making an impassioned appeal for immediate increases in African wages, Mr. Bourquin explained that he felt compelled to speak out because "the lives of 200,000 Bantu in Durban are inextricably interwoven with the network represented by my Department and that these Bantu look to me for help and guidance. Many are those who regard the office I hold with hate for the control and authority it imposes on their lives; there are a few who are grateful and appreciative of the efforts it makes to impart sympathy and succour, but all seek from it fatherly help and upliftment."

"Pay more for the labour of the Bantu people," urged Mr. Bourquin, "give them a living wage, a wage on which they can not only just live, but one on which they can live as a decent, lawabiding and progressive people . . . the slums of Cato Manor will remain as long as the average earnings of the Bantu workers of Durban place decent living and permanent housing beyond their reach."

TRANSKEI AIMS AT INDEPENDENCE

Limited Powers being used to build African nationalism?

WE give below a new and significant interpretation of the first meeting of the Transkeian Territorial Authority, which took place in Umtata at the end of May. *A Correspondent*, who was present at this meeting and who held extensive private discussions with the Authority's members, writes:

The most interesting question seems to me what motivated the members of the Authority to accept election. How wide their support is amongst the more than 1¼ million Transkei Africans is difficult to assess, but the tribal affiliations of the majority of these people are anything but weak, so that the claims of the Chiefs that they have the people with them cannot be lightly dismissed.

At the height of the controversy about the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Bill, the Territorial Authority was described as a collection of ignorant "yes-men", a group of Chiefs in the pay of the Government who have sold out on their people, etc. It would be interesting, if one could find the time, to check whether these charges are borne out by the facts.

That the Chiefs rule only at the discretion of the Government is, of course, true, but this was no gathering of ignorant fools. I was struck by the number of well-educated men amongst them, and by the very high standard of well-documented debate, which was far from ignorant or sentimental tongue-wagging. It may be that, in enlisting educated men, the government has here stolen a march on its opponents in the Transkei.

The reasons which seem to have led many of these men to try to work the machinery of Bantu Authorities may be summarised as follows:

This is the first time in South Africa's history that the white man has taken the bold step of making a public promise of self-government

to the black man. They state that the results of the last three elections have proved that the white man in South Africa is not prepared to surrender his position of advantage in the country; and that this view is strengthened by the utterances of the Official Opposition, who seem to be more concerned with preserving white supremacy and securing their bank balances than with arriving at an equitable solution to the problem; that the only alternative to bloodshed is partition of South Africa, and that separate development is some step towards that partition. They believe the peace of the country may well depend on the fulfilment of the promise of ultimate autonomy for the scattered black territories inside the Union's boundaries. They propose to hold the Government to its undertaking, and they regard this as a test of whether the white man's word is to be trusted or not.

They seem aware of the limitations of their present powers, but intend to follow the advice of the late Dr. Aggrey: "Keep on asking for what you need; take what is offered to you, use it, and continue asking." In the Transkei, at any rate, they are convinced that the white man cannot survive in competition with the black, and some see the future Transkei as a heartland of a new nationalism which will, once it is consolidated, be able to enforce greater demands than any white government presently intends granting.

This seems to be the feeling of the majority of the Authority's members, though there was no lack of those who denounced the whole machinery as a fraud.

The situation appears to be fraught with all kinds of possibilities for race relations, and deserves study. Already, the Press is beginning to echo the fears of the white settler in the Transkei. It may well be that here will come the biggest test of racial goodwill and racial adjustment in South Africa.

The question may be asked whether these Africans have bartered their souls and taken a U-turn back to paganism. The indications are that they have not. They state that their minds are set on progress and ultimate self-government, and nothing less will satisfy them. It seems that, whether or not their African compatriots agree with their manner of achieving their goal, they must at least concede the fact of their good faith.

On the other hand, much will depend on whether or not the Government realises the seriousness with which its promise of self-government has been received. Much will also depend on whether the average European — who in any case has never shown any readiness to accept the African even as a junior partner, much less as an equal — will be prepared to surrender some of his "war gains" both inside the Reserves and in their immediate vicinity. Again, a deciding factor may be the degree of adaptability of the "tribal democracy" which is supposed to form the basis of the new system. Already, some of the Chiefs have begun to surround themselves with younger, more educated men, as Councillors and Advisors, irrespective of birth. These young men have made their appearance in the Territorial Authority, and it is significant that one of the motions on its recent agenda asked that the chairmanship of the various Bantu Authorities should be open to commoners.

Perhaps, the ideas of democracy in twentieth century Africa, be it forest or concrete jungle, are more deep-seated than most people realise.

Poverty in Reserves Boosts Mine Labour

SO many Africans are being driven by poverty in the Reserves to seek employment in mining that, for the first time for many years, the gold mines have not had to "ration" out available labour during the past year. This trend emerges from Mr. P. H. Anderson's recently delivered 1958-59 Presidential Address to the Transvaal and O.F.S. Chamber of Mines. Mr. Anderson said:

"There has been a dramatic improvement in the past year in the numbers of Natives offering themselves for employment . . . in March the numbers in service exceeded the industry's previous peak recorded on 28th February, 1942, when war-time conditions caused an unprecedented influx. Numbers continued to improve week by week until a new record total of 386,197 was achieved on 20th May, 1959."

"The increased flow of Natives to the mines stems, in part at least, from economic conditions in the Native areas. It has been influenced by the fall in world prices for wool and other primary products and is a facet of the phase of economic readjustment which we are experiencing."

RACIALISM AND THE TRADE UNIONS—I

DESPITE the weakening of organised labour as a cohesive force, which internal racial dissension has brought about, the majority of South Africa's trade unionists are still opposed to the present government's trade union and employment policies, as laid down in the Industrial Conciliation Acts of 1956 and later years. This is one of the most important facts established by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in its newly published study, "Racialism and the Trade Unions". (50pp. - 4s. 6d.)

In this pioneer survey of the effects of internal racialism and external racial legislation, Miss Muriel Horrell, the Institute's Research Officer, found that:

There are at present 32 unions, with 144,354 members, which are sympathetic to the government's trade union and employment policies. 79 unions, with 212,777 members, are opposed to the controversial clauses of the Industrial Conciliation Act. 48 unions, with 75,907 members, as well as some unions which did not submit information and which may no longer be in existence, have in most cases not stated publicly what their attitude is.

These totals include, of course, trade unionists of all races. The present co-ordinating bodies are:

The *S.A. Congress of Trade Unions* (S.A.C.T.U.), which has no colour bar and has mixed, Coloured and African unions, with hardly any white members. S.A.C.T.U. opposes the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The *S.A. Trade Union Council* (T.U.C.), which accepts affiliation from registered White, mixed and Coloured unions, but not from African unions. The T.U.C. has for some time maintained liaison with six African unions, and is now proposing to organise Africans but to keep them outside of its own structure. It opposes the controversial clauses of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

The *S.A. Confederation of Labour*, which, except for three anomalous affiliations, consits of White workers, and is sympathetic towards the present government's trade union and employment policies.

One of the most important aspects of the Institute's new study is of the participation by non-whites in trade unionism.

Although African trade unions are today not officially recognised or encouraged, they are perfectly legal. Their leaders state, however, that officials tend to give both employers and workers the contrary impression. The difficulties under which African trade unions labour are great. Having no official status, they are excluded from the machinery of industrial negotiation, and they cannot attain corporate status. Members can therefore be sued for a union's debts, but the union can bring no action against, say, an absconding treasurer. Africans are, of course, today forbidden to strike. Many leaders of African trade unions have, under the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, been prohibited from holding public office on the ground that they were furthering the objects of Communism—which were extremely widely defined in this Act. The police have frequently raided the offices of many of the unions, confiscating records and other documents. It is usually difficult in the extreme to obtain the use of halls for meetings.

In the past, African trade unions were frequently consulted by some of the registered unions, employers or arbitrators, and were on occasion permitted to appear before industrial councils or the Wage Board. But because these unions are now officially frowned upon, such consultations are now less frequent. A leader who voices complaints is likely to find himself dubbed an "agitator", dismissed from his job, and, possibly, "endorsed out" of the area concerned and denied a permit to work in any other town.

Under the Industrial Conciliation Amendment Bill which Parliament passed this year, employers are now forbidden to collect subscriptions to African trade unions, or to any other organisation, by means of stop-orders on wages, and Africans are now specifically prohibited from representing registered unions on industrial councils or conciliation boards.

But, in spite of all these difficulties, there are at present 22 African trade unions. Six of these, with a membership of 9,200, maintain liaison with the T.U.C., and 16, with a membership of 10,875, are affiliated to S.A.C.T.U. The membership of these unions increases with seasonal work and, if the T.U.C. begins in earnest to organise African workers, the number of those in trade unions should increase rapidly.

(To be concluded)

Dr. Verwoerd and the Indian Unemployed

SPEAKING in a Parliamentary debate on June 29, the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, said that it should be remembered that unemployed Indians (in South Africa) were the responsibility not of the Union Government but of those people who wanted to take the responsibility on their shoulders.

Significant Opinions from June's Non-White Press

"It's Not Cricket"

"The only ones in favour of the visit (Frank Worrell's *apartheid* cricket tour) are the Government and the handful of officials who have negotiated the tour," said *The Leader* on June 12. "All those individuals and organisations who have politely requested Mr. Worrell to call off the visit must organise as wide a boycott as possible."

"Despair In This Theory"

Commenting on "the grim theory of despair voiced by Mr. Duma Nokwe, Secretary-General of the A.N.C., when he says that Africans must seriously consider whether they should go on bearing children", *The World* said on June 13: "In South Africa as we know it today, there is more chance of an African child taking the easy slide towards crime than the hard and often impossible climb towards good citizenship.

"Is there no hope? Yes, there is. We say that because evidence is growing of a change of heart in many White South Africans."

"Take them by the Throat"

"There are growing signs," said *New Age* on June 18, "that the Nationalists are indeed tensing themselves for the final desperate plunge into Fascism . . . Who can possibly doubt that any such action would of necessity be followed by a similar attempt to 'take by the throat' anyone who expressed any form of opposition to apartheid."

"In the face of this very real threat it is all the more urgent that the call which has come from the Congress movement for the strongest and broadest United Front against *apartheid* should be heard throughout the land."

The Papers

The Leader: Weekly, Indian finance and control; Indian Editor; small circulation, mainly in Natal.
New Age: Weekly, White Directors, White Editors with multi-racial staff; medium national circulation; reflects Congress movement views and policy.

Between Ourselves . . .

Institute Executive's Successful Meeting.

THE half-yearly meetings of the Institute's Executive Committee took place at head-office in Johannesburg on July 1, 2 and 3. Amongst the subjects discussed were: Political and economic aspects of the concept of separate territorial development; Recent events in the Federation (see report in our next issue of Mr. Webb's impressions); Unemployment amongst non-Whites, of which the Institute is making a special study; and The Future position of the Coloured People in South Africa.

A great deal of work connected with the Institute's internal organisation, finance and policies was also completed, and a programme outlined for the next Institute Council meetings. These will take place in Durban in January of next year, and will centre around an examination of race relations during and after 50 years of Union, with special emphasis on the Indian community, which will then be marking its centenary in South Africa.

1959 Day of United Prayer for Prisoners: August 2.

SUNDAY, August 2 has been fixed as this year's Day of United Prayer for Prisoners. This observance is sponsored by the Social Services Association of South Africa, whose Prisoners' Friends help some 40,000 petty and statutory offenders at the Courts each year.

Intensive Case Work by Institute's Cape Town Office.

AN ever-increasing volume of case work is being handled by the small staff of the Institute's Cape Town office. A great deal of this work arises from the difficulties which Africans meet in trying to comply with various regulations, from race classification and from the recent, but fortunately temporary, closing of the local Legal Aid Bureau. 4,782 cases were interviewed between September of last year and June of this. 3,608 cases were fully investigated and dealt with, and of this number 2,941 were carried through to a successful conclusion. Thus 83 per cent. of cases taken up were helped; a remarkable achievement reflecting great credit on the Regional Secretary, Mrs. K. Matthews, and her staff.

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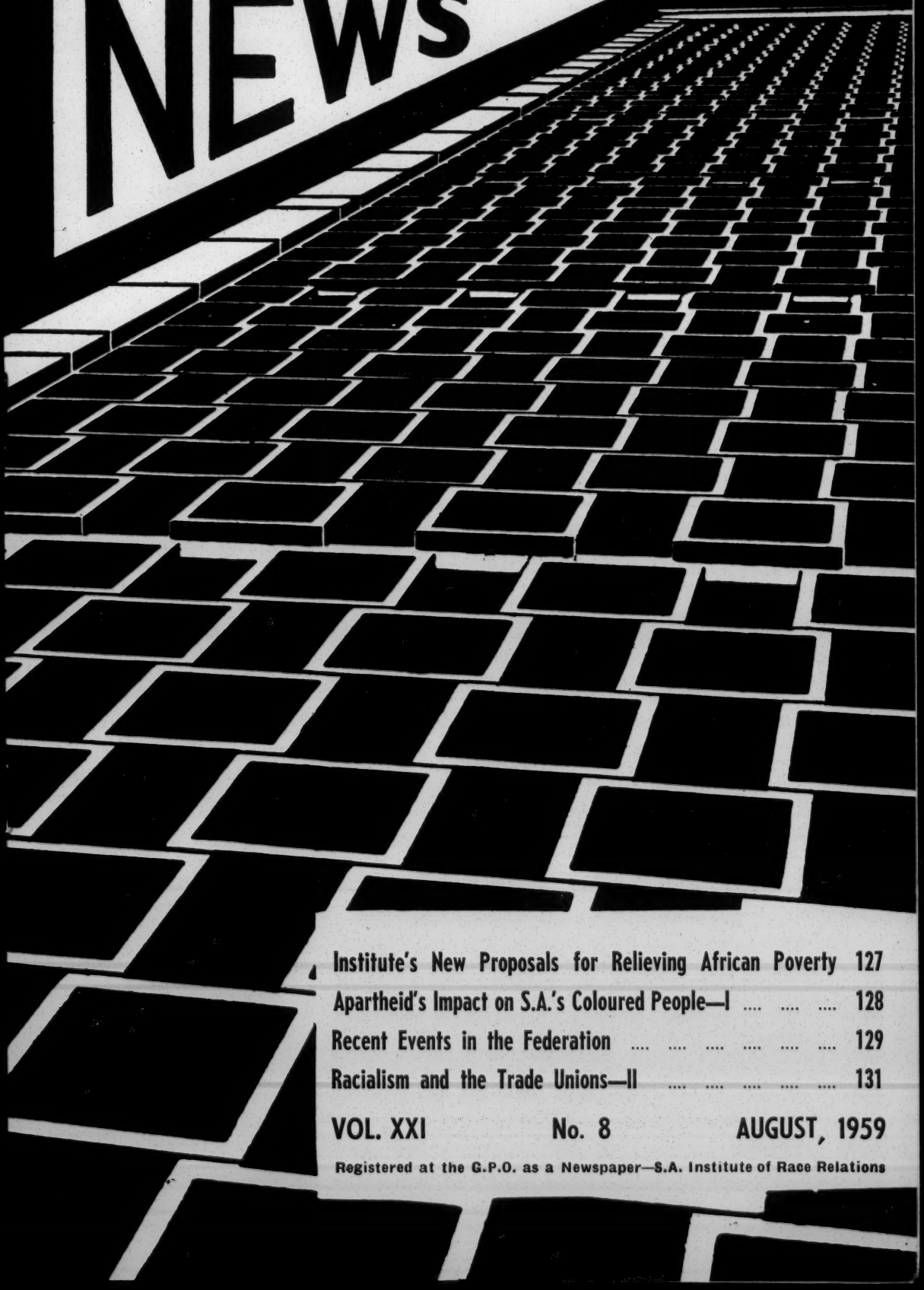
RACE RELATIONS NEWS



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INSTITUTE'S NEW PROPOSALS FOR RELIEVING AFRICAN POVERTY

Durban Shows Need for Wage Board Decentralisation

THE Wage Board, which determines the minimum income of African labourers, should be decentralised. There is at present only one Board, and it has to make determinations for each of the country's industrial and commercial centres. When it gets around to a particular centre such as Durban, which it is investigating at present, it is found that its most widely effective previous determination has left a weekly wage of £2 2s. 6d. static *for 14 years.* Yet during that time the cost of even mere subsistence has risen steeply and continually, hospitalisation and school fees have become compulsory, taxation has been raised by over 75 per cent., and economic housing rentals are being introduced.

A large and increasing number of employers and employers' organisations favour increased wages for African employees, as do even "white" trade union bodies. Several industries and large concerns have granted some wage increases. But, understandably, individual employers are reluctant to pay substantially more unless their competitors also do so.

With infrequent Wage Board determinations, the gap in an area such as Durban between existing wages and even the present-day cost-of-subsistence has grown so large that it could not be bridged by one sharp increase in wages without threatening dislocation.

But the plain fact of African poverty in, for instance, Durban is that only 1 African worker in 5 earned more than £15 a month in the four local areas surveyed in 1955 and 1956. A municipal survey of 500 African families in Cato Manor, the scene of riots two months ago and a centre of continuing tension, showed that in 1956 only 1 African worker in 20 earned more than £15 a month — 34 per cent. of the workers earned from £15 to £10, and 61 per cent. earned less than £10 per month. Yet, in 1954, the Institute established that the minimum income required for *subsistence* by an African family of 5 in an urban area was £23 10s. 4d., which makes no provision whatever for recreation, holidays, newspapers, entertainment, church and club dues, etc. Informed estimates place the present cost-of-subsistence in the region of £27 a month* for a similar family.

In making representations to the Wage Board last month, the Natal Region of the Institute, lacking information on the ability of employers to pay any particular suggested wage, set out the facts of local African poverty and limited its recommendations to principles:

- The imperative need for *substantial* increases in African labourers' wages.
- The desirability of providing some formula for gradually raising unskilled wages over a period of years. This might take two forms:
  - (a) a provision similar to the recommendation of the Wage Board for unskilled wages in East London, Witwatersrand and Pretoria, in which annual increases are provided over 3-4 years. These increases should, however, be considerably more substantial than those at present recommended by the Board.
  - (b) a provision of more flexible C.O.L. Allowances, so that these, in future, do *not* remain static as in the past.
- The adoption of a general policy, whereby all determinations are regularly reviewed and should *not* be permitted to remain operative for longer than 5 years without re-consideration.
- The wage determination for unskilled labour should become the universal minimum applicable to all enterprises in the area.
- The decentralisation of the Wage Board.

Some of the above recommendations would involve very considerably increased activities of the Board, making demands beyond its present resources: decentralisation of the Wage Board might be adopted, on lines similar to the constitution of Regional offices by the Group Areas Board.

In this way there could be constant revision of determinations, the disparities in wage rates between determinations and agreements could be narrowed, the determinations would increasingly relate to current and not past conditions and there would be an opportunity of constantly reviewing wages in relation to minimum family needs, productivity of labour and the ability of industry to pay.

**A revised cost-of-subsistence study for African families on the Witwatersrand is currently being completed for the Institute by Mrs. Joy de Gruchy, and should be published this year.*

Apartheid's Impact on S.A.'s Coloured People—I

A *SPECIAL Correspondent writes from Cape Town*: There are clear indications that South Africa's Coloured people are becoming more and more disturbed by the progressive deterioration of their status since the establishment of Union, and more particularly since they have begun to experience the negative aspects of *apartheid*. Many prominent White people share this concern, being particularly disturbed by the lack of any clear government policy in regard to the Coloured people. There are many intellectual apologists for *apartheid* who think that it cannot be applied to the Coloured people in the same manner as it is being applied to the Africans, and even the Prime Minister has admitted that here his ideas are, in certain respects, vague. In Parliament this year he drew a distinction between Africans and Coloured people and went on to say (1959 Hansard columns 5360 and 5361):

"I was honest enough to say that in regard to the Coloureds we accepted the principle and the ideal of *apartheid*, but how precisely it would operate was not quite so clear, in view of the fact that there were various possibilities. To some extent we ourselves will have to evolve such methods, and for the rest successive generations will have to do so. We definitely do not accept, however, that there will be intergration or intermingling of the political structure for the Coloured and the White man, neither in the municipal sphere nor in any higher sphere."

In the political sphere the value of the Coloured Parliamentary Vote has been steadily watered down since the establishment of Union as a result of the following legislation:—

(1) The enfranchisement of White women (Act 18 of 1930).

(2) The enfranchisement of all White persons of the age of 21 or over throughout the Union (Act 41 of 1931). This Act abolished the qualifications required for the franchise by the laws of the Cape in so far as Whites were concerned.

(3) The placing of Coloured voters on a separate roll (Acts 46 of 1951 and 9 of 1956).

(4) The enfranchisement of all Whites of 18 years or over (Act 30 of 1958).

We have had nearly fifty years of Union but, during that period, Parliament has done nothing to bring about uniformity in respect of the Coloured franchise. Coloured people in the Provinces of the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Natal still do not have the vote at least on the same terms as they have it in the Cape Province.

In addition to all this, the Coloured people are now threatened with the loss of the municipal franchise in the Cape Province — a franchise which they have enjoyed ever since municipalities were established in that Province. It is claimed that this will be the logical result of the Group Areas Act in terms of which it is proposed to establish Coloured local authorities. The feasibility of this proposal is open to grave doubt. It is difficult to understand how such local authorities can be viable in view of the fact that the Coloured people are almost entirely dependent on what they earn as employees of the Whites.

The dismemberment of the Cape Peninsula under the Group Areas Act has not yet been completed, but it is clear that it will not be possible to herd all Coloured people into one compact area. The Malay Quarter in Cape Town has already been proclaimed as a Malay Group Area. This area is a comparatively small island completely surrounded by a White area and it would be quite absurd to establish for that area a local authority separate from the area which comprises the Municipality of Cape Town. The City Council, on which Whites and Coloured have served amicably for many years, has condemned the proposal to fragmentise the Municipal area and to disfranchise Coloured municipal voters. The proposal was also condemned by a large mass meeting of ratepayers of all races which was held in the City Hall this year.

A large number of Cape Coloured people view with disapproval the establishment of the Coloured Affairs Department. They point out that the only civilisation that they know is Western civilisation, that most of them are Christians, that they speak the languages of the White man and that they share their homeland with the White man. They also point out that they have always championed the cause of White civilisation: they fought alongside the White man in many of the early Border wars

and in particular they won laurels in the campaign in Palestine during the first World War. They did excellent service as non-combatants in the second World War. They were anxious to serve as combatants in that war but were not allowed to do so by the authorities. They object to being treated differently from the Whites and they are afraid that the Coloured Affairs Department may develop in much the same way as the Bantu Affairs Department.

(To be concluded)

Recent Events in the Federation

ALTHOUGH notable advances have been made since the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established in 1953, the constitutional principles of "partnership and co-operation" have not been sufficiently realised to create full acceptance of, and loyalty to, the new nation.

This is one of the main conclusions which Mr. Maurice Webb, who has made several recent visits of enquiry to the Federation, reached in an address to the Institute's executive committee last month.

Mr. Webb, who is a past-president of the Institute, pointed out that, as the federated territories had been thrown together instead of having grown together, there are today conflicts of interest between the Protectorates pressing for independence and Southern Rhodesia pressing for Dominion status.

There is today suspicion, resentment and fear on both sides of the colour line in the Federation. Some of the changes which have been made officially have been resented by white people, and their reactions have given rise to uncertainty amongst Africans. Thus, one African complains of being roughly ordered off a seat on a railway platform which, previously reserved for Whites, is now officially available for all races. Another African finds himself embarrassed by Whites voicing their resentment of his presence in a railway dining car. Other advances have been uneven. There are non-racial hotels in Salisbury and Lusaka, but no hotel in Bulawayo where a non-White person is accepted. The Bulawayo Public Library has, by the vote of its members, opened its reading room to all races, but its lending section remains for Whites only.

Such situations are, as experience in America has shown, unavoidable when attempts to abolish racial discrimination in social services are made. But Mr. Webb found that, faced with such uncertainty, Africans in the Federation still sometimes say, as they did years ago, that they "prefer the Union, because there you know where you are."

Not having visited Nyasaland recently, Mr. Webb did not discuss the "emergency" there or the alleged plot on whose non-existence the Devlin Commission has since reported. But in Southern Rhodesia he found that an oft-repeated question was: did events in Nyasaland justify the declaration of the State of Emergency and the wholesale arrests in Southern Rhodesia on February 26? White opinion generally is that the Southern Rhodesia Government must have had information to justify the course taken, but as no disclosure of that information has been made uneasiness grows and increases as reports of mistaken arrest and of ill treatment of detainees are made and not officially explained or denied.

The emergency legislation, particularly the Preventive Detention Bill, provoked strong protest from Churches, Law Societies and other bodies, which led to its being withdrawn and amended. Although it has been modified, the major objections to it remain.

495 African men and women were arrested in Southern Rhodesia on February 26 and sent to Khami jail, together with 130 arrested in Nyasaland. 100 "foreign" Africans among the 495 were at once deported to Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and Bechuanaland. Releases made at intervals have reduced the number of detainees in Khami to 99 men and 1 woman.

Most of those released in the first month returned to their jobs and appear not to be greatly affected by their experience.

But the majority, detained for two months or more, often found they had been replaced as employers, though often sympathetic, could not keep their posts open indefinitely in the face of the complete uncertainty as to when their workers might be free to return. Those who are now unemployed are, in many cases, much embittered.

The 99 men and 1 woman who are still in Khami jail have now been imprisoned without trial for over three months under the Preventive Detention (Temporary Provisions) Act of 1959. This Act established a Review Tribunal to enquire into the reasons for the detention of each person and to make recommendations to the Governor regarding continued detention or release. The Tribunal's proceedings are completely secret and it is not bound by normal court rules of evidence. Advocates may, however, appear before it on behalf of detainees.

Relatives and friends of the 100 remaining detainees have launched a Southern Rhodesian Detainees Legal Aid and Welfare Fund (P.O. Box 2097, Salisbury) to provide the permitted legal help and to look after the detainees' dependants, who at present receive a maximum of 2s. 3d. a day from the government.

The Tribunal has begun its hearings, and it is believed that 35* of the 100 detainees have so far been examined. Detention under the emergency legislation can last for the five years of its present validity. Some confusion concerning the Legal Aid and Welfare Fund has followed a recent statement by Sir Edgar Whitehead that his government would provide legal defence for the detainees if the Fund ran out. A clarification of the government's intention in this respect has been sought.

The detainees in Khami jail are treated as political prisoners. Their cells are locked only at night. They do no hard labour, have a diet better than normal prison fare, can receive unlimited reading matter, have outdoor games and indoor recreation. 70 of the 100 are illiterate. 26 are taking courses of instruction organised by a graduate among the detainees.

After serving as an election platform in the General Elections of the Federation and Northern Rhodesia, the demand of Dominion Status, to be made at the talks between the U.K. Government and the 4 Governments of the Federation due in October 1960, is, Mr. Webb found, now largely forgotten. There seem now to be few who expect Dominion status or any material advance towards it in 1960.

In Southern Rhodesia White and African opinion generally favours a continuance of Federation but no advance in status until the agreement of the Africans in the North has been won. Much African opinion in the North is hostile to Federation, urging secession of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland and their advance to early if not immediate independence.

A pamphlet recently issued by the Federal Information Offices lists 13 advances towards "partnership", among them the increased voting facilities in Southern and Northern Rhodesia, the appointment of an African Minister by the Federal Government, the desegregation of Post Offices in Southern Rhodesia, the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Apprenticeship Act and increased social mixing.

When Mr. Webb put these items to many representative Africans, he found an attitude of deep suspicion. Changes welcomed, such as the desegregation of post offices and the non-racial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, were dismissed as "window dressing", while others, such as the opening of the Civil Service and the Apprenticeship Act were regarded with extreme caution and suspicion, pending their implementation. Notwithstanding evidence to the contrary there was a prevailing conviction that all such changes had come about as a result of the Emergency, were the fruits of violence and that violence pays. Faced with this attitude white opinion, which has made real if sometimes timid advances, is disillusioned.

African demands are clearly expressed: in Southern Rhodesia the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act; in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia the setting aside of the special rolls and wider access to one common roll and the abolition of racially differentiated scales of pay. These demands white opinion is far from being ready to meet. The gap between African demands and white readiness to make concessions is one of the Federation's serious dangers.

Mr. Webb concludes that if the 1960 talks are to be fruitful there appears to be an urgent need for a new Nyasaland Constitution to be negotiated with Nyasaland Africans, a declaration that the pledges in the Federal Constitution will be honoured, the early release of detainees against whom no charge can be put before the courts, an acceleration of the movement towards "partnership" notwithstanding present African suspicion and hostility, and the entrenchment of civil rights in the Federal and Territorial Constitutions.

**19 are to be further detained.*—Ed.

Racialism and the Trade Unions—II

BITTERNESS, insecurity, inter-racial hostility and division have grown amongst South Africa's workers as a result of recent and current government policies: labour groups have been rendered competitive instead of complementary: a sectional, racial approach to employment and conditions of work has been fostered, and the real interests of workers have been sacrificed in the process. These are the important final conclusions reached in a newly-published Institute study, "Racialism and the Trade Unions" (50 pp.—4s. 6d.—see July, 1959 *Race Relations News*).

In this pioneer survey, the Institute's Research officer, Miss Muriel Horrell, reports that leaders of African workers maintain that Africans have no faith in the machinery of the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, which came into force in 1953. The more politically minded members of African trade unions no doubt distrusted the new system from its inception because of its discriminatory nature, but this distrust has permeated to the rank and file as a result of the "strong-arm" methods employed by officials.

One of the major objects of the Native Labour Boards and Committees which, set up in terms of the Act, give Africans representation at only the lowest levels, is to settle labour disputes. According to the Report of the Department of Labour for the calendar year 1957, during that year 130 African labour disputes, involving 15,997 employees, were settled without the workers resorting to strike action.

Strikes do take place, however, in spite of the fact that they have been made illegal. The Minister of Justice has said that 113 strikes involving 6,158 African workers were reported during 1957. In 13 cases the strikes had been settled by granting increased wages or improved working conditions; while in 20 cases the workers had been prosecuted for striking illegally. (The Minister did not explain how the remaining strikes had been settled.) Altogether, he said, 539 Africans had been charged and 274 convicted during 1957 for participating in illegal strikes. He added, later, that 588 were charged and 453 convicted during 1958.

The Minister of Labour added that during 1958 two labour disputes had been settled by the Central Native Labour Board, 34 by Regional Committees, and 92 by Native Labour Officers; while four disputes had been referred to the Wage Board.

Africans maintain that the Labour Board officials generally have more sympathy for the views of the employers than for those of the workers. Various strikes have been prevented, they say, by making promises that are not fulfilled, or by intimidating the workers into accepting whatever conditions the employers may offer. When serious labour disputes threaten, detectives of the Special Branch often accompany the Labour Board officials who arrive to undertake investigations. The leaders of the dispute then fear that unless they capitulate, they may be required to leave the town concerned and be denied permits to work in any urban area. Much hostility is, naturally, engendered when the workers are intimidated in these ways.

When strikes do occur, the strikers are often prosecuted, and several working days may be lost while the court proceedings are in progress. Discrimination on a racial basis in such prosecutions, as when Africans are prosecuted for striking together with Coloured workers, who may legally do so, may give rise to further ill-feeling.

Details are given in "Racialism and the Trade Unions" of some major strikes by Africans which have taken place during the past two years, in many of which drastic action was taken first to break the strikes and then to act against their leaders. African dock-workers, in particular, have had these experiences. In some cases, whole labour forces have been dismissed. In one case the stevedoring employers had agreed to an increase of 3s. a day, but were obliged to reduce this to 1s. a day as a result of pressure by the Government, whose Railway Administration might have been compelled to match the higher figure. There can be little doubt that such situations lead to inter-racial bitterness.

Extreme frustration and bitterness are also felt to-day by many Coloured workers. They feel that they receive little sympathy from a large section of the White workers; yet, like most of the Whites, those who have attained skilled rates of pay fear that they may be undercut by Africans.

Coloured workers stand to lose both from the setting up of industries on the borders of

the Reserves and from job reservation. The latter has become a very real and increasing threat to them, and has aroused strong feelings of resentment (see the report on the position of the Coloured people elsewhere in this issue). These are the main reasons for the recent suggestion that a new splinter trade union group, the (Coloured) S.A. Federation of Non-European Workers, be formed.

Inter-racial tension has been heightened between all groups by present and recent labour policies. Each of the job reservation determinations made so far has reduced the employment opportunities, or undermined the security, of Non-White workers — mainly Coloured people or Indians, but in some cases also urbanized Africans. On the other hand, the policy of fostering the industrial development of areas bordering the African Reserves has caused White unemployment. Each group has felt increasingly insecure: in such an atmosphere inter-group suspicion and hostility are fostered.

The disunity between South Africa's workers has been reflected at conferences of the International Labour Organization, which are attended by two Government representatives of each member-State and one representative each of management and labour, generally accompanied by officially-appointed advisers. In terms of the I.L.O. constitution, the non-Government delegates and advisers are to be selected with the agreement of the industrial organizations most representative of employers or workers.

The government has, since 1949, attempted to select the workers' delegate from the S.A. Railways and Harbours Staff Association, and did so this year despite the protests of both the T.U.C. and S.A.C.T.U. The latter body has, since 1955, challenged the credentials of the workers' delegate, pointing out that it was the only co-ordinating body in South Africa which was non-discriminatory, and which thus conformed to the standards of the I.L.O. This protest has been repeated annually, but has not succeeded.

In attempting to realise an ideological pattern which is divorced from economic reality, the present government has created a position in which racially exclusive trade unions may try to compete with one another in negotiations with employers; where some employers may try to play off one group against the other; and in which the whole system of collective bargaining, on which the industrial conciliation machinery is based, is very seriously threatened. (Concluded)

Significant Opinions from July's Non-White Press

"Cry Out For Shame"

Commenting on Dr. Verwoerd's parliamentary disclaimer of governmental responsibility for unemployed Indians, *The World* (which has a predominantly African readership) said on July 11: "The Indians are here to stay, as we are all here to stay."

"When Boycotts Are Immoral"

"How else (than by boycott) can our great voteless masses express non-violent protests?" asked *Golden City Post* on July 12, adding "But there is a world of difference between reasonable boycotts and those based on blind racial prejudice . . . (such as) the call made in the 'Jeugbonder' to Afrikaners to boycott all Indian businesses 'so that thousands of Indians will be obliged to give way because they will not be able to make a living.' "

"Industry and the Boycott"

"In spite of all the talk about the need for higher wages, the real wages of the African workers are not improving but getting worse. The big guns in the Chambers of Commerce and Industry may as well drop their hypocritical concern about the harm the boycott will do the Non-Europeans", said *New Age* on July 16. "Commerce and industry are worried about only one thing. The harm that the boycott will do them . . . industry has been given the answer by the Congresses: Your way out is the same way out as our own — the defeat of this Nationalist Government."

The World: Twice-weekly, White finance and control (Bantu Press (Pty.) Ltd.), very large national circulation.

Golden City Post: Weekly, White finance and control, White Editor with multi-racial staff, very large national circulation.

New Age: Weekly, White Directors, White Editors with multi-racial staff; medium national circulation; reflects Congress movement views and policy.

Race Relations Reading

British Policy in Changing Africa by SIR ANDREW COHEN (Routledge.—118pp.—12s.).

A useful short survey of British colonial policy by one of its leading architects, who was a senior member of the Colonial Office and is now on the Trusteeship Council at UN.

Nigeria—Background to Nationalism by JAMES S. COLEMAN (Cambridge University Press—University of California Press.—510pp. —7.50 dollars).

A large and detailed political history of recent years by an American professor who has specialised in African studies.

Between Ourselves . . .

Council Nominations Required this Month.

MEMBERS of the Institute have been sent nomination forms in the Institute's four-yearly Council elections, and are urgently asked to return the completed forms to the Director, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg, by August 25.

Institute to present Anna Russell Tour.

ANNA RUSSELL, the internationally celebrated concert comedienne, is to tour Southern Africa during the next two months, sponsored by the S.A. Institute of Race Relations. Those who heard and saw her during Johannesburg's Festival three years ago, and the many others who have heard her records, will need no introduction to Miss Russell's unique kind of entertainment. Those members who haven't had such an introduction have an experience in store for them which will banish even the deepest depression about life or race relations.

Anna Russell's magical spoofs on opera, popular music, instrumentalists, and serious musicians in general have not only brought audiences throughout the world to their feet with thunderous applause but, literally, had them in the aisles rolling with laughter.

Coming to South Africa directly from her second season at the Edinburgh Festival, Anna Russell will start her Southern Africa tour with a gala opening in Johannesburg's City Hall on September 21. Institute members can obtain preferential booking vouchers for this opening from the Financial Organiser, Room 25, Auden House, 68 de Korte Street (telephone 835-1781) at the following prices: 42s., 21s. and 10s. 6d. Preferential booking *for voucher holders only* will be on August 31 and September 1 at Show Service, 100 Eloff Street and at Plastic Centre, Admiral's Court, Rosebank.

Miss Russell will give a second Johannesburg performance on September 23, and will then appear in Bulawayo on the 26th and 27th, in Salisbury on the 29th and 30th, in Cape Town on October 6, 7, and 10, in Port Elizabeth on October 12, in Durban on the 13th, 14th and 16th and in Pretoria on October 17.

Detailed information about Miss Russell's performances at Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban can be obtained by telephoning the respective Regional Offices: Cape Town — 32318; Port Elizabeth — 29210; Durban — 25606.

1959 Hoernlé Memorial Lecture.

DR. SIMON BIESHEUVEL will deliver the Hoernlé Memorial Lecture for 1959 at Auden House, the Institute's headquarters, on October 14. His subject will be "Race, Culture and Personality".

New Institute Librarian.

MISS BARBARA GORDON has been appointed as the Institute's Librarian following the resignation of Mrs. Barry Hall, who rendered outstanding service in starting the reorganization, catalogue-ing and indexing of the library at Auden House. Miss Gordon, who is an arts graduate of Rhodes University, holds a teacher's diploma.

Donor Representatives on Institute Council.

THE following have been elected to represent Donor and Donor Life members of the Institute on its Council for the next four years: Mrs. M. L. Grant, Mrs. M. G. Roberts, Prof. W. Rollo, Mr. P. D. Santilhano and Dr. S. van der Horst.

Honour for Institute Representative.

MRS. E. E. M. RUSSELL, a leading member of the Institute and its Representative in Pietermaritzburg, has been awarded the Freedom of that City.

Changes of Name.

THE Natal Coastal Region of the Institute has been renamed the Natal Region, and the Institute's Technical Officer is now known as its Research Officer.

Johannesburg Street Collection.

TUESDAY, September 29, will be this year's date for the Institute's annual street collection in Johannesburg. Collectors are urgently needed, and Johannesburg and Reef members who can spare an hour of their time on September 29 are requested to telephone the convenor, Mrs. E. L. Hayman, at 835-1781, or to call on her at Auden House, 68 de Korte Street, Braamfontein.

Prof. D. D. T. Jabavu †

AS we go to press comes the sad news of the passing of Professor D. D. T. Jabavu, a Vice-President of the Institute, to whose family members and staff extend their sympathy. An obituary will appear in our next issue.

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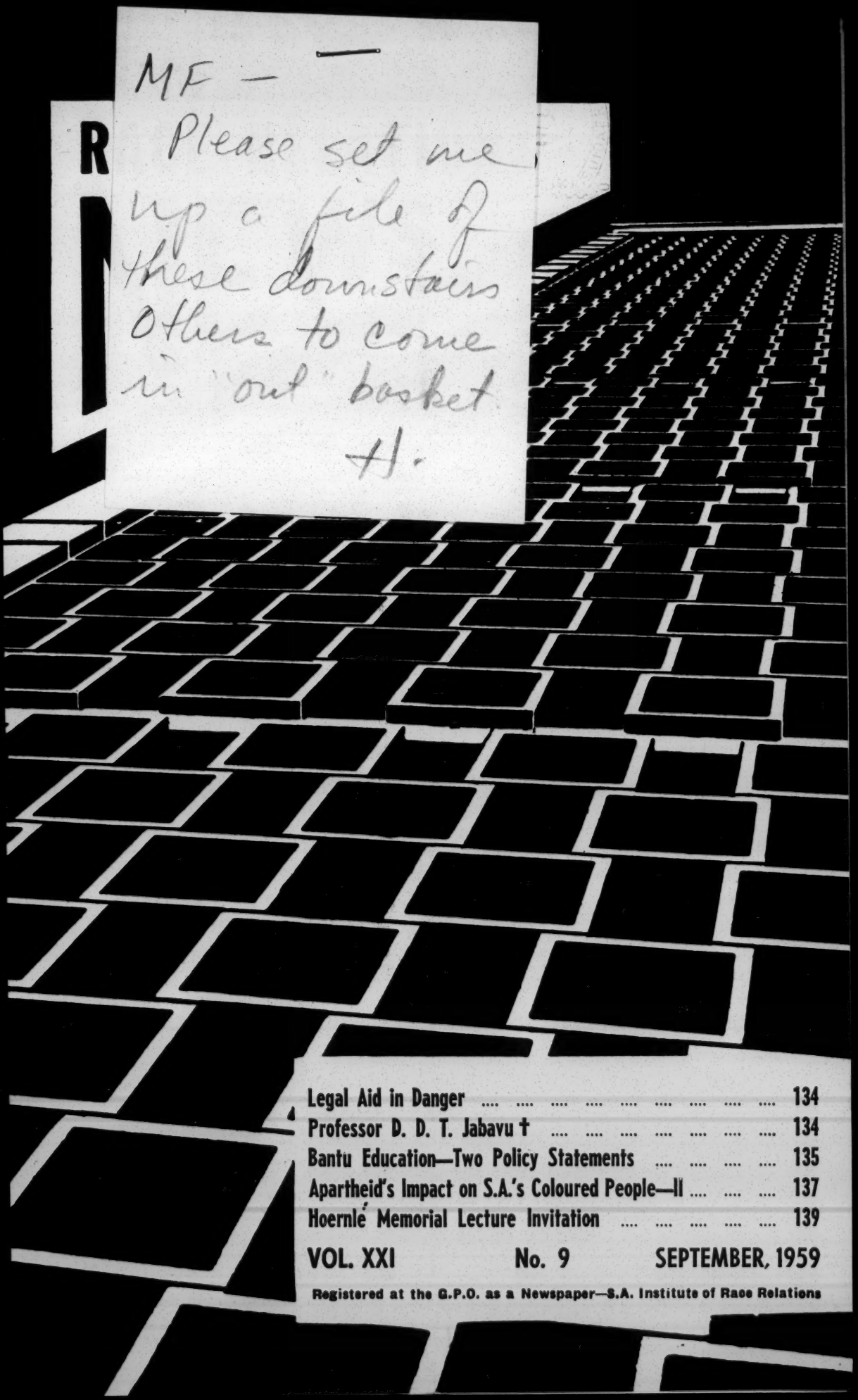

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Legal Aid in Danger

ALL government support for legal aid for poor people in criminal cases would be withdrawn if the arguments put forward by the Secretary for Justice in his report for 1958 were to be accepted by the Minister and the Cabinet. In the section of his report dealing with legal aid in criminal matters, the Secretary argues that such aid is unnecessary as the judicial officers and prosecutors will ensure that no miscarriage of justice occurs, and as the accused can look after his own interests in criminal appeals.

Now it is clear that neither the prosecutor nor the magistrate in a case can have the private consultations with an accused which are essential to his defence. And it is notorious that very few laymen can give a good account of themselves from the dock, particularly so when they are the poor, and therefore mostly ill-educated, whom legal aid services are designed to help.

The complexity of South African law is increasing daily, and so, as the Secretary for Justice has pointed out in another context, is the cost of litigation. The work of existing Legal Aid Bureaux is already hampered by insufficient funds, which led to a temporary closing of the Bureau in Cape Town. The Continuation Committee which is working to re-establish legal aid in that city has pointed out that "If the argument of the Secretary for Justice is taken to its logical conclusion, it means simply that, except for capital crime, it is a waste of time to engage the services of an advocate or attorney for the defence".

The need for defence in criminal as well as civil cases not only continues to exist, as it always has, but has increased. The law has become more complex and, whereas the State, in bringing a prosecution, commands practically unlimited resources, the poor become steadily less able to afford the increasing cost of defence.

So much for the general picture. There is, however, an aspect of legal aid for criminal cases which is peculiarly relevant to race relations in South Africa. Our statute books contain a lengthy catalogue of offences which are criminal for members of some racial groups but not for others. Africans suffer most under this discrimination, the obvious examples being technical registration irregularities, non-payment of tax and, in some areas like Johannesburg, non-payment of municipal rent. Africans, perhaps more than other groups, have enough difficulties in trying to keep within a multitude of criminal laws which they have neither shared in framing nor been educated to understand. By and large, their poverty does not permit them to hire legal defence.

These were amongst the reasons which led the Institute to establish the Legal Aid Bureaux many years ago, and they are more valid than ever today. More, and not less, subsidy is surely needed for criminal and civil legal aid from the central government, which, after all, derives its income from the direct and, even more, indirect taxation of the poor as well as the rich.

Professor D. D. T. Jabavu†

WHEN PROFESSOR D. D. T. JABAVU died in East London on August 3, the South African scene lost one of its best-known African leaders.

Educationalist

Don Davidson Tengo Jabavu was, in his person and deeds, a pioneer of African education. He received his own education at Lovedale, at Morija in Basutoland, and then, because of local restrictions, in the United Kingdom. On returning to South Africa he began his life-long efforts to further and better education for Africans. In 1916 he joined the staff of the S.A. Native College, with which he remained for 30 years, first as lecturer and later as Professor of Bantu Languages. Jabavu threw himself wholeheartedly into all aspects of the College's life. An accomplished musician and conductor, he did much to make Fort Hare known in the twenties with his Fort Hare Choir.

Public Figure

Jabavu also entered fully into the public life of the country, and served the African people in many directions. He preached the gospel of better farming methods in the Reserves and founded African Farmers' Associations long before our modern rehabilitation schemes were heard of. He founded

the Cape African Teachers' Association and became the Federation of African Teachers' Associations' first President. In public affairs, Jabavu appeared before many Government Commissions to give evidence on behalf of the African people. He was a staunch believer in inter-tribal and inter-racial co-operation. Together with Dr. Abdurahman he convened in the late twenties the Non-European Conference which endeavoured to bring together Coloureds and Africans for a joint struggle against the Hertzog Bills and the policy they adumbrated in 1925. In the thirties, together with Dr. P. ka I. Seme, then President-General of the African National Congress, he convened the All-African Convention, of which he later became President, for an all-out defence of the franchise rights of Africans in the Union.

Anti-Racialist

He identified himself from their inception with bodies which worked for harmonious co-operation between black and white, such as the Joint Council Movement and the South African Institute of Race Relations, of which he was a foundation and life member and a Vice-President until his death.

As a journalist, he contributed numerous articles on public affairs to the "Imvo Zabatsundu" and to the leading newspapers of South Africa. Through his books, such as the "Black Problem" and "The Segregation Fallacy", he endeavoured to warn the country against the evils of racial discrimination. He was a loyal and prominent member of the Methodist Church, and a crusading teetotaller.

Man of Peace

Jabavu was essentially a man of peace. He impressed all who came into contact with him with his essential humanity, his cheerful disposition, his genial personality and his readiness to appreciate the other man's point of view. There was no rancour in his advocacy of the rights of his people, and he always took up a common-sense point of view on public affairs. Although for a generation he was probably the most outstanding African leader, he never lost the common touch. With no inferiority complex in any company, he was yet the humblest of men.

In short, of him it could be said that he always endeavoured to sweeten rather than to embitter any human relationships into which he entered. The result was that his enemies thought he was never forthright enough in anything he said and that he was essentially a compromiser, but, being essentially a man of peace, Jabavu always strove to achieve his ends in the manner that would do the least damage to the cause of harmonious co-operation between groups and individuals. He will be sadly missed by the Institute of Race Relations which he helped to found and to which he gave so much.

Z. K. M.

South Africa in the Perspective of 50 Years

Theme for Institute's 1960 Council Meetings in Durban

"SOUTH AFRICA in the Perspective of Fifty Years" will be the theme of the Institute's 1960 Council Meetings, which will be held in Durban from the evening of Monday, January 11, to the evening of Thursday, January 14, 1960 will see the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Union, and the Institute's Council will evaluate the impact on race relations of developments during that time.

The Institute's President, Mr. Donald B. Molteno, Q.C., will open the meetings on the evening of January 11 with an address on "Fifty Years of Union", laying special emphasis on inter-racial group relationships. On succeeding days, South African authorities will speak on economic, political and social developments, and the centenary of the arrival of Indian people in South Africa will be marked by a special session, with an address on "The Indian Community of South Africa—Past, Present and Future". The position of the Union in an emerging Africa will also be discussed.

An Indian play will be staged to co-incide with the Council Meetings, and a programme of excursions and entertainment is being arranged. All members of the Institute are entitled to attend the Council Meetings, and are warmly urged to do so.

The Institute's Executive Committee will meet in Durban on Monday, January 11, and Friday, January 15.

Bantu Education—Two Policy Statements

1: Restriction of Higher Primary and Post-Primary Education for Africans in Towns

THE following statement, made by the Minister of Bantu Education in the Senate at the end of the Parliamentary Session, appears to have escaped the notice of the public:

"It is the intention to make lower primary schools available wherever this is possible, in order to supply the needs, the general needs in this connection, wherever there may be Bantu children of school-going age. As far as the higher primary and post-primary schools are concerned, it is the intention to give preference to the Bantu areas because this is in the first place where the Bantu development must be promoted generally. You may perhaps tell me that there is a great desire in the urban areas for post-primary schools in order to keep the children off the streets; that they should rather be brought into the schools than be allowed to remain on the streets where they become tsotsis and so forth.

"I want to put it very clearly that the keeping of the children off the streets of our cities, the keeping of the children away from the tsotsi-gangs, is not a function of education; it is a social function. An educational function is a function which must be instituted for the development of the community, and for this reason you must give that higher education in the areas at the places where the process of development has to be stimulated, and this is in the Bantu areas.

"For this reason it is our policy to restrict higher primary, but particularly post-primary, education in the urban locations, but not in the Native areas; preference is given to the Native areas in regard to the establishment of that type of school."

(Senate, 15 May, 1959, Hansard Col. 2340-41)

Note: Lower primary schooling extends from Grade I (Sub.A) to Standard II; higher primary from Standard III to Standard VI, and post-primary from Standard VII —Ed.

2: Official Use of African Farm School Pupils for Private Farm Labour

DISCUSSING farm schools for African pupils in the Senate, the Minister of Bantu Education said on June 2 of this year (Hansard Col. 3463):

"As regards the farm schools, we have made it compulsory that where the farmer wants these facilities, part of the school instruction of those children on the farm of the European farmer must be training in the normal activities on the farm, in order to encourage a feeling of industriousness on the part of those children and particularly, to sharpen in their minds the fact that education does not mean that you must not work with your hands, but to point out to them specifically that manual labour and also manual labour on a farm is just as good a formulative and development level as any other subject is.

"In order to do this, we create the opportunity so that if there is any farmer who has a farm school on his farm and who wishes to make use of the school children under the supervision of the teacher to assist with certain farm activities, this can be arranged in a proper manner to fit in with the curriculum and the plan of development which is envisaged or provided for that farm school."

Administrators' Conference

A REPORT will appear in our next issue on the annual conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs, which was held in Kroonstad this month. The Institute was represented at the conference by its Acting Director, Mr. F. J. van Wyk.

Institute's Suggested Farm Labour Reforms

THE full text of the reforms of African farm labour recruitment and conditions which the Institute suggested to the government-appointed Committee of Inquiry into Farm Labour, whose report is now awaited, has been published in the current issue of *Race Relations Journal* (July-Sept. 1959, Vol. XXVI, No. 3).

Apartheid's Impact on S.A.'s Coloured People—II

A *SPECIAL Correspondent writes from Cape Town (continued from August issue):*

The Registration of Population Act (No. 30 of 1950) now prevents Coloured persons from passing over to the White group. Such passing over was not infrequent in the past and it afforded some of the Coloured people a means of escape from the disabilities from which they suffered. It is common knowledge that many persons who now pass as Whites have some Coloured blood and are apparently none the worse for it.

Separate and Unequal

We have heard a lot about "separate but equal treatment" of the different groups of the population. This is a conscience-soothing slogan: in practice it is often impossible to apply. Because of two Appeal Court decisions the Government of the day put through Parliament the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (No. 49 of 1953), which provides that regulations in regard to separate facilities on public premises shall not be declared void "merely on the ground that the facilities are not similar in character, standard or quality." Thus by an Act of the legislature it is no longer possible to challenge regulations on the ground that a particular group of the population has had unequal treatment meted out to it. It is not, of course, the White group that suffers from inferior amenities.

The Coloured people are pretty concerned about the manner in which the Group Areas Act is being implemented. Their concern is justified. There have been so many cases in which the sacrifices to be made by non-Whites are much greater than the sacrifices to be made by Whites that it is not necessary to elaborate this point.

Another Act which hits the Coloured people is the Extension of University Education Act of 1959, which will prevent Coloured people from attending any university of their own choice.

Job Reservation Bitterly Resented

Lastly, there is the legislation which discriminates against the Coloured people in the sphere of employment. That legislation causes, perhaps, more ill-feeling amongst the Coloured than any other legislation on the Statute Book, and it has already been carried into effect in some spheres of employment.

The Minister of Labour has already decreed that the City of Cape Town is not to engage the services of any Coloured person as a traffic policeman; Coloured traffic constables already in the service of the municipality can remain but when any of them retire their places cannot be filled by other Coloured persons. And this was done in spite of the fact that Coloured traffic constables had performed their duties efficiently and with great courtesy. The City Council intended to recruit Coloured persons for the Fire Brigade Service: the Minister has prohibited the Council from doing this. The Coloured people of Cape Town, who pay rates on the same basis as Whites, resent this interference with their livelihood and there are also many White ratepayers who regard this interference as being grossly unfair and un-Christian and who also resent interference by the Government in the running of local affairs. The whole principle of job reservation is very naturally deeply resented by the Coloured community and they fear that it will be carried to great extremes.

The Plight of the Taxi-Driver

Another Department has been interfering with the means of livelihood of the Coloured people. That Department is the Department of Transport under whose aegis first and second class certificates are issued to taxi-drivers. The ultimate intention is that first class certificates for the carriage of Whites only should be issued to Whites only. At present it is impossible to implement that policy in the Cape Peninsula as the great majority of taxi-drivers are non-White, but first and second class certificates are being issued. There is a Coloured taxi-driver who plies for hire at Kenilworth Station where his clientele, as may be expected, is almost entirely White. He applied for a first class certificate and was granted a second class certificate which was, of course, of no use to him. Taxi *apartheid* has come as a cruel blow to the Coloured community. Before the advent of motor cars practically all the cab drivers in the Cape Peninsula were Coloured, and when motor cars came into use they naturally became taxi-drivers. In fact the plying for hire by Coloureds had become (to use a much abused

word) "traditional" in the Western Province. There are, of course, many Whites who employ non-White chauffeurs: that is at present permitted but apparently it is humiliating for a White to get into a taxi driven by a non-White!

Apartheid Breeding Anti-White-ism

During the past few years there has been a very noticeable deterioration in the relations between the Whites and the Coloured community. This deterioration has gone to such lengths that there are numerically strong associations among the Coloured people which will have nothing whatever to do with the Whites. The Coloured people are or should be the natural allies of the Whites but now a considerable body of the Coloured people regard the Whites as their enemies. (Concluded)

"Appalling" Shortage of Houses for Africans

THERE is an immediate shortage of 167,300 houses for Africans, and a further 185,000 dwellings will be needed to provide for the estimated requirements of the next 10 years. These figures were given to the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs in Kroonstad this month by the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. De Wet Nel, who described the shortage as "appalling".

Important Sports Conference

THE South African Sports Association — a co-ordinating non-racial sports body supported by 8 national sporting bodies and some 70,000 sportsmen of all racial groups — has convened a conference to which all National Sporting Bodies in South Africa are being invited.

The theme of the conference, which will be held in Port Elizabeth on October 3, will be "Problems in the Development and Organisation of South African Sport, and it is expected that special attention will be paid to the improvements of standards, Olympic representation and the elimination of racial discrimination. Further details are available from the Hon Secretary, P.O. Box 2129, Port Elizabeth, who has issued a call for messages of greeting to be sent to the conference by those who support the work of the Association.

Significant Opinions from August's Non-White Press

"The Riots in Natal"

"POST" this week (August 23) reports eight causes of the latest disturbances (in rural Natal amongst African women: 1. Each woman had to carry 20 buckets of water. 2. They had to take off their doeks for Reference Book photographs. 3. Men not allowed to seek work. 4. 'We can't eat trees.' 5. 'We're crowded in on each other.' 6. Increased taxes. 7. Fed up with the chiefs. 8. 'Police provocation.')

"To these must be added the growing resentment of Natal women to beer raids on their homes and of their men being encouraged to spend part of their pitifully low wages in the hated beer halls.

"The increased militancy of our women as a direct result of the extension of the 'Pass' system to them must be taken into account."

"What is to be Done?"

Predicting that the increasing unrest amongst Africans, such as is current in Natal, would multiply as a result of *apartheid* policies, *New Age* said on August 20, "Who can save our country from this continual conflict and bloodshed? Not the government, which provokes it. Not the United Party Opposition." Calling for a "united crusade of the sane", to halt "the present apartheid madness" and to build "a new South Africa based on justice and freedom for all", the paper said "Let us not haggle over the details. The basic principles of such a new South Africa were agreed upon by a wide assortment of people of all colours and races at the Multi-Racial Conference held in Johannesburg in December, 1957.

"A Welcome Move"

"The United Party has had its day," said *The Leader* on August 28. "The future belongs to those who look forward and aim high and who work for a South Africa free from race fear and race hatred. It is in that spirit that we heartily welcome the stand taken by the (United Party) Progressives."

Golden City Post: Weekly, White finance and control, White Editor with multi-racial staff, very large national circulation.

New Age: Weekly, White Directors, White Editors with multi-racial staff; medium national circulation; reflects Congress movement views and policy.

The Leader: Weekly, Indian finance and control; Indian Editor; small circulation, mainly in Natal.

Between Ourselves . . .

Institute's Director and Wife Overseas

MR. QUINTIN WHYTE, Director of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations, and Mrs. Maida Whyte, Director of the Bureau of Literacy and Literature, have left Johannesburg by air for America at the invitation of the African-American Institute, New York. Mr. and Mrs. Whyte will spend two months in America, where they will meet leaders and organisations in the fields of race relations, African studies and adult literacy. *En route* they will meet prominent personalities and study developments in Kenya, Tanganyika, Nigeria, Ghana, French West Africa and the Belgian Congo. In Europe, they will have similar discussions at UNESCO in Paris, in Rome, in Amsterdam and London. They will return to Johannesburg in November. Mr. F. J. van Wyk is acting as Director of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations in Mr. Whyte's absence.

Natal Regional Chairman Returns

MISS HANSI POLLAK, chairman of the Institute's Natal Region, has returned to the Union from Europe, where she suffered the sad loss of her mother, Mrs. Melanie Pollak. Dr. J. F. Holleman acted as Natal chairman during Miss Pollak's absence.

Important New Church Post for Leading Institute Member

DR. D. G. S. M'TIMKULU, a past Vice-President and present Executive member of the Institute, has been appointed as the first permanent secretary of the All-Africa Church Conference, which first met in Ibadan, Nigeria, in 1958. The representatives of non-Roman churches and groups from most countries in Africa felt that the contacts then made should be developed, and appointed a continuation committee of seven, on which South Africa is represented by Mr. Alan Paton. With Mr. and Mrs. G. C. (Jack) Grant, formerly of Adams College, as its temporary secretaries, the committee decided last year that a permanent secretariat should be established, and this month, meeting in Salisbury, appointed Dr. M'Timkulu as its head.

To take up his new duties, Dr. M'Timkulu will resign as senior lecturer in education in the University College of Fort Hare, a post he has held since 1956. His new work will be of the greatest importance to race relations, especially in Africa South of the Sahara.

Natal Regional Conference

FOLLOWING the highly successful first Regional Conference held by the Institute's Natal Region last year, a second one-day conference will be held in Pietermaritzburg on Saturday, October 24. The conference theme will be "The Challenge to Urban Family Life Today", which will be discussed by a panel comprising His Grace Archbishop Denis E. Hurley; Dr. Ansuyah Singh; Mrs. M. Malie; Mr. B. A. Naidoo; Dr. E. Krige; and Mr. M. B. Mbatha. Discussion will be introduced by Dr. J. F. Holleman, and Dr. Hilda Kuper will sum up afterwards. Fuller details, including venue, may be obtained from the Institute's Durban Office at 11 Colonisation Chambers, 355 West Street (telephone 2-9210).

1959 Christmas Cards

AN illustrated leaflet and order form for this year's selection of Institute Christmas cards has been sent to all members, who are reminded that it is advisable to order early. This is especially so if members want to have their names and addresses printed on the cards, which have become an important part of the revenue from which the Institute's fact-finding, publication, library, field and regional work is financed.

Invitation to Hoernlé Memorial Lecture on October 14

ALL members of the Institute are cordially invited to attend the fifteenth Hoernlé Memorial Lecture, which will be delivered at 8.15 p.m. on October 14 by Dr. Simon Biesheuvel, Director of the National Institute for Personnel Research of the S.A. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. Dr. Biesheuvel will speak on "Race, Culture and Personality" in the Rheinallt Jones Memorial Hall in the Institute's head office, Auden House, 68 de Korte Street, Braamfontein, Johannesburg. *Since accommodation is limited, members wishing to attend should secure seat reservation by telephoning Mrs. M. Scott at 835-1781 immediately, or by writing to her at P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg.*

Race Relations Reading

African Farm Labour—New Institute Pamphlet

A PAMPHLET entitled *African Farm Labour — A Survey* will be published by the Institute at the end of this month. It will deal not only with the temporarily suspended "volunteer scheme", but also with the wider problem of the permanent African labourer and his family on white-owned farms and with the continuing use of convicted prisoners as farm labourers.

The pamphlet will contain a description of the "volunteer scheme"; the Institute's suggested reforms of recruitment and conditions for all types of farm labour which the Institute submitted to the currently sitting government Committee of Inquiry into Farm Labour; some conclusions and reflections by Miss Margaret Roberts from her recent study, Labour in the Farm Economy; the law relating to farm labour, and an article, giving up to date official statistics on African farm labour, by S. J. du Toit, a senior civil servant. The contents of *African Farm Labour — A Survey* are being reproduced from the current and previous issue of *Race Relations Journal* and will make the Institute's information and views on this important subject available in a handy format at 2s. 6d.

Report of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry (Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London. (Cmnd. 814), 7s. 6d.

The Devlin Commission's classic and extremely well written report is required reading for all students of African and colonial affairs, as well as for students of race relations in general. It should be read together with **Nyasaland Despatch by the Governor** (H.M.S.O. Cmnd. 815), 1s.

Poverty Wages by ALEX. HEPPLE (Wages Committee, P.O. Box 2864, Johannesburg.)

Subtitled "The shame of low wages in South Africa", this is a telling plea for the urgent improvement of the position of the vast majority of African workers. The author expresses disappointment with those businessmen who "now seem(s) to be satisfied with the parsimonious policy of the Wage Board", which in turn "seems to be tormented by the peculiar fear that a living wage for all workers would ruin the country".

Central African Policy (*Venture*, September 1959 — 11 Dartmouth Street, London S.W.1.), 1s.

This special issue of the Fabian Commonwealth excellent journal contains policy statements by British Labour leaders Hugh Gaitskell, James Callaghan and John Hatch, and a resumé of the papers and discussions of the Conference on Central Africa which the Bureau held in July.

African Interlude by J. F. HOLLEMAN (Nasionale Boekhandel Bpk., Cape Town), 21s.

This well-written story of six years in the deep Bushveld with primitive Shona people almost untouched by western so-called civilisation is told by an anthropologist who cares even more for penetrating to the spirit of his contacts than for recording customs.

It gives an illuminating and intimate picture of tribal African mores and behaviour, and leaves little doubt that lack of knowledge of these mores must often lead to faulty judgment and action by the white community in general, and even by the most well-meaning white administrator, social worker or educator.

Apartheid — The Road to Poverty by BRIAN BUNTING (New Age Pamphlets), 6d.

This reprint of three articles from the Congress-line weekly, *New Age*, is sub-titled "An Analysis of the Economics of Segregation". Backed with valuable statistical information, the author asserts that racially motivated policies are depressing South Africa's economy.

The Last Division by **ANTHONY DELIUS** (Human and Rousseau, Cape Town), 15s.

A welcome and long-needed satire of South African policies and politics, this long poem presents, in a hellish vision, the *reductio ad absurdum* of *apartheid*.

Where the Lash is Law by CHARLES H. MILLARD (Free Labour World, August 1959 — 24 rue de Lombard, Brussels.)

The attitudes and actions of international trade union organisations towards South Africa are of the greatest importance. In this issue of the official journal of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, its Director of Organisation, who recently visited here, contributes what the journal calls "a telling exposure of the systematic cruelty and injustice which pass for government in South Africa today". Mr. Millard strongly urges international support for the organisation of Africans in trade unions.

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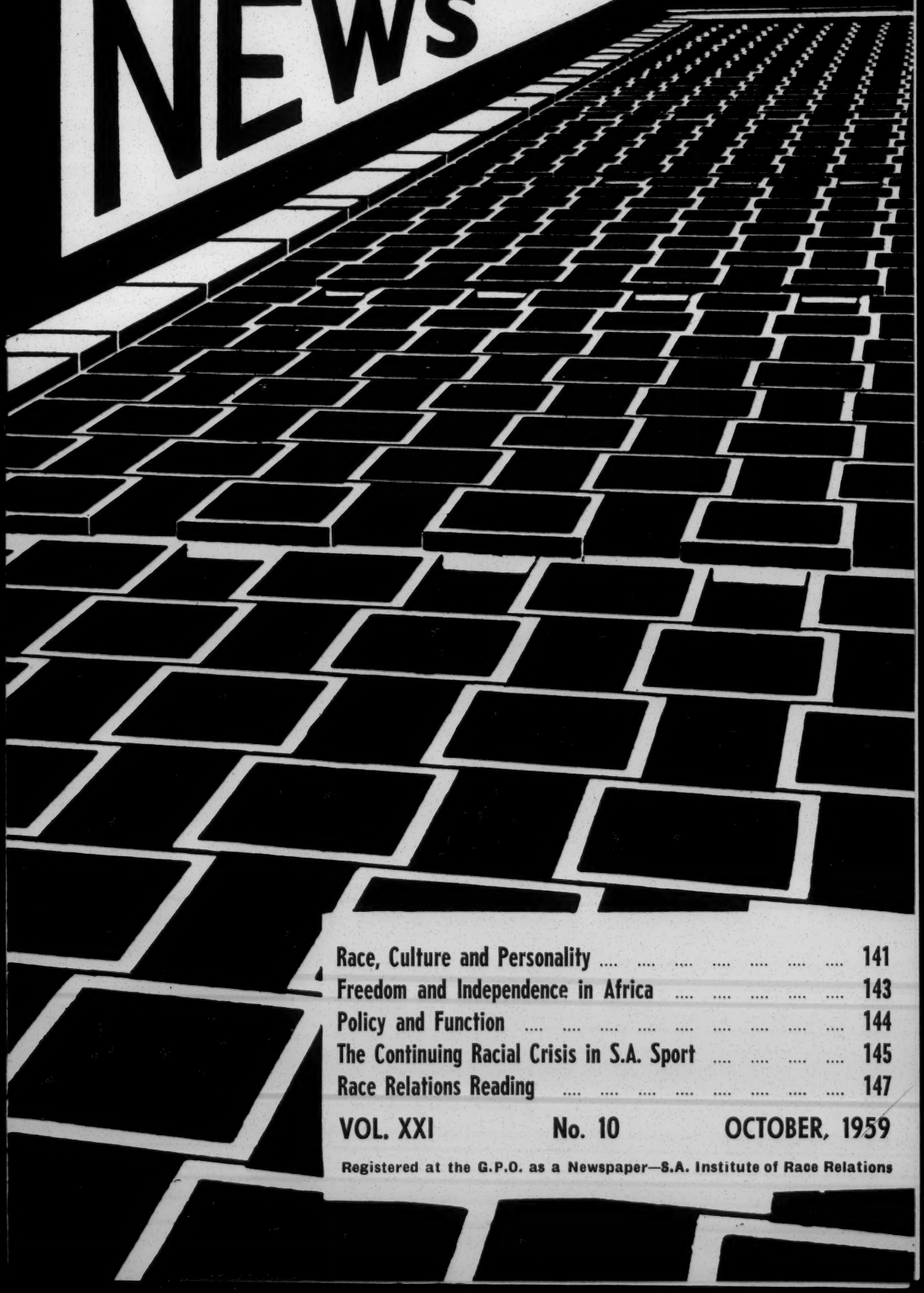
RACE RELATIONS NEWS



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Race, Culture and Personality

Dr. Biesheuvel delivers the Fifteenth Hoernlé Memorial Lecture

ON October 14 Dr. Simon Biesheuvel delivered the 1959 Hoernlé Memorial Lecture, *Race, Culture and Personality,* to a distinguished audience in the Rheinallt Jones Memorial Hall in Auden House, the Institute's head office. Interest in the lecture was so great that all 220 seats in the hall had been reserved in advance, and an overflow audience of some 100 people had to be accommodated in the foyer, where a public address system was installed.

Dr. Ellen Hellmann took the chair in the unavoidable absence of the Institute's President, Mr. Donald B. Molteno. In introducing Dr. Biesheuvel, who is the Director of the National Institute for Personnel Research of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Dr. Hellmann outlined the nature and purpose of the Hoernlé Memorial Lectures, of which that evening's was the fifteenth.

The Nature of the Hoernlé Lectures

These annual lectures commemorate the life and work of the late Professor R. F. Alfred Hoernlé, who was President of the S.A. Institute of Race Relations from 1934 to 1943 and who played a leading part in its development. The lecturers are invited from persons having special knowledge and experience of racial problems in Africa and elsewhere, and have included the late J. H. Hofmeyr, Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Dr. E. H. Brookes, Professor I. D. MacCrone, Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, Dr. H. J. van Eck, Professor S. H. Frankel, Dr. Emory Ross, Professor B. B. Keet and Dr. David Thomson.

Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, who has been ill in recent months, was spontaneously applauded by the audience when she was welcomed to the platform at this month's lecture.

While the Hoernlé Memorial lecturers are entirely free to express their own views, they have always shared the Institute's objective approach to and human understanding of race relations.

The Consequences of Cultural Clash

Dr. Biesheuvel proved no exception to this rule. In discussing the interaction of Race, Culture and Personality, he dealt with some of the most important questions facing both the Union and all those other parts of Africa in which the influence of Western technological society has made itself felt.

The key feature of the personalities which technological society has created is that work becomes much more than an economic imperative to the individual: it becomes a habit or inner need, deeply implanted in the personality structure of the average man. This implanted need is the driving force of Western technological society, and where the white man has established such a society in Africa, he has tried to make the African work in the same way as himself. In South Africa this process has gone further than anywhere else. Industries, cities and the undermining or destruction of traditional African culture have been the result. How does the African react to all this? Has it affected his basic character? Or his attitude to work? Is a new African Personality emerging, as the leaders of the Pan-Africanist movement assert? And if it is, what are its implications for the future of Africa?

These vital questions have been little discussed and less explored. In *Race, Culture and Personality,* Dr. Biesheuvel made a pioneer contribution to the finding of scientifically tenable answers. He stressed the importance of personality study for the relations between races, and began by analysing the nature of personality and its relationship to culture. Dr. Biesheuvel subscribes to the view that personality is mainly a cultural phenomenon, and sees undisturbed African tribal society as a static one in which, as in Europe in the middle ages, traditional roles were all-important.

In the subsistence economy of tribal Africans, there was no effort or work for its own sake. Now all the indications are that the more deeply Africans are drawn into that essentially Western culture, the world of work, the more thoroughly do they acquire the personalities functional for that culture.

This generalisation is, of course, subject to a number of qualifications. The migrant worker, like the civilian turned soldier in time of war, returns to his home and its ways fundamentally unchanged by his experiences. This will remain so for as long as tribal life retains its integrity, which it is, of course, already losing, and this,

Dr. Biesheuvel pointed out, poses a dilemma. If tribalism is to be fostered in the Reserves, then seasonal mine labour will be all that African rural communities will contribute to the productivity of the country. If, on the other hand, the rural African is turned into a worker, this will destroy the tribal system.

The possibility of retaining some features of tribal life despite the inculcation of Western work aspirations Dr. Biesheuvel considers to be "an idle dream." And once, he added, the African has embarked permanently on a life of work, "he will not stop until he has reached his own destination, which may be a good deal further than many now wish him to go."

Will that destination embrace the moral and social values of the Western world? Has today's urbanised African done so?

African Elizabethans?

Dr. Biesheuvel thinks that, except for the small number in the middle class, the majority of African township dwellers are in a cultural no man's land. Traditional social rôles are falling into disuse. At the same time, the family, church, school and other institutions through which Western society imposes inner moral standards are either lacking or attenuated. The "tradition-directed" personality has disappeared, the "inner-directed" personality, powered by instilled guilt feelings has failed to appear, and township society is not cohesive enough to live by social copying and conformity, by "other-directedness." Thus many township dwellers, substantially devoid of culture, are directed only by impulse and respect for force.

But Dr. Biesheuvel is not too pessimistic. He compares urban African life with the early Renaissance. Taking up Mr. Tom Hopkinson's comparison of township dwellers with the Elizabethans, he sees a temporarily thwarted but positive upsurge of vitality still looking for direction and form.

The personalities of the African middle classes Dr. Biesheuvel finds to be very similar to their counterpart in, say, America, but with more stress on self-improvement and social service. They grasp and largely accept Western morals and ethics, but are proceeding straight from "tradition-" to "other-direction," and at present take their cue from whites.

"Apartheid" No Solution

So much for present trends in the Union. Whilst stressing that "of all the conflicts between groups, that between races is probably the most stubborn," Dr. Biesheuvel does not see *apartheid* doing away with white South Africans' heavily reinforced unfavourable stereotypes and attitudes, which prevent a reduction of our race conflict to straightforward economic and political terms.

"Recognising the existence of a conflict of interest between the two races, *apartheid* sets out to reduce the sources of friction and frustration by providing opportunities for separate development. Because of prevailing race attitudes, visitors from the Bantu Areas and expatriates permanently resident in the Union would presumably still be treated socially in a manner unacceptable to citizens of semi-sovereign friendly states, and quite differently from foreigners from European countries. And this would also apply to nationals of wholly sovereign and not-so-friendly black states to the North of us. It is clear that antagonism from without and resentment from within would steadily increase, in which case *apartheid* would have failed to bring about an improvement in the relations between the races in South Africa."

"Negritude"—The African Personality

In examining the past, Dr. Biesheuvel advances the hypothesis that Africans may, by natural selection in a hot climate, have evolved a somewhat lower level of constitutional activity than Europeans. He does not feel this contradicts his other hypothesis of the birth of a new vitality in today's African city-dwellers, which he sees as a *joie de vivre* rather than the capacity for sustained industrial effort.

The *negritude* or African Personality, which is becoming the rallying point especially of West Africans, may, Dr. Biesheuvel suggested, be based on these two factors. A society based on such an African Personality would be different from today's dominant Western ones, though he believes it need not be happier. He suggested further that the answer might lie in a blending of African and Western cultural streams.

These are only some of the points dealt with by Dr. Biesheuvel who, as Professor MacCrone said in thanking him for his address, made a major contribution to that understanding without which no effective solution to the problems of black and white in Africa is possible.

The full text of *Race, Culture and Personality* is now available from Institute offices and from good booksellers as a 40 pp. pamphlet at 3s. 6d.

Freedom and Independence in Africa

"FREEDOM" AND "INDEPENDENCE" are the key words in today's Africa, and hardly any eyebrows are raised when they head the list of demands made by the indigenous leaders of yet another African territory. Except for the Portuguese, there is today no outside power which denies that self-determination is the ultimate right of all African territories or regional groups.

The point at issue is the pace at which advances should or must be granted, and it is here that many non-Africans have had to revise their ideas. The extent to which that pace has been speeded up in the past decade, and the certainty of its even greater acceleration in the near future, can be seen from even the barest chronology. In the one given below, "Independence" is applied to States, e.g. the Union of South Africa is an independent State. "Freedom" in the African context is usually taken to mean freedom from foreign or minority domination and freedom to take an effective part in Government. Not all persons living in "Independent" States are free in this sense.

The Chronology of Change

Prior to 1951 only The Union of South Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia were independent states.
In addition, Southern Rhodesia had a large measure of independence as a British Colony with "responsible government".

1951 : Libya became independent.

1956 : Morocco (including Tangier)
Tunisia
Sudan became independent

1957 : Ghana became independent.
Kenya held its first elections to the Legislative Council (Legco) under the Lyttleton Constitution

1958 : French Guinea became independent.
11 Autonomous Republics within the French Community were created from former French West Africa and French Equitorial Africa.
Kenya held elections under the Lennox Boyd constitution, resulting in a Legco of 46 Europeans, 26 Africans and 20 Asians.
Uganda held its first elections, resulting in 35 Africans sitting in a Legco of 60.
Tanganyika held the first half of its first elections, supporters of the Tanganyika Union secured all 15 seats.
Basutoland had a new constitution announced, providing a considerable measure of self-government.

1959 : Belgian Congo gained a new constitution and held its first elections.
Tanganyika's elections were completed, TANU supporters again securing all seats. Constitutional changes providing for increased unofficial membership of Legco were announced.
Northern Rhodesia held its first elections under new constitution. A Legco of 30 with 9 Africans, 1 Asian and 20 Europeans was chosen.
Bechuanaland
Nyasaland
Gambia are to have new constitutions negotiated.

1960 : French Camerons
Nigeria (with British Camerons = 5 national units)
Somalia
French Togoland
Sierra Leone
British Somaliland will gain independence.
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Conference
Kenya will hold a general election, and possibly get a new constitution.

1961 : Uganda to have a new constitution and to hold a general election.

The Position To-day

Today, the position of the 48 countries on the mainland of Africa is as follows:

Fully independent (10):

Union of South Africa	Ethiopia
Egypt	Libya
French Guinea	Morocco
Tunisia	Sudan
Liberia	Ghana

Dated for independence in 1960 (10):

French Cameroons
Nigeria, with British Camerons
(= 5 units)
Somalia
Sierra Leone
French Togoland
British Somaliland

Self-governing, subject to reservations (12):

Dahomey
Chad
Upper Volta
Gaboon
Mauretania
Congo
Ivory Coast
Soudan
Niger
Senegal
Central Africa
Southern Rhodesia

Moving towards independence (9):

Basutoland
Nyasaland
Tanganyika
Bechuanaland
Belgian Congo
Northern Rhodesia
Uganda
Kenya
Gambia

Independence not in sight (7):

Angola
Spanish Sahara
Algeria
Swaziland
Mozambique
Spanish Guinea
South West Africa

Policy and Function

Administrators of Non-European Affairs in Conference

A SPECIAL Correspondent writes: The 8th Annual Conference of the Institute of Administrators of Non-European Affairs of Southern Africa was held in Kroonstad from September 1 to the 4, 1959. This extremely well organised conference was attended by some 200 delegates, mostly chairmen and managers of Municipal Non-European Affairs Departments, but also including representatives of practically all the South African universities and of several other organizations.

The Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, in opening the Conference, reiterated that it was the Government's policy "that the Bantu should be regarded as a temporary resident of the urban areas . . . the number of the Bantu in the urban areas must be frozen at one stage or another and gradually diminished." Indicating "that the Territorial Authorities were now being asked to nominate Bantu persons as their representatives in urban areas," the Minister stressed that the task of the urban local authority and of the administrators of Non-European Affairs was "to carry out the policy laid down by the State."

Unwilling "Tight Rope Dancers"

During the succeeding discussions no direct reference was made to the Minister's remarks by members, who discussed the various aspects of the life of urban Africans as if they were in these areas permanently. It soon became obvious, however, that the thinking of South African administrators had been profoundly affected by the summing up of their conference and functions given last year by Dr. J. F. Holleman, the Director of the Institute for Social Research in the University of Natal.

It will be recalled (see *Race Relations News*, November 1958) that Dr. Holleman, in a talk entitled "The Tightrope Dancers," had characterized the keynote of last year's conference as "one of caution—the caution of the man who dares not speak his mind for fear of jeopardizing his position or that of his employer." He had stressed that the urban administrators stood in a position of pressure and counter-pressure, and that the success of influx control rested on the exercise of their discretionary powers. Several speakers at this year's conference appeared anxious to rebut any allegation that they were *willing* tight-rope dancers.

Independent "Empires"?

Papers were read on the need for higher wages for and increased productivity by urban African employees; on "The Task of the Location Superintendent," in which the need for better contact and communication between the urban administrator and urban African was stressed, and on "The Bantu Marriage," a consideration of the causes of the breakdown of African marriages in urban areas and a plea for a full investigation of this problem. Speaking on "A Non-European Affairs Department within the Framework of a Local Authority," Professor Hoek urged that Non-European Affairs Departments should avoid the duplication of the functions of other departments, e.g. engineering, transport, electricity, etc. This viewpoint was resisted by

several of the senior managers present. These managers maintained that they could provide more extensive services in African townships with the available funds by training Africans to do skilled work at wages which, whilst below those commanded by the White artisans whom the Local Authorities must employ, represent real advancement to the Africans involved.

Other papers read dealt with the influence of the Press on the Union's African, an analysis of the rate of literacy reached by the African, the literature which he read, and a plea for the provision of healthy literature by means of extended libraries, etc. in urban townships. In addition, a further paper was tabled on the problem of juvenile delinquency in urban townships and how this could be combated.

Outspoken Observers Tacitly Supported

Discussion was generally on a high level. A considerable impression was created by the outspoken contributions made to the discussion by three observers, Miss Violaine Junod of the University of Natal, Dr. H. J. Simons of the University of Cape Town, and Professor N. J. Olivier of the University of Stellenbosch. Miss Junod stressed that the migratory labour system was the root cause of the instability of African life and Dr. Simons attacked the assumption that Africans could be regarded as being only temporary residents in urban areas. Professor N. J. Olivier emphasised the progressive worsening of race relations in urban areas, ascribing this to lack of suitable communication and consultation between the racial groups involved. Members reacted sympathetically to these three contributions, indicating their tacit agreement with their analyses by warm applause.

The general discussion revealed a sympathetic approach by administrators to the problems of the urban African, and a growing realization that the work of the urban administrator was of tremendous importance, not only in improving the living conditions but also in creating better race relations. There was a general admission that race relations in urban areas left much to be desired and that active steps would have to be devised, within the limits of government policy, if these relations were to be improved.

A Parting of the Ways?

There were, however, indications that the limits imposed by the definite policy of the South African Government might lead to a parting of the ways between administrators of Non-European Affairs in South Africa and those in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The Continuing Racial Crisis in S.A. Sport

NO White national sporting body accepted the invitation to discuss problems of sport in South Africa with its non-White and non-racial sporting bodies at the conference held in Port Elizabeth on October 3. The White bodies are, except for table tennis, the ones which enjoy international recognition, and it will be recalled that the President of the South African Olympic and Empire Games Association recently assured the Olympic Council in Munich that non-Whites would be able to qualify on merit for inclusion in next year's Games.

Renewed Recognition Challenge

The Port Elizabeth conference this month was called by the non-racial S.A. Sports Association to discuss how this assurance was to be implemented. In the event, only members and officials of eight non-racial sporting bodies attended, together with observers. The conference declared that the failure of the exclusively White bodies to attend proved that their protestations of fair play and readiness to co-operate were false, and that the non-racial bodies were left with no alternative but to press for international representation in place of the all-White bodies.

The Pressing Needs

The conference also declared that the standard of sport would improve if more competition were provided from the earliest grades amongst all South Africans and called for:

Attention to be directed at the local and municipal regulations which prevented inter-racial sport, which is not prohibited in law.

The provision of major sports venues, available for the use of all, in major centres.

Competent coaching for all South African sportsmen.

LWD - If this doesn't come to us as a gift, shouldn't we order it?

MA

MF (file)

Significant Opinions from September's Non-White Press

"Threat to a Freedom"

"It is now illegal to publish photographs or sketches of prisons or prisoners without the written consent of the Commissioner of Prisons," wrote *Golden City Post* on September 6. "And newspapers may not publish the experiences of a prisoner or information on the management of a prison unless they are true . . . obviously, under the Act, the truth or otherwise will be determined not by the Editor of the newspaper but by the Government Department concerned. We see in the new Prisons Act a threat to the Freedom of the Press. It is not only bad policy but bad tactics."

"Verwoerd's Concentration Camps for Blacks"

"According to Press reports," wrote *New Age* on September 10, "the Government has instructed Municipal Non-European Affairs Department managers that no White person should be allowed to enter African areas, including locations, except on 'legitimate business'; further, that even people who have been given permission to enter on 'legitimate business' grounds should have their applications refused at the least suspicion that propaganda of a racial or subversive nature may be spread.

"This order is a drastic interference with the freedom of the African people. In the first place they are compelled by law to live in locations. Now, already more or less behind barbed wire, they are being told who may and who may not visit them, and what they may discuss with their 'licensed' visitors."

"Morals and the Volk"

"Failing (a thorough investigation into the root causes) immediately, there is a simple way open to (loyal) Afrikaner (Nationalists) to avoid the unwelcome publicity of immorality convictions. It is to stop hunting down non-White women," said *The World* on September 19.

Golden City Post: Weekly, White finance and control, White Editor with multi-racial staff, very large national circulation.

New Age: Weekly, White Directors, White Editors with multi-racial staff; medium national circulation; reflects Congress movement views and policy.

The World: Twice Weekly. White finance and control (Bantu Press (Pty.) Ltd); White Managing Editors with African Editors; Large circulation and national distribution.

Between Ourselves . . .

Higher Education in West Africa

Prof. J. Grayson of the University College of Ibadan will address members of the Institute's Southern Transvaal Region on "Higher Education in West Africa" on November 11 at Auden House.

Acting Chairman of Port Elizabeth Committee

MRS. P. BENNUM has been elected acting chairman of the Cape Eastern Region's Ladies' Fund Raising Committee during the absence overseas of Mrs. E. M. Lang.

Institute's Kokstad Branch

THE Kokstad branch of the Institute organised a highly successful school choir singing afternoon on September 22. Four hundred and fifty children, grouped in 11 schools from local schools representing the African, Coloured and European communities took part. The performance was conducted on a non-competitive basis and the choirs varied in size and age. Some of the singing was outstanding, and items were rendered in Afrikaans, English and Xhosa. There have been requests from several quarters that this should become an annual event, staged on a larger scale and possibly out of doors.

Johannesburg Street Collection Result

THE annual Johannesburg street collection in aid of the Institute, which was held on September 29, raised £529 10s. 7d. This low total is directly attributable to a shortage of collectors.

New Survey of Race Relations

THE 1958-59 issue of the Institute's annual *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa* will be published in January at 10s. Members ordering before the end of this year will be given a special pre-publication reduction of 25 per cent., thus obtaining this invaluable work for 7s. 6d. (plus 4d. postage). Orders, which will be met immediately upon publication, should be addressed to the Publications Officer, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg, and country cheques should include exchange.

1958 Incomes of Johannesburg's African Families

A MUNICIPAL survey has shown that in June 1958, 80 per cent. of African families in Johannesburg's townships, where the sliding rental scale is in operation, had incomes of below £20 per month. Eight per cent. had between £20 and £25 a month, and only 12 per cent. had incomes of more than £25 a month. These figures exclude the earnings of wives, but include, to a certain extent, those of children.

According to the current determination operative for unskilled labourers in Johannesburg, local authorities must pay £11 4s. 3d. a month, rising to £12 12s. 5d. after two years. Johannesburg's municipality was voluntarily paying £11 8s. 7d. before this determination was made.

The Institute found in 1954 that an average African family of two adults and three children needed £23 10s. 4d. a month for bare subsistence.

N.C.W.'s African Affairs Adviser

MRS. JESSIE HERTSLET, who has, with one short break, been African Affairs Adviser to the National Council of Women since 1944, was recently succeeded in this position by Miss Hansi Pollak. Mrs. Hertslet, who will be celebrating her eightieth birthday next year, has long been a member of the Institute.

U.N.'s Hammarskjold to visit Africa.

MR. DAG HAMMARSKJOLD, Secretary-General of the United Nations, is to visit North, Central and East Africa from December 23, 1959, to January 25, 1960. At the conclusion of this tour he will have visited a total of 20 African territories.

John Reeves Memorial Scholarship

WHEN John Reeves, son of the Bishop of Johannesburg, died tragically earlier this year, the Church of the Province and all those others working for racial harmony in South Africa lost a most gifted and promising recruit. The work which he had hoped to do in the service of the Church in Africa is now to be fulfilled through a memorial to John in the form of a scholarship to Sidney Sussex College in the University of Cambridge, which will be open to gifted South Africans of any race. Those wishing to join this memorial should send their contribution to the John Reeves Memorial Trustees, c/o The Diocesan Office, P.O. Box 1131, Johannesburg.

Race Relations Reading

Old Africa Re-discovered by BASIL DAVIDSON (Gollancz), 25s.

The first comprehensive account of Africa's civilizations in the fifteen hundred years before European conquest, based partly on recent archaeological discoveries.

New Fabian Colonial Essays edited by ARTHUR CREECH JONES (Hogarth Press), 25s.

Eleven essays on various aspects of British policy by adherents of the Labour party, including Rita Hinden, Arthur Gaitskell and Kenneth Younger, M.P.

Dissent edited by REV. W. FOY, TERENCE RANGER and JOHN REED (P.O. Box 285, Salisbury), free on request.

An excellent monthly commentary of events in the Central African Federation; informative and critical of official policies. Now banned in Nyasaland. Mr. Foy was recently sacked by the Salisbury Methodist Circuit.

Transition in Africa edited by GWENDOLEN M. CARTER and WILLIAM O. BROWN (Boston University Press).

Four essays on political change in Ghana, Nigeria, Central Africa and Kenya by young American political scientists. The first issue of a new occasional series.

Africa's Lost Past (*The Unesco Courier*, October 1959—Place de Fontenoy, Paris 7e), 1s.

Subtitled "The startling rediscovery of a continent," this special, well-illustrated issue of the *Courier* contains articles by Basil Davidson, Henri Bart, R. R. Inskeep, Thomas Hodgkin and others.

Unrest in South Africa by P. S. JOSHI (Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay 1).

A 300 page report on the social and political impact of white rule on non-white groups in South Africa, with the emphasis on the present century. The late Christopher Gell, in a foreword, said of Mr. Joshi, "His facts have never let me down".

White and Coloured by MICHAEL BANTON (Cape), 21s.

A sociological but readable study of British behaviour towards Coloured immigrants. The author belongs to the pioneer school in Edinburgh University that studies race relations in Britain.

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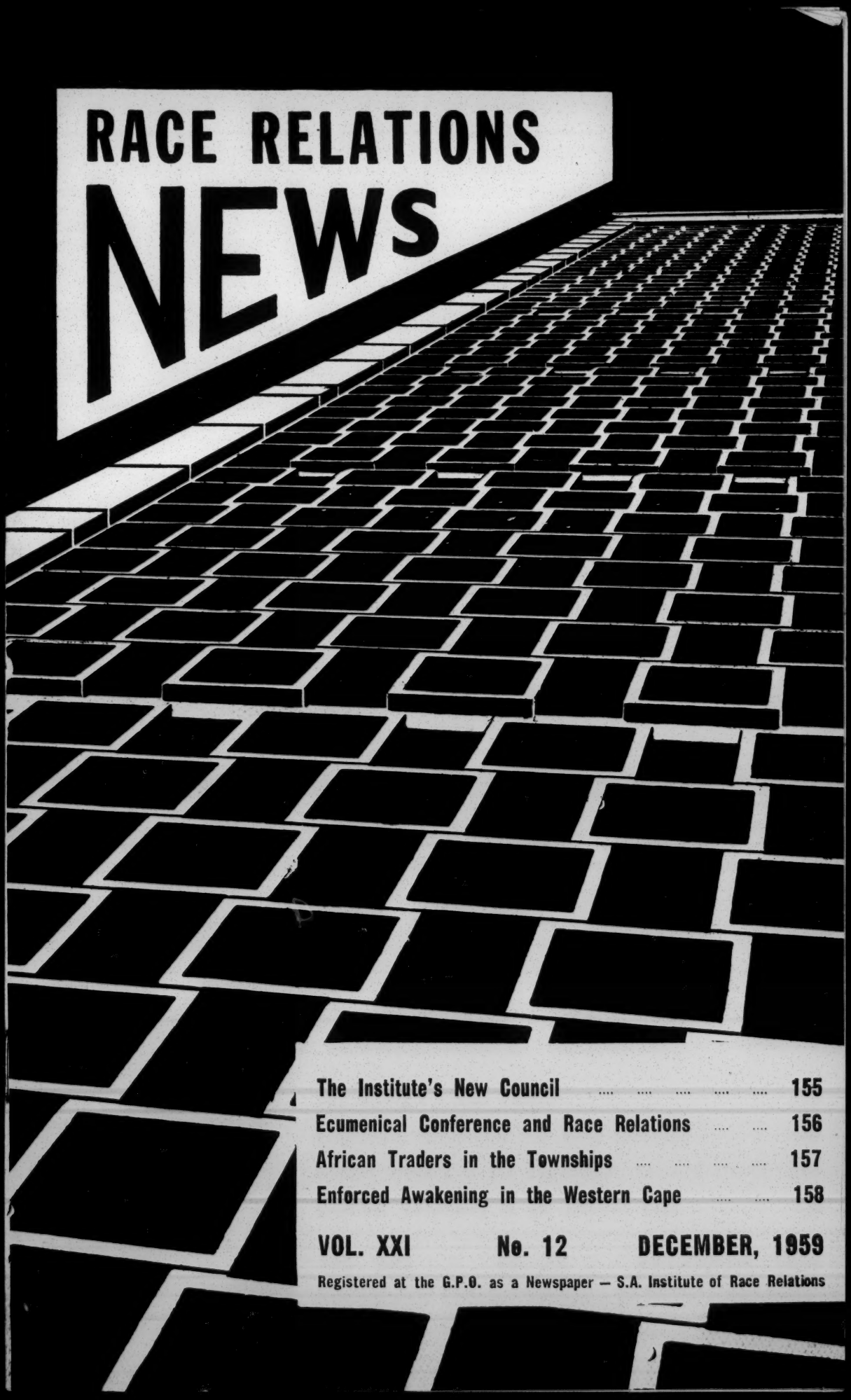
RACE RELATIONS NEWS



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The Institute's New Council

Distinguished and Representative Membership

THE four-yearly election of the representatives of ordinary members on the Institute's Council has been completed in all but two regions. The Council is the Institute's highest body, responsible for its policies and government, and meets once every year.

The Council in turn elects the Institute's President, Vice-Presidents and other office bearers at its annual meeting, and an Executive Committee every alternate year. Institute members not serving on the Council may, if nominated by a Council member, be elected to the Executive Committee, which meets twice a year to act for the Council.

On the Council sit representatives of: ordinary members (1 for every 25 members=97 seats); donor and life members (5 seats), and affiliated bodies (65 bodies=130 seats). In addition, all of the Institute's 10 honorary life members and its 8 office bearers sit on the Council, which may also co-opt 6 further members.

No voting took place in the recent elections in the Cape Western, and Northern and Southern Rhodesian regions, as the number of nominees equalled the number of seats. The following will now represent the ordinary members of their regions on the Council for the next four years:

Southern Transvaal:

Mr. R. B. Ballinger, Mrs. V. M. L. Ballinger, Mr. Martin Bayer, Mrs. M. I. Britten, Mr. M. Broomberg, Mr. J. P. Cope, M.P., Mrs. N. Fainsinger, Mrs. M. E. Fisher, Mrs. B. Friedman, Dr. B. Friedman, Mrs. D. Haggie, Miss Ruth Hayman, Mr. Alex. Hepple, Mrs. C. Rheinallt Jones, Mrs. F. Kentridge, Mr. S. J. J. Lesolang, Mrs. P. Lewsen, Mr. Leo Lovell, Miss M. McLarty, M.P.C., The Rev. E. E. Mahabane, Dr. H. H. Malherbe, Miss M. M. Malherbe, The Rev. O. S. Mooki, Mr. P. R. Mosaka, Mr. W. Pollak, Q.C., Mr. J. R. Rathebe, The Rt. Rev. A. Reeves, Mr. C. A. September, Lieut. Col. H. Skjoldhammer, Dr. Kurt Steinberg, Mrs. H. Suzman, M.P., Mr. J. Unterhalter, Prof. J. H. Wellington, The Rev. John White and Dr. Boris Wilson, M.P.

Northern Transvaal:

Miss C. M. Elder, Miss B. L. Ernst, Mrs. Barbara Findlay, The Rev. Dr. H. P. Junod, Dr. W. F. Nkomo, The Rev. M. Nye and The Ven. Archdeacon S. P. Woodfield.

Cape Western:

Chief Rabbi Prof. I. Abrahams, Mr. E. S. Alder, Prof. E. Batson, Prof. B. Beinart, The Rt. Rev. R. W. F. Cowdry, The Rt. Rev. John Boys, Mrs. J. M. Grieve, Mrs. V. A. Hoole, Mr. A. H. Honikman, Mr. G. Cleaton Jones, The Rt. Rev. S. W. Lavis, Dr. F. R. Luke, The Rt. Rev. W. Parker, Mrs. C. G. Pollock, Prof. H. M. Robertson, Senator L. Rubin, Dr. R. E. van der Ross, Mr. G. Sergeant, Miss Maggie Rodger, Miss Y. de Villiers and Dr. O. Wollheim.

Cape Eastern:

Mr. Alf Every, Mr. Paul Finnemore, Dr. A. Kerr, The Rev. G. B. Molefe, Dr. D. G. S. M'Timkulu, Mr. S. B. Ngcobo, Prof. C. L. S. Nyembezi, Mr. E. B. Pagden, Mr. A. T. C. Slee, Mr. G. W. Sneesby, Mr. J. G. Sutherland and Mr. L. H. Walton.

Orange Free State:

Mrs. Helen O'Connor and Miss L. Marquard.

Natal:

Mr. A. I. Bhoola, Mr. C. H. Caiger, Dr. S. Cooppan, The Rev. W. R. P. Evans, The Hon. Richard Feetham, Mr. E. P. Fowle, M.P.C., Mr. A. Hopewell, M.P., Prof. O. P. F. Horwood, Miss V. Junod, Miss S. C. Kachelhoffer, Mr. J. W. Macquarrie, Mr. D. McK. Malcolm, Dr. E. G. Malherbe, Mr. M. B. Mbatha, Dr. W. G. McConkey, Rabbi Meyer Miller, Mrs. P. Morel, Miss H. Pollak, The Rev. P. W. R. Russell, Mr. O. T. Williams, M.P., The Rev. Canon A. H. Zulu and Mr. L. E. Zwane.

Northern and Southern Rhodesia:

Dr. Hugh Ashton, The Rev. J. L. Baumgartner, Mr. T. P. Bevan, Mr. R. T. Currey and Dr. H. Jac. Rousseau.

As previously reported, Donor and Donor Life members have elected Mrs. M. L. Grant, Mrs. M. G. Roberts, Prof. W. Rollo, Mr. P. Santilhano and Dr. S. van der Horst to represent them.

The nine Honorary Life Members of the Institute are Prof. E. H. Brookes, Maj. Lewis Byron, Dr. E. Hellmann, Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, Mr. P. R. B. Lewis, Mr. L. Marquard, Dr. J. Reyneke, Mrs. N. B. Spilhaus and Mr. Maurice Webb.

Eleven persons to represent ordinary members overseas and 3 to represent those in

Other African Territories have still to be elected, and the nomination by affiliated bodies of their representatives completed. The full Council will then elect a new Executive Committee.

Overseas Representatives

The following 11 persons have been elected to represent the Ordinary members of the Overseas Region:

The Rev. T. A. Beetham, Mr. E. Russell Brayshaw, Prof. W. O. Brown, Dr. Gwendolen Carter, Dr. Max Gluckman, Prof. A. M. Keppel-Jones, Prof. A. V. Murray, Dr. R. E. Phillips, Mr. N. E. Pollock, Dr. Emory Ross and Prof. A. R. Vilakazi.

Ecumenical Conference and Race Relations

Potential Significance of this Month's Johannesburg Meetings

THE Eucemenical Conference which met in Johannesburg from the 7th to the 10th of this month to consider Christian responsibility in South Africa was important for two reasons: the fact that it was held, and the theme which it agreed to consider.

After the Dutch Reformed Churches withdrew from the Christian Council of South Africa in 1936, contact and co-operation between the various Protestant churches in South Africa became for some time problematical. It was only with the 1953 Pretoria conference of Church leaders on "Christian Principles in Multi-Racial South Africa' that inter-Church discussion was really resumed, after which it was continued by the Inter-Racial Conference of Church Leaders held in Johannesburg in 1954.

It was this 1954 conference which appointed the Continuation Committee of South African Churches, which has, ever since, been the only link between the various Protestant denominations.

The Continuation Committee called this month's conference as part of a world-wide study of Christian responsibility in areas of rapid social change being sponsored by the World Council of Churches, and created a precedent by deciding to admit laymen together with the clergy. This, together with the completely multi-racial nature of both the official and the informal social arrangements, increased the ecumenical nature of the conference, whose 200 delegates and visitors included nine from overseas.

After Dr. W. Nicol had opened the conference with an address on "Our Changing World", the following papers were read:

Man in Rapid Social Change by the Rev. D. Kitagawa of the Staff of the World Council of Churches, Geneva, and the Rev. Dr. Eugene C. Blake, Stated Clerk, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

The Effects of Industrialisation and Economic Development on Rapidly Changing Areas by Professor Monica Wilson, Department of African Studies, University of Cape Town; and Dr. S. Biesheuvel, Director, National Institute of Personnel Research, S.A. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research.

The Community in Areas of Rapid Social Change by the Rt. Rev. H. H. Munro, Moderator, General Assembly, Presbyterian Church of South Africa.

The Task of the Christian Church by Professor H. D. A. du Toit, Department of Theology, University of Pretoria; and the Rev. G. Setiloane, Youth Department, Methodist Church of South Africa.

Responsible Citizenship by Dr. R. E. van der Ross, Principal, Battswood Teacher Training College, Wynberg, Cape; and Mr. A. M. Broeksma, Q.C.

A number of these papers were outspoken, laying great emphasis on the practical aspects of the society which has been created in the name of Christianity in South Africa. A great deal was heard of land distribution, poverty, migratory labour, disease, and legal social and political disabilities, and these aspects are reflected in the conference resolutions. At the same time, full stress was laid on the historical and other reasons for South Africa's present-day organisation, and on the responsibility of churches with the spiritual content of social life.

If there was perhaps not as much discussion of differing viewpoints as some delegates might have wished, these viewpoints were at least frankly stated. And, within the framework of further meetings and contact which the conference authorised, this fuller discussion will certainly be possible. If it takes place, it could prove of great importance in the field of race relations.

The Conference Resolutions

Drawing attention to the need for the churches in areas of rapid social change to link their social service with a programme of vital evangelistic effort, the conference, *inter alia*:

- Stressed the responsibility of the Church to be a living community in which all believers share both the privileges and the duties of their common fellowship, liberated from the restraints of unworthy social systems, dehumanising industrial regimentation and persistent personal sins:
- Urged an earnest reconsideration of the policy of migratory labour with a view to the re-establishment of normal family life, adequately housed, and provided for by wage earners enjoying sound human relationship at their work.
- Appointed the existing Continuation Committee to prepare, in consultation with the Christian Council of South Africa and the Federal Council of the Dutch Reformed Churches, for the creation of a council to which all the various churches in South Africa shall belong.
- Called upon the Church and its individual members to accept and practise respect for human personality, regardless of racial and cultural differences;
- Supported the efforts being made to raise the wages of unskilled non-White workers;
- Urged all churches in areas of rapid social change to consider:

  (i) the development of youth work for Africans;

  (ii) the establishment of homecraft schools and the organising of courses in housewifery and child care to prepare African girls for the Christian home;

  (iii) the appointment of Christian social workers;

  (iv) the erection of community and social centres;

  (v) the provision of an adequate training for African and European ministers and social workers who have to serve in these areas;

  (vi) the provision of suitable literature on moral purity and the Christian home.

  An additional resolution, referred to the Continuation Committee for reconsideration:
- Urged that channels of consultation between White and non-White leaders be opened up, either by the government creating a type of non-White Council of State with advisory powers, or unofficially by the churches thmeselves.

African Traders in the Townships

Minister Confirms Policy — Institute Conducts Study

Mr. de Wet Nel, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, has confirmed to the S.A. Institute of Race Relations his policy regarding African traders in urban townships.

On October 26 a report of a speech by Mr. de Wet Nel appeared in the "Rand Daily Mail", of which the following are the relevant extracts:

"Concerning Bantu businesses in the large locations near the White towns, I made these three points:

"White traders will not be allowed in locations. The Bantu there will have to be served by their own Bantu traders.

"I cannot countenance any suggestion that Bantu traders should be shut out of locations by White traders on the borders of the locations and who would then provide the necessities for the Bantu in the locations. This, to me, is unethical.

"I added that it was against established policy to build up large and established Bantu businesses in locations. These should be built up in the Bantu's own areas.

"When a Bantu traders in a location has sufficient capital to establish a large business, he must move his business to his Bantu area, where the necessary facilities exist, among them the establishment of Bantu towns. Another Bantu trader must then replace him.

"In this way these Bantu traders will make a contribution to a diverse economy in their own areas. White trade in White areas will be most effectively protected and Bantu trade in Bantu areas will be best encouraged and developed.

"This is the only just and fair principle for the traders of both sections of the populations."

In reply to an inquiry by the then Acting Director of the Institute, Mr. F. J. van Wyk,

the Minister wrote on November 3: "The report in the 'Rand Daily Mail' (of October 26) is corect. The matter is further clarified by answers to some questions which 'The Star' put to me."

The Institute, which is currently conducting a detailed survey of the difficulties encountered by African traders in the south-western townships of Johannesburg, has submitted a memorandum to the Minister on the implications of his new policy, and is at present awaiting his reply.

Enforced Awakening in the Western Cape

The Background to the Paarl Riots

A Special Correspondent writes: The rioting which took place in Paarl last month was the sort of event which future historians will find useful as a key or dividing line, and this for good reasons.

Firstly, this was the first time in its long history that Paarl has witnessed racial or political riots.

Secondly, this is the first time, certainly since the twenties, that Coloured people have led and massively participated in such rioting.

And thirdly, even when allowance has been made for the inevitable participation of criminal elements, this was the first time in our recent history that Coloured people have demonstrated publicly and violently in support of an African.

The fact that Mrs. Mafekeng, the African concerned, was the leader of the Food and Canning Workers' Union is, of course, important. Most of Paarl's Coloured and African workers are employed in the canning industry, which is at present facing stiff competition, especially in the British market on which it has come to depend. Under Mrs. Mafekeng's chairmanship, the Food and Canning Workers' Union has, at the same time, been increasing the pace of its hard fight for higher wages and better conditions.

In explaining his arbitrary banishment of Mrs. Mafekeng to a farm in the semi-arid Eastern Cape, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development would say only that he had acted on local information.

It may, of course, be a mistake to read too much into one riot. On November 11 the Cape Times wrote editorially that "Clashes between the unfortunate police, who have to meet the consequences of Government policy, and the non-White masses, who are infuriated by it, are becoming monotonously regular. There have been 105 major clashes of this order since 1948, and the rate seems to be increasing, for 33 of them have occurred in the past two years. We are going deeper and deeper into a blood-tinged bog of racial troubles—and the Government shows only a crass determination to go in deeper still". But there is a background of growing Coloured frustration in the Cape which should not be ignored. (See *R.R. News*, August and September, 1959).

Observers have in recent months noted a marked lack of co-operation with White groups working in the inter-racial and socio-economic fields. This is, of course, not surprising.

If those in authority had set out to deliberately disabuse the Coloured people of their long-cherished conviction that they were cultural and social "appendages of the Whites", it could hardly have been more effectively done than by the cumulative effect of race classification, the removal of Coloured voters from the common roll, job reservation, exclusion from the open universities, and, now, Group Areas.

Politically, Coloured feeling has expressed itself in a practically total boycott of the creation of a Government Coloured Council. As no other nominations were received, a small number of candidates, practically unknown in the community and representing only themselves, was declared elected without a poll. Mr. P. W. Botha, the Deputy-Minister of the Interior, has stated that "homelands" for the Coloured people would be found, and the Government division of Coloured Affairs was raised in status to be the Coloured Affairs Department.

But in Namaqualand and adjacent Coloured Reserves, often mentioned as a potential Coloured "homeland", the Calvin Protestant and Anglican churches earlier this year found it practically impossible to obtain the permits required for any but the officially recognised Dutch Reformed Church to conduct religious services. Following representations and publicity, permits are now being issued to both the other churces, but the resultant services are often attended by members of the Special (political) Branch of the S.A. Police.

The first Coloured University College is to open in a converted primary school building at Athlone in January, 1960. The media of instruction are to be English and Afrikaans.

The report of the Commission on Separate Amenities, suggesting beach and other peninsular zoning on racial lines, has been widely criticised.

As for the Africans, it can hardly be supposed that they have remained quite unmoved by the progressive implementation of the Eiselen Plan, under which all African families are to be removed from the Western Cape, by the issuing of reference books to African women in the Peninsula, or by the concomitant tightening of the restrictive provisions of the Urban Areas and other relevant Acts.

A large number of reference books have been issued to women, but not without demonstrations, organised by the A.N.C. Women's League, of which Mrs. Mafekeng is a vice-president, and other African groups. Among those arrested and convicted as a result of the Paarl riots were 22 African women.

The removal of Rhodesian, Nyasa, Portuguese and South-West African Africans, many married to Coloured women, and with large families, or to Union Africans, proceeds with increasing rapidity. The hardship experienced by these people has to be seen to be believed, but neither the Federation nor the Union authorities will take any responsibility either for their travel during expulsion or their welfare afterwards.

During the last few months reconciliation within the A.N.C. in the Cape between groups of divergent opinions seems to have come about. The Cape Town Branch has now returned to the A.N.C. en bloc, under the leadership of Mr. Thomas Ngwenya, who has emerged from the "wilderness", considerably strengthened. In other parts of the Cape Province, there have, however, been definite defections to the Africanists.

An encouraging development *has* taken place in the Franschhoek area of the Western Cape, where inter-racial co-operation is being sponsored by a White D.R.C. parson, the Farmers' Association, and a group of five Coloured men led by the local school principal. The improvement of practical facilities is being undertaken, and interest in the venture has been shown in neighbouring farming areas.

Significant Opinions from November's Non-White Press

"Total War on Quislings"

"The twelve Quislings who, on Wednesday, November 3, 1959, presented themselves at the different electoral offices (for the Coloured Affairs Council) . . . must be driven out of every activity in the political, social, cultural, educational and economic life of the non-White people" wrote *The Torch* on November 10.

"Judge Not . . ."

"It will not be long before many hundreds of (unrecognised African churches) are thrown out of the buildings they rent in the townships and locations (by the Department of Bantu Administration)" said *The World* on November 14. "One reason for rejection has been that some church leaders fall short of the official standard of education and religious training. The low membership of some seots is another . . . Christ was uneducated by academic standards. As for the number of His followers, it was twelve."

"The Government Has Learnt Nothing From Paarl"

"If that is Mrs. Mafekeng's crime — that she was so happy in the socialist countries that she forgot she was Black — then socialists can thank Mr. Prinsloo for a free world-wide advertisement of the advantages of socialism" said *New Age* on November 19. "(But) what the Government really wanted — her trade union and political work for her people have been brought to a stop."

The Torch: Weekly, Coloured Editors, very small circulation mainly in Cape; organ of the Non-European Unity Movement.

The World: Twice weekly. White finance and control (Bantu Press (Pty.) Ltd.); White Managing Editors with African Editors; large circulation and national distribution.

New Age: Weekly, White Directors, White Editors with multi-racial staff; medium national circultaion; reflects Congress movement views and policy.

African Teachers Confined to Union?

ACCORDING to press reports, the Government of Ghana has been given to understand by the Union of South Africa that, "owing to the Union's accelerated programme of development in the Bantu areas of South Africa, there has been an increased demand for technical African personnel; and it will, therefore, not be possible, for the present at least, to release any more such persons from their inadequate reservoir."

Between Ourselves . . .

Season's Greetings

THE President, Director and Editor extend their best wishes for Christmas and the New Year to members of the Institute and other readers of "Race Relations News".

Durban Council Meetings

THE Archbishop of Durban, the Most Reverend Denis E. Hurley, O.M.I., will open the Institute's 30th Council Meetings in the City Buildings of the University of Natal, Warwick Avenue, Durban, at 8.15 p.m. on January 11, 1960. The programme for the meetings will be as announced in last month's "Race Relations News". Institute members who are not on its Council will be warmly welcome at all but the business sessions.

A social programme has been planned for Council members, commencing with private invitations to dinner in Indian homes on the evening of Tuesday, January 12.

On Wednesday evening, January 13, the Indian play Mukta-Dhara, by Rabindranath Tagore, will be presented at a public function. The production will be by Mrs. P. Morel, and delegates to Council will not be charged for admission.

Two alternative tours have, in addition, been planned for delegates on the afternoon of Thursday, January 14:

(a) Some of the areas affected by the Group Areas Act (this will include a brief look at Indian educational institutions, etc). It will be conducted by Mr. Pather.

(b) Lamontville Township (this will include a brief look at the slum area of Cato Manor, the Medical School of the University, the model factory area at Mobeni, etc.). The tour will be conducted by the Municipal Bantu Administration Department.

Council members have been sent details of these events, and are urged to let the Durban office know which they will be attending.

Careers for African Women

THE Institute is currently conducting a survey of career opportunities for African women, with a view to increasing the limited opportunities presently available for the increasing numbers of educated African girls. In undertaking this project, which has been welcomed by African bodies and newspapers, the Institute is following a long-standing interest, for it was instrumental in opening nursing careers to African girls.

"Glimpses of India"

SCULPTURE, painting, photographs and other aspects of Indian art and culture will be on show to the Johannesburg public from the 30th of this month until January 8, 1960. An exhibition is being staged during this time by the Hindi Vidyamandir (Vernacular School) to mark its tenth anniversary. The venue will be the Gandhi Hall, 50 Fox Street, and the exhibition hours will be from 10.15 a.m. to 10.30 p.m. daily.

Bantu College Resignations

MR. McCONKEY, a former Director of Education for Natal, has resigned from the Government-appointed Council of the proposed Bantu University College of Ngoya for Zulu students. Dr. McConkey gave as the main reason for his resignation the recent arbitrary dismissal of seven White members of the Fort Hare staff, and the statement made at a Nationalist Party meeting at Glencoe on October 2 by Mr. Maree, the Minister of Bantu Education:

"I dispensed with their services because I will not permit a penny of any funds of which I have control to be paid to any persons in these institutions [the new non-White colleges] who are known to be destroying the Government's policy of **apartheid**, which is what was going on in this instance."

Seven of the eleven African staff members of Fort Hare have now resigned, including Prof. Z. K. Matthews. Students have been demonstrating against the Government's taking over the college.

Koran in Zulu and Afrikaans

A TRANSLATION of the Koran into Zulu has been comleted, and another into Afrikaans is in hand. Molvi Razzaq, the Iman of the Pretoria Mosque, who is also director of the translation bureau of the same city's Universal Truth Monument, has announced that both translations will be published next year.

Race Relations Reading

A Selective Survey of New and Recent Literature

Revised Edition of "The Assault on Our Liberties"

A NEW and revised edition of Mr. Donald B. Molteno's concise examination of the position of civil liberty in South Africa is being published this month. When this 26-page Institute pamphlet first appeared last year, public interest was such that the complete edition was rapidly sold out. Mr. Donald B. Molteno, Q.C., has now revised his invaluable work to include relevant developments during the past year. Available from all Institute offices and from good booksellers. Price 2s. 6d. (plus 2d. postage).

THESE books may be consulted at the Institute's Library in Auden House—ask your public library to obtain them:

The Road to Self-Rule by W. M. MACMILLAN (Faber).

An historical survey drawing on the author's long and close observation. Professor Macmillan warns critics of colonialism that Africans have their own weaknesses to contend with.

The End of Empire by JOHN STRACHEY (Gollancz).

A British socialist argues that Britain would be better off without colonies. A lucid analysis.

W. E. B. du Bois by F. L. BRODERICK (Oxford University Press).

A sympathetic but not uncritical biography of the famous American Negro leader, now nearly 92 years old.

Land in Southern Rhodesia by KEN BROWN (London: Africa Bureau, 32 pp.).

An excellent pamhlet by a former agricultural officer who takes a gloomy view of the present system of land apportionment between the races. Useful facts and figures.

Main Principles and Policies (The Progressive Party of South Africa, P.O. Box 8825, Johannesburg), 6d.

The principles and policies adopted at the Progressive Party's inaugural congress, held in Johannesburg on November 13 and 14, 1959.

Job Reservation and the Trade Unions by RAY ALEXANDER and H. J. SIMONS (Cape Town: Enterprise Pub. Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 40, Woodstock, Cape), 40 pp.

Two specialists report on their valuable study of the reaction of White unions to recent trends in labour legislation.

Dawn in Nyasaland by GUY CLUTTON BROCK (Hodder and Stoughton).

An important account (in a cheap edition) of the background to the emergency in the Federation.

Human Problems in British Central Africa (Manchester University Press), 5s.

A reprint of the 24th issue of The Rhodes-Livingstone Journal, laying heavy stress on tribal matters.

Special Study on Social Conditions in Non-Self-Governing Territories (United Nations), 18s.

The latest in the series summarising information on and special studies of non-self-governing territories, this 239-page report is particularly interesting for its section on the development and problems of the urban family in Africa south of the Sahara, in which South-West Africa is conspicuous by its absence.

Tsopano (P.O. Box 2719, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia), 6d.

A new monthly on Nyasaland affairs edited in Blantyre and printed in Salisbury.

Final Advance Offer for New "Survey"

DECEMBER 31 is the last date on which Institute members will be granted the special 25 per cent. pre-publication reduction on the 1958-59 edition of our annual **Survey of Race Relations.** When published in January, 1960, the **Survey** will cost 10s. per copy. Members ordering before the end of this month need pay only 7s. 6d. (plus 4d. postage). Orders, which will be met immediately upon publication, should be addressed to the Publications Officer, P.O. Box 97, Johannesburg. Country cheques should include exchange.

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From QUINTIN WHYTE

February 1960

CONFIDENTIAL

REPORT TO THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN INSTITUTE

1. THANKS

To say that I am grateful to the African-American Institute for having made it possible for me to revisit the United States with my wife would not be an adequate expression of my thanks. It meant to us a very complete release from the overwhelming pressure of the situation in South Africa, where one talks, eats, and sleeps race relations, for there is no escape: it meant an excursion into a wider and freer world abroad, to wider perspectives; it was an opportunity to meet with minds of larger vision and happier imagination. Perhaps what we treasure most of all was the meeting again with old friends in the U.S.A. and the maintenance and expansion of the mutual understanding which, for me personally, over the years has been one of the mainstays of the work which we are attempting to do in South Africa. For all this, for all the new friends we met, and for the friendliness and kindness and understanding which we jointly experienced, for the opportunity to relax sufficiently and to absorb a little of what is America and Americans, for the spontaneous generosity of the offer, we can only say, in real and deep sincerity - "Thank you".

2. THE OBJECTS OF THE TRIP

1958 was a year of the deepest depression, of self appraisal as Director of the Institute, of examination and analysis of its work, of frustration of creative ideas which it seemed could not be put into operation. It was in the earlier part of 1959, with the success of the Institute's fund-raising campaign, that the break through occurred, and I felt positive and creative again. It was not only that the Institute would remain solvent; it was also the new interest in the Institute and a sense of greater responsibility for creating happier race relations which was discovered amongst people on the periphery or beyond the bounds of the Institute. This new awareness, however motivated, was a new factor and how best to exploit it for the general good became the new problem.

It was at this time that the invitation to the United States was extended.

What would we do? Fly straight to New York, go via Africa and Europe?

We wanted to meet new people, get new ideas, new attitudes,

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bring back to South Africa new perspectives. We were not so concerned with seeing so much as with hearing. On our travels some of our hosts may have been disappointed in this, but we decided that this would be the defining approach to our trip.

We both felt that too few South Africans knew anything about other parts of Africa. Feelings in the Federation were running high, but neither of us felt we had the energy to walk into another conflict situation. So we decided on Tanganyika where prospects for reasonable racial and religious accommodation seemed hopeful. Logically, Kenya would be the next stop, with an excursion from Nairobi to Mwadui to see the Williamson Diamond Mine, about whose community and other development we had written a memorandum.

South Africa lies far from Europe and opportunities to visit it are few - so we decided to make personal arrangements in order to go to Rome, to walk in the Forum for a day and recapture something of the teaching of our school and university days, to Venice to see it and understand a little of what the history books write of its Renaissance significance when a New World was born, to Paris to renew brief acquaintance with UNESCO, to London to see how old school and university friends had weathered, to investigate an extension of the Institute and its interests there, and to Scotland to see a dying and very dear sister.

These visits made together meant much to us. South Africa is a new country, and its appreciations are so often limited; it has a frontier tradition; many of its people are uncivilised in Western terms. To revisit, as it were, the sources of one's own inspiration, to seek to find a continuity of thought and belief, to renew and to rebuild those resources which are drawn on so heavily and of which one is drained so constantly - these have made it more possible to maintain constancy and integrity and belief in the possibility of a reasonably stable future for our country. To add the New World to the Old, and to feel and experience the vigour and thrust and knowledge of the New, with its deep roots in the Old yet with the fresh new approaches of the New - this has made possible a new strength of purpose and re-awakened significance for our work.

3. <u>AFRICA</u>

Political events have moved so fast in Africa that observations and comments of five months ago are already out of date and almost irrelevant to this fast and unpredictable

development. Tanganyika has full independence in sight and Kenya will have an African majority in the Legislative Council there. It now seems ludicrous to remember that an official in Nairobi said that it would be 50 years before Africans ruled Kenya. My own estimate was about five years and, but for the restraints imposed by the courtesy and charm of our reception, my jaw would have dropped and my eyes goggled.

4. TANGANYIKA

Having been apprised of our arrival, the government officials in both Tanganyika and Kenya were more than kind and co-operative. An old fellow student at St. Andrew's University, Walter Coutts, is Chief Secretary in Kenya, and Sir Charles Mortimer is an old acquaintance.

In Dar-es-Salaam, we had conversations with:

Mr. Fletcher Cooke, Chief Secretary; Mr. Julius Nyerere, Leader of the official Opposition; Mr. Jamal, Minister of Urban Local Government and Works; Chief Fundikira, Minister of Lands and Surveys; Mr. Kahama, Minister of Community Development; Mr. Wren, Acting Director of Public Relations; Mr. Rockey, Publications Officer; Mr. Jana, Assistant Publications Officer.

Of these, the most striking personalities were Mr. Fletcher Cooke and Mr. Nyerere.

Mr. Fletcher Cooke

Mr. Fletcher Cooke is the finest type of colonial administrator. His analysis of the Tanganyika situation was clear and able, and he whole-heartedly endorsed the policy of preparing Tanganyika and Tanganyikans for eventual independence. He believed entirely in Mr. Nyerere's sincerity and had a very great respect for the latter's political acumen. He wondered, as I myself did, whether Mr. Nyerere would be sufficiently strong to handle his people under the new constitutional changes. At that time, the Tanganyikan African National Union was threatened with the splitting away of an African Nationalist movement which wished to see all "belongers" driven out of the country. Where Mr. Cooke saw the danger to Mr. Nyerere's leadership was in the rural areas where his multi-racial policy had not really penetrated. T.A.N.U. was also threatened by the All Muslim Union of Tanganyika. There are said to be 2½ million African Muslims and about 2 million African Christians. To stave off the threat, Mr. Nyerere will have to appoint Muslims in any government he forms.

Mr. Cooke indicated full support for Mr. Nyerere and is busy trying to train more and more Africans for further participation in Government at all levels; but he is constrained by the economic position. Much secondary industry, which Mr. Cooke would like to see settling in Tanganyika, is going to Nairobi and both he and Mr. Nyerere are anxious for the greatest capital investment: at present, the Tanganyika economy is very subject to world prices, e.g. for sisal. Mr. Cooke illustrated his point about Tanganyikan poverty by saying that it would take £46 million in capital expenditure and £46 million in annual expenditure to put all children into school and have 15% of the middle school go on to High School. The total budget of the country is £20 million. Mr. Cooke emphasized the great creative upsurge in Tanganyika which would have to be harnessed if Tanganyika were to be soundly built up and attract from the World Bank or elsewhere the capital and technical personnel which will be required.

There would appear to be two loyalties with no intermediate loyalties. The first is at the local district level and the second is at the national Tanganyika level. Attempts at intermediate local government had failed and it looked as if the administration would have to revert to some extent to the chieftainship, which is, however, an impossible administrative unit.

Mr. Nyerere

The present headquarters of T.A.N.U. is a congeries of little offices in a low cottage type building which is entered through a pleasantly carved door. Though the offices are tiny and rather dilapidated, one felt that they were well organized.

Mr. Nyerere, a Roman Catholic, formerly a teacher, and with the advantage of some Scottish education, has no "chip on his shoulder". Quietly spoken, confident, charming, he feels that the slogan "Uhuru" (freedom) is empty and means nothing unless Tanganyika can be built up economically. His approach is that Tanganyika must be a democratic multi-racial country and that to achieve this, Asian and European confidence and security must be maintained. Recent events had given Africans confidence for the future and he felt that this would help to ensure that they would treat other groups with the minimum of prejudice and discrimination. He placed his faith in the promotion of a sense of common Tanganyikan citizenship and anticipated that the 100,000 Asians would fully adopt Tanganyika. Of the 20,000 White residents, 3,000 were permanent and were not a major problem. Asked why

T.A.N.U. was not inter-racial, he confessed to the illogicality of this, but declared that it was essential for the time being but that it must become a "mixed" organization in the future.

Asked whether there was a sufficiently democratic basis for a national democratic government or whether some authoritarian form of government must inevitably result, he said that he had confidence in the co-operative movement, the trade unions, and the local Councils operating with the new concept of chieftainship, as providing those local and voluntary associations as the basis for a democratic system. He recognised the power of the chiefs and the necessity to take them along with him, and he considered that the African co-operative marketing organizations, and a certain tradition of African traders, would be strong enough to prevent any jealousy of Asiatic traders. He is anxious to reassure the outside world of the racial stability and economic potential of Tanganyika, and so attract both capital and technical personnel. His slogan for Tanganyikans could be, "Let us build".

His confidence was a measured one. Africans had been assured about the future position of Tanganyika and his object was to reach independence without friction and with the greatest possible confidence by others in the new régime. He saw no safety for minorities in "entrenched clauses".

Mr. Nyerere's policy is not a strategy, it is part of his own philosophy and outlook. He does not want any expression of racial hatred or discrimination in the future. He is fairly alone, for there appears, at present, to be no other Africans of his knowledge and stature. His major problems in the future may be securing a proper succession to his leadership, a possible Muslim-Christian conflict, and the permeation of the rural areas with his own idealism. I would suggest that, on balance, he will be able to maintain himself against other divisive forces. He has the full support of other elected members, Asian, African, and European, who accept his leadership.

Mr. Jamal

The most lasting impression of Mr. Jamal was his sincere, almost passionate, belief in and hope for the idea of a united Tanganyika. He is Asian and a follower of Mr. Nyerere, with a great faith in the latter. He admitted that the Asian community tended to keep to itself and to maintain intact its own cultural, religious and other customs, but stated that this was breaking down. He is a Tanganyikan first; to him a universal franchise was the best protection for minority rights because it would involve for Asians their complete identification with Tanganyika.

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Like Nyerere, he regards the present form of franchise as transitional.

Chief Fundikira

Chief Fundikira represented the soil of Tanganyika. T.A.N.U. had not opposed him in the elections. Pleasant and charming, he was not so caught up in the Nyerere influence as others. To him land was the final security for the African, and of land, he said, there was no lack. He represented rural Tanganyika and did not appear to have the overall approach to Tanganyika that others had.

In addition, we had discussions with Mr. Wren, Mr. Rockey, Mr. Kahama, and we met a Yugoslav journalist who was frankly unbelieving that African unskilled wage rates in the Union were so much higher than in his own country. He had rather a delightful sense of humour and enjoyed "liberal" leg pulling.

People in both Tanganyika and Kenya are completely absorbed in their own problems. They know nothing of African or European leaders or movements in the Union, and, except for Mr. Mboya, are not greatly moved by West African developments. They all condemn apartheid completely and damn South African Whites without any attempt to read up the position for themselves. For strategic reasons, Britain will want to maintain Tanganyika as a sphere of influence and I anticipate that the friendliest relations will be maintained. We were interested to note how eagerly the United States Information Service library was being used by younger Tanganyikans of all groups. It is very pleasantly organized and laid out.

Mwadui

A visit to Mwadui in Northern Tanganyika was organized by Anglo-American Corporation and we were flown in from Nairobi. Our arrival coincided with a strike of African workers and the whole atmosphere was highly tense while we were there. The trade union had not declared the strike - indeed, the trade union leaders went to work and declared official ignorance of any strike. We were impressed at the cool, imperturbable handling of a difficult situation, and the courtesy and thoughtfulness of the manager towards two guests whose arrival could not have been more unfortunately timed. A visit to the African market in Shinyanga was arranged; and we were tremendously impressed by the devotion

of the staff of the mission, hospital and school at Kol Ndoda near Mwadui. It was inspiring to find friendly and close co-operation between doctors of the Mine and the Mission hospital. One wondered if a self-governing Tanganyika would not wish to take over completely this valuable mineral asset, Mwadui.

5. KENYA

On arrival at Nairobi airport, the only item lacking to make our reception complete was a red carpet. I rather spoiled matters by emerging last from the plane helping a Coloured mother and child.

Our last visit to Nairobi was in 1950 and what a change there has been. It feels alive and moving; buildings in good, modern, perpendicular style are shooting up everywhere. Hotels are unsegregated, even the staid Norfolk! Secondary industry is developing and altogether there appears to be a real upsurge felt by both Black and White: yet at the back of the minds of most Europeans spoken to was the Mau Mau rebellion. Directly and indirectly, it cropped up repeatedly: "I didn't know what they were saying in the kitchen because I learned only Swahili"; "I can't leave my child alone at home because it is simply not done since the Mau Mau outbreak"; "We all learned Swahili but in the Emergency, only one White police officer could speak Kikuyu". Our African taxi-driver was an ardent follower of Mboya and of Kenyatta, and he exhibited the most cheerful and assertive confidence. The horror of the Mau Mau rebellion still permeates White thought and conditions White reaction. Another "Emergency" is not anticipated, but if it did come, it is appreciated that the existence of the Labour Party in London would not permit of its ruthless handling.

We talked with the following:

Mr. E.N. Griffith-Jones, Acting Chief Secretary; Mr. C.M. Johnston, Minister for African Affairs; Mr. Amalemka, Minister of Housing; Mr. Jamad, Minister of the Legislative Council; Sir Charles Mortimer, now retired; Mr. C.G. Richards, Director of the East African Bureau of Literature; Mr. N.F. Harris, European Minister Without Portfolio; Mr. Tom Mboya.

Mr. Mboya

Almost all conversation came round in the end to Mr. Mboya, whom we visited at Aliv House, which seemed to be filled with Africans all seeking interviews with Mr. Mboya, who appeared to

be enormously busy and who was being interviewed and photographed by "Life" magazine. I smiled to think what Mr. Eric Louw will say when he sees Tom Mboya and myself in earnest discussion.

Mr. Mboya was charming and courteous and, seated in his tiny office with its big steel desk and four-tiered bookcase filled with fresh-looking and glossy-covered volumes on labour and socialism, and some large tomes which appeared to emanate from America, gave a sense of power but was not easy to assess. His dark face, its very darkness probably a big asset, his slanted "Eastern" eyes, his small, even teeth, conveyed little and he gave little opportunity for questions. Being so constantly interviewed must be wearying, and it is probably easier for him to give a straight talk rather than subject himself to questions, whether informed or ignorant.

He claims to represent the majority of Africans in Kenya and he rejects any entrenched or constitutional safeguards for minorities. Such safeguards, he considers, make minorities targets for criticism and antipathy, and, in his opinion, it is the rights of the individual which must be entrenched and thus safeguard minority rights. His demand was for local responsible government in two years on the basis of an adult franchise and with Britain looking after Defence, Finance, etc. He does not believe that capital investment from outside Kenya is essential: the necessity for this he thinks has been "played up". In any case, should it be necessary, he anticipated that, as was the case with Ghana, it would be found. He expressed great faith in the ability of Africans to build the country economically once they had full opportunity to compete fairly. He gave, as an illustration, the African coffee growers who had only recently been allowed to grow coffee. He spoke, too, of the need for a more equitable division of the wealth which lay in the hands of European and Asian.

Asked what the implications were of the entrenchment of equal rights for all individuals, he tended to evade the question: would it not involve the rights of Whites and Asians to buy land, not only in the Highlands, but also on the plains. He suggested that protection would be necessary and that tribal ways and customs would have to be guarded because they had real value. He was opposed to African freehold tenure of land as being opposed to tribal concepts and thought that some form of leasehold tenure was preferable. Nor would he discuss African attitudes to other groups once Africans were in the saddle. He rested on the safeguards of the universal adult franchise.

Quietly spoken, with an even flow of words, his arguments appeared to follow logically, but when he will have the power to

translate his theory into practice, there will, I am sure, be large departures from his theory. Where Mr. Nyerere and Mr. Amalemka conveyed a feeling of sincerity and integrity of purpose and spoke of an ideal, Mr. Mboya gave the impression that, though he was an able politician, he had no philosophy or idealism.

The opinion of others whom we met was pretty unanimous though, of course, it was a selected group whom we did meet. The general opinion was that Mr. Mboya had had his head turned during his American visit, that he was a career politician, whose personal ambition was to outrival Mr. Nkrumah and become the first African Prime Minister of Kenya. They saw a contradiction between his advocacy of democracy - a word which he admitted Britain had given him, and which he meant to exploit to the full against Britain - and his own authoritarian actions. Nor did they think he would manage to maintain his leadership for it was considered that his influence was limited to Nairobi, that he had no real rural contacts, and that when the Kikuyu were permitted to become active politically, he would have to cede political power. Mr. Mboya is of Luo extraction and it is unlikely that he could gain the allegiance of the Kikuyu who, despite the "Emergency", are regarded as the most intelligent, progressive, and hard working African group in Kenya.

Despite all this, my own opinion is that Mr. Mboya will remain a major power in Kenya. He is 29 years old, he has international experience in Africa and outside Africa: he may be a poor administrator, but he is a powerful orator and, although I had no evidence of this, I would suggest that he will remain the vehicle of African nationalism. I do not think that under him Kenya will be a democracy, nor do I think that race relations will be harmonious.

On the protection of minority rights, the opinion of those we met was unanimous that entrenchment of minority rights as such was useless and that it was the individuals' rights that mattered and would protect the group. It was admitted, however, that the African would find, not only the White man as an impediment to his advance, but that the Asian on the railways, in trade, as artisans, would be the Africans' more immediate stumbling block. It was hoped that rapid economic expansion would open up many avenues which would tend to soften rivalry. It was felt, too, that African fear of Asian land purchase, and the Asians' own tendency to look inwards as a group, would bring on them African prejudice and discrimination.

To me, Nairobi today represents one of the fastest social changes I have seen. In 1954 everybody was walking around armed. Today, an African man can bring a White girl on to the verandah of the Norfolk Hotel for afternoon tea, or have her to dinner. Today there is the acceptance that Africans will eventually rule, but what amazed me was that this was slated for 50, 25, even 10

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years from now.

Mr. Mboya wants Africans to take over control: there are three fully qualified African doctors in Kenya and four African lawyers, one of whom has been struck off the roll. Can a stable government be built up in Kenya, especially as tribal jealousies and turbulence are a factor which is not easy to control?

We had other points of discussion - land, housing, community development, technical education, literacy and literature, American assistance, trade unions, integration of schools, and British strategic interest in Kenya, but information on these is easily available and I am only anxious to report on impressions.

When one surveys the rapidity with which changes are taking place in Africa, one wonders afresh whether the Union will see equally rapid change. Who would have thought five or six years ago that Ghana would be independent, Nigeria, the Belgian Congo, French Guinea, Madagascar, etc. If South Africa is caught up in this, then one would anticipate that in five years time, Africans will be represented by Africans in our Parliament, Provincial Councils, and local governments. Must it take bloody revolution, a Mau Mau rebellion, bloodshed? Or will it be possible by peaceful means to achieve the change which must come about?

6. LONDON

And so to London, to a quiet and old-fashioned hotel off Piccadilly, and to the well-being and sense of contentment which seems to pervade Great Britain. To me, it is a mystery that Britain can maintain its place as the third nuclear power in the world, its export drive, its literary output, its international power and significance. There seems to be no sense of urgency, no feeling of upsurging drive. Contentment and self-satisfaction abound. Do the generality of Britishers take much interest in happenings across the world? Are they still interested in the Empire and Commonwealth? Did they ever really have this knowledge or these interests? The Labour Party, like the A.F. of L. and C.I.O., may call for a boycott of South African goods, but will the British public react at all to something so remote as South Africa? And why does a potential government officially call for a boycott of a member commonwealth state? Is it an outraged sense of justice, a party political strategy, an attempt to show the Non-White world that the Labour Party has its heart in the right place? The Labour Party may be fundamentally right about South Africa - as I believe

it is - but why pinpoint South Africa where there are so many areas and situations equally "deserving". All White South Africa feels condemned except perhaps those of communist or left sympathies.

7. U.S.A.

This part of my report can be focussed round the following points:-

1. Relaxation.
2. The Foundations and other service organizations.
3. Washington.
4. The United Nations.
5. Talks and contacts.
6. Impressions of United States.
7. Ideas.

Relaxation:

Lake Champlain, Princeton and the Peacock Inn, Eagle Lake and the Adirondacks, Vermont and the Green Mountains, New Canaan, Philadelphia - what a different slant these gave to the America of full packed itineraries. No interviewing of people, no talking to or at, no official business, no pressures. It was a new America, and new aspects of old friends. To visit friends in their homes, to rest a while, rounded out one's appreciations. It was not one urban centre after another. It was the beauty of Lake Champlain and the red, windfall apples in the grass, the unutterable beauty of the Fall, the wild furnace of colour across the lake, misted with grey, the gathering of autumn leaves with children, and the quiet simplicity of the centuries old Meeting House; not least it was the "peep peep" of the delightfully "un American" commuters' train from the Junction to Princeton. These were the United States and the deep-seated attachments and sentiments of people.

From these we brought back the happiest memories and greater insights.

Foundations:

The Carnegie Corporation, the Phelps-Stokes Fund and the Rhodes Trust originally helped to start the Institute, and it was

the Ford Foundation which stepped in at a crucial period to maintain it. So much of our original contact has always been with foundations and their personnel until recently, when the expanding interest in Africa of universities, commerce and industry, and organizations, has brought an ever increasing number of visitors from America which, in its turn, has received a larger influx of South Africans.

The foundations enjoy a peculiar position in the world. They are the product of "rugged" individualism and of free, competitive enterprise, yet they are a symbol of that essential democracy and goodwill which is America. They plough back into society (and into the world) the fruits of many people's labour for the good of the people. They are a leaven and soften the harsh edges of economic struggle and go some way towards being a response to the demands of socialism. To some in the outside world, they are money bags to be drawn on; to others they are an expression of wise philanthropy, of human decency, and of responsible idealism; and the manner of their conduct and the degree to which they can take in human needs and problems outside America, is the measure of the regard with which they are held by the world.

We have always been struck with the high sense of responsibility and the wide ranging understanding which officials of the foundations show. It cannot be easy to be constantly badgered with demands and bombarded with "projects", to make analyses, decide, and reject, and still do so with the objectivity which this requires and with understanding of the humanity which inspires the appeals. The agents of foundations abroad make some of America's best ambassadors and not because of their position as potential grant-makers.

We, of course, as South Africans, wished to maintain and encourage foundation interest in South Africa where there is so much that is harmful to happiness and progress. At the same time, we wished to be helpful to the foundations in their consideration of matters in which they might be interested in South Africa, and to put to them other than Institute projects which would be of benefit to the country, and, we hoped, to friendly and constructive relations between our countries.

The interest which has developed in Africa since 1950, and more particularly since 1954, was remarkable, and with this went interest in South Africa. Apart from world wide demands and responsibilities and the existence of established policies within which, for the time being, they have to work, the major difficulties of the foundations in relation to South Africa appeared to be a reluctance to seem to interfere in its internal policies, and a definite unwillingness to help anything which might be interpreted in the United States as

supporting apartheid or segregation. Neither the foundations nor the State or Commerce Departments have written off South Africa, as had previously been reported; indeed, with a developing Africa programme, it is likely that interest will become greater. I was very glad that four foundations, which have not yet formally visited the Union, indicated that they were prepared to come for a brief reconnaissance. A representative of a fifth foundation has just left after his first visit to South Africa. (February, 1960).

I did not visit the foundations with set proposals or projects but rather to explore interests. Their major Africa interests would appear to be research - at various levels, the development of African leadership through youth organizations, the promotion of African women movements and leadership, higher education and technical training, encouragement of the work of the Christian Churches, the exchange of personnel of various disciplines, travel grants, conferences, inter-group contact, African music and theatre, African authorship and writing, the promotion of African literature. The foundations will normally require a personal survey by their own people before in any way indicating a definite interest.

The general work of the Institute in South Africa was welcomed and appreciated. In the discussions, however, I suggested that, while obviously anxious to find support for my own organization, support for organizations or work which indirectly helped to improve the status of our Non-White people would be widely welcomed, not only as good in itself, but as likely to be beneficial to race relations. They all agreed that any approach to South Africa's problems had to be sophisticated in the best sense of the word. All were sympathetic and all were interested and I hope that any suggestions or ideas I had were found useful.

Washington:

It was pleasant to be received cordially by our South African Ambassador, who offered to help us in any way he could. (In 1950 we were informed that, as we had brought no note of accreditation from Pretoria, they could not help us.) Our Ambassador was not worried by the South African boycott and was of the opinion that West Africa would not join in. He felt that Britain would retain Kenya and Tanganyika as spheres of influence, and that in Africa new forms of government would evolve. His greatest worry was the imminent explosion of the populations of the East, particularly India and China, and the effect of this on Africa. He could see solutions to most of Africa's problems, but no solution for the position of Indians in Africa.

The other discussions we had in Washington were reassuring. One of the concerns in South Africa has been the slowing up of the tempo of economic development and the possibility that overseas investors were ceasing to be interested. It has been feared that estimates of the racial situation were so gloomy that capital investment would be thought too risky. It was, however, pointed out that 50% of United States investments in Africa were in South Africa, and that these were long term. It was admitted that two to three years ago, South African policies had disturbed U.S. financiers, who were still a little disturbed, but the fact that Chase Manhattan, First City National, Charles Engelhard, David Rockefeller, and others had come into South Africa, was evidence of confidence. The Report of the U.S. Trade Commission was very favourable to South Africa.

I felt that there was some change in the attitude towards African nationalism and a greater concern about the future stability of the new African states. Great hopes are placed on the future of Nigeria, with its 46 million people and the expectation was that it will produce a stable government and society. It was not anticipated that U.S. Africa policy would necessitate an anti-South African policy.

To enter the white marble halls of the Supreme Court was a sheer delight, and to talk with Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter, an experience. He knows Mrs. Hoernlé personally and spoke appreciatively of ex-Chief Justice Centlivres, and ex-Justice Feetham of South Africa. Our talk on equal but segregated facilities, and on constitution making, was brief but happily interlarded with question and anecdote.

And it was good to see the African-American Institute, Washington office and meet with Mr. Hagbert and his staff and to be so pleasantly received at a time when they were busy. This work of personally receiving overseas visitors, particularly Africans, and looking after them, will yield many fruits in the future. When I looked at the Africans from South Africa who have had the benefit of travel to the States, I am impressed by the sense of adequacy it gives them and the reasoned views that they express.

A visit more directly affecting the Institute and the possibility of setting up a U.S. subsidiary was paid in the company of Mr. Beimfohr of Sullivan and Cromwell, to the Bureau of Inland Revenue, where our reception was friendly.

I discussed the idea of an Institute subsidiary with a number of people in and out of foundations and, allowing for the newness of the idea, found it well, if cautiously received. Everyone believed that it would have a useful function, not only for South Africa, but probably also for the United States in its interests in South Africa, and it was felt that it should, in some way, be brought under the umbrella of the African-American Institute.

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The United Nations:

For years one has followed the debates in United Nations on South Africa's policies and on South West Africa, and has been conscious of the mounting of impatience of even those nations who seek to retain South Africa within the United Nations and its work: while there will be support for South Africa's attitude on domestic jurisdiction, there would appear to be increasing irritation with South Africa's intransigeance over South West Africa. I was not clear about the implications of Mr. Louw's election to a Vice-Presidency, but I was surprised at the positive response to Mr. Louw's acceptance of an invitation to Ghana, and the decision to give a token amount to the United Nations Technical Assistance Fund.

After discussions with staff of the United Nations, I put forward certain suggestions for a conference under United Nations auspices in South Africa to our Ambassador, who forwarded them to Mr. Eric Louw. The response of the Ambassador was not negative.

The contacts made at official level at United Nations, I hope, will be useful in the future.

Talks and Contacts:

I was very grateful that no great demand was made for lectures or talks. Those that I did give were fairly informal: to the African-American Institute, the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, the Council for Foreign Affairs, a seminar at M.I.T., and brief lunch talks to officials of the American Climax Company, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation. Apart from these, I had discussions with individuals alone or in groups, and met a number of old friends.

The following is a listing of organizations visited and persons met but does not include a number of individuals to whom we were introduced:

Organizations

North Western University, Boston University, Columbia University, Princeton University, University of Vermont, M.I.T., Phelps-Stokes Fund, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund, The Johnson Foundation, the Social Research Council, Carnegie Endowment for Peace, American Climax Company, American Broadcasting Company, Department of State, Department of Commerce, Bureau of Inland Revenue, Department of Education, Supreme Court, South African Embassy, United Nations, International Committee for Christian Literature, African Women's Committee.

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Persons

Professor M. Herskowitz, Dean and Mrs. Liston Pope, Mr. Butler, Dr. H.A. Kissinger, Mr. George Overton, Mr. R. Kuch, Mr. Dana Creel, Mr. Robert July, Mr. Kimball, Mr. A. Calaver, Mr. Joe Johnson, Dr. F.D. Patterson, Dr. and Mrs. F. Loescher, Dr. Pendleton Herring, Mr. and Mrs. W. Shepardson, Mr. and Mrs. E. Schuller, Mr. Harold Fleming, Sir Andrew and Lady Cohen, Sir John and Lady Carmichael, Miss Ann Winslow, Miss Win Armstrong, Mr. Blankenheimer, Mr. Cuming, the South African Ambassador, the South African Consul-General, Professor John H. Lockhead, Mr. Jack Naidoo, Mr. and Mrs. Steve Stackpole, Mr. and Mrs. Alan Pifer, Mr. Melvin Fox, Mr. Frank Sutten, Mr. John Howard, Mr. and Mrs. C. Engelhard , Justice Felix Frankfurter, Dr. Floyd Shacklock, Dr. Rex, Dr. Sayre, Mr. and Mrs. H. Hochschild, Mr. Waldo Campbell, Mr. and Mrs. Andy Kamarck, Professor H. Watkins, Mr. and Mrs. Brookes Emeny, Lady Montagu Norman, Dr. and Mrs. J. Woods, Mr. and Mrs. Leslie Paffrath, Mr. E. Beimfohr, Mr. Taylor Ostrander, Mr. C. Hogan, Mr. J.P. Humphrey, Mr. E. Lawson, Mr. R. Bayledon, Mr. Theron, Mr. Swayzee, the Hon. Amos K. Sempa, Mr. J. Savanhu, Mr. M. Conant, Mr. Harold Isaacs, Mr. Lewenikwa, Mr. Sidney Bailey, Madame Sonia Grinberg-Vinaver, Miss S. Smith, Miss K. Ford.

There are many obvious omissions due to absences, mis-timing, and so on. To these friends whom we did not see, we apologise but hope they will come to South Africa. The hospitality we received was abounding and, although it is invidious to pick out names, we were specially grateful to the Hochschilds, the Loeschers, the Stackpoles, the Schullers, the Ostranders, Miss Ford, Mr. Hogan, the Lockheads, and Mr. Steere.

Impressions of U.S.A.:

Any observations I make are not those of a skilled and trained observer who came to the United States to observe and analyse. I was, of course, anxious to understand and appreciate, but what I have to say is the result of the general impact of a whole sense of events, big and little, and of contacts of many descriptions.

The greatest and most significant event was, of course, the visit of Mr. Kruschev. This has been discussed and analysed and its import assessed by many. For my own satisfaction rather than for any contribution it will make, I put down my own immediate reactions.

Mr. Kruschev arrived with the Soviet's moon rocket and left accepting the "decision" of the President's grandchildren that Spring 1960, not October-November 1959, would be a pleasanter time to go to the U.S.S.R. No P.R.O. man could have done better. He came with a

scientific and intellectual shock; he left as an apparently grandfatherly person who loved children. Mrs. Kruschev appeared as rather an unobtrusive, dowdy, housewife who could arouse no female jealousy but might gain acceptance for her interests and attitudes by many plain housewives in the States.

Mr. Kruschev exuded confidence and optimism; he was not on the defensive. He had taken the initiative and had come. Given his premises, he appeared reasonable, consistent, logical. His phrase about "burying capitalism" he explained in his own terms as an historical process. His assertion that the conflict between "capitalism" and "communism" was a war of ideas and would be conducted without resort to arms, gave an apparent indication of his own confidence in communism. Taking this at its face value, his expressed desire for peace was logical. He maintained the same approach later in China.

While his reception to begin with was cool, if not cold, it is certain that, particularly after the Los Angeles visit, the United States warmed up to him, and before he left I believe that the cold war tensions were greatly eased. He did not speak in terms of military but of intellectual conquests. He was prepared to let the two systems live side by side and leave it to the attrition of ideas to work out a solution. This seemed reasonable.

Mr. Kruschev seemed to personify the U.S.S.R. but not communism generally. He appeared as a national figure. He seemed to reflect a highly disciplined system of which he was in supreme and accepted command. He spoke for the U.S.S.R. with no dissentient voices to confuse issues. He was monolithic.

American reaction seemed to be uncertain and a little bewildered. Sophisticates said he was the supreme politician - able, astute, calculating; this was not the impression he gave me. He was subjected to television cameras, to press interviews; every moment of his time was made public. Under such a barrage, he did not slip up once. Even his anger in Los Angeles eventually went to the credit side of his visit.

The press coverage and publicity were fabulous. The United States gave him every opportunity to say his say and reported it. The U.S. was, eventually, hospitable, even friendly, and there seemed to be an uneasy belief that he might really mean what he said. I believe that, for many Americans, a number of questions were raised. Could America meet the scientific challenge if Army, Navy, Air, and civil authorities failed to co-operate fully? Was American democracy and Christianity offering the world anything as dynamic and inspiring as the U.S.S.R.? I was struck by the report of a student who had been to the Soviet Union and had camped with Russian students.

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His greatest impression of the latter was their idealism and their passionate desire to make the world a better place for all to live in. A former Ukrainian said that it was a war of ideas and that U.S.S.R. did not intend war. He pleaded for a Christian, democratic dynamic to counter Communism.

And my opinion is that, while Americans are rightly and deeply imbued with belief in the goodness of their own institutions and concepts, they are looking for an inspiring leadership which will direct and canalize the tremendous idealism which I saw in the United States. This is why I believe that the next Presidential election is so very important to America and the world. I personally hope it is a landslide election for the right man with the right backing in Congress and Senate. I hope further that the next President will act with power and from a strength derived from the fundamental philosophy and idealism of the young, and the not so young, which is seeking so anxiously for a lead.

But will the American people allow the President to act thus? Must the President be subjected to weekly press conferences? I am too ignorant of the institutional side of the Presidency, but it appeared to me to be almost impossible for the President to do the thinking and planning and have time for the contemplation which is essential to his office. In relation to the President, I felt that the press exercised a licence and not a freedom. Could a President of a big corporation function under conditions in which the President of the United States is asked to live?

These are just questions which may be naive, but the whole Western world looks to America, and its President.

Wherever I went I was very conscious of the dynamic, throbbing life of the United States universities, business, and industries, which seemed to be thrusting pistons in a huge pounding engine. There seemed to be resources for everything. And although I am not always impressed by demands for co-ordination, I wondered if there was enough, particularly in some fields at university level. It was good to meet students who were learning Russian and Chinese, who were studying Africa, and looking to an "international" future. It was equally good to talk with the taxi driver about rents in Manhattan and the need to move to the suburbs. And it was delightful to sit in a bar and watch the television broadcast of the Los Angeles Dodgers-White Sox game. (I think Chicago went into mourning!) There was striving, and thrust, and energy. There was thinking, worry and concern. There was inquiry and interrogation. But nowhere, in no instance, was there rudeness, or unfriendliness on any level.

I sensed amongst people a great and permeating sense of responsibility, for America, and for America's rôle in the world. This I met, not only in service organizations or with individuals of high status; it was met on a lower executive and business level. More Americans than ever seemed to be accepting a community or national or international responsibility for America. It might be for Negro integration, for international relations, but it was there. Everything was not left to the President or Mr. Herter. Thousands of Americans were shouldering some of the burden.

On the individual level, there was irritation with Englishmen; and in England there was resentment of Americans. Both attitudes are understandable, but I felt it regrettable when the completest academic and intellectual co-operation should not be obtained. This was merely an impression. Americans seemed irritated by the smugness, the lack of drive and comprehension, and by inflexibility in English thinking: Englishmen were resentful of the power, resources and dynamics of American thought and action.

Since my last visit, American attitudes had changed slightly in relation to the emergence to national independence of African peoples. Previously I felt that the United States, in its desire to line up with African peoples, and remembering its own historical evolution, tended to be more anti-colonial than was justified and to see greater virtues in swift national independence than there were. Now there seemed to be a greater realisation that the new states might be highly unstable and that possibly independence was coming too quickly to be salutary.

On the other hand, there seemed to be beginning a new attitude towards Africa. American help to African states was not just part of the "cold war"; help is being given in a much more positive spirit and not so much with a defensive approach to the possible encroachments of the Soviet in Africa. There seemed to be a greater feeling of oneness with African people, a desire to help them for themselves, and not as part of an international strategy directed against the East. This I felt to be very desirable, for it is obvious that if the United States acted merely to combat the Soviet, the new states would be in a wonderful position to play the West versus the East.

In this relationship I was greatly struck by the flow of Africans to the States and by the patience and care and thought with which they were received. To my knowledge, the U.S.A. has not staged any World Youth Rally comparable to those of the Soviet bloc, which have caught the imagination of many. Instead, it has pursued a steady policy of maintaining a flow of Africans to schools, universities, etc.

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This, in my opinion, is vitally important for future relations with the leaders of African states; a common background of university experience and working together will make contact and understanding easier and greater in the future. I believe that Rhodes Scholarships have performed this function for the British Commonwealth and the U.S.A.

Interest in Africa has grown enormously ever since 1954. There is no need to stress this. And this has brought about a continuous flow of Americans to Africa. What I found significant was not that academic persons and "do gooders" come, but that business men take time out to travel and find out for themselves. They apparently do not just accept, say, State Department judgements and reports: there has to be almost a personal assessment to lay alongside State Department or other reports. Yet there seemed to be considerable co-ordination and exchange of knowledge and information and much co-operation between individuals and organizations and universities working or interested in the field of Africa. The foundations seem to play a significant rôle in this.

It had been reported some years ago that America was "writing off" South Africa, and that American interest - business, State, and foundations - would concentrate North of the Limpopo. As I have mentioned before, this is not the case. While everyone that I met was at one in condemning South Africa's present apartheid policies, there was, nevertheless, greater appreciation that our problems here were not so simple and that, what I termed, a "sophisticated" approach was necessary. Perhaps experience of reactions in the Southern states, a completer knowledge of Africa, gave rise to this fuller appreciation. This was not to say that Americans were not impatient and urgent. They were, and I felt that perhaps a stronger line might be taken by the United States and Britain at the United Nations. Neither country can afford internationally to have South Africa putting a spanner in the relations of the West and Eastern countries or with the many new states in Africa. I would expect greater impatience with South Africa's attitude, e.g. in the matter of South West Africa. At the same time, I do anticipate that the U.S.A. will do all it can, not only in South Africa, but in the Federation and Kenya, to try to ensure that some reasonable modus vivendi be built up in these multi-racial states. It was obvious that there would be no support forthcoming for anything smacking of apartheid. In view of both its internal and its international situation, the U.S.A. cannot afford to give even the appearance of supporting a policy so completely condemned. It was said that foundations even hesitate to support needy Negro colleges lest it be said they supported segregation.

I did not attempt to make serious inquiries into the question of Negro integration. Our South African press reports items of

interest and we in the Institute can follow the progress made and the difficulties met from the many bulletins and analyses that are received, and, of course, through American visitors who come to South Africa. I had an interesting talk with Harold Fleming of the Southern Regional Council, whose organizational problems are very similar to my own. His overall conclusion was that steady progress would be made. I was, however, interested to hear of some Negro resistance to integration; for I believe that, even if in South Africa full integration were possible, there would be certain areas where Africans would resist this and the longer our policy of segregation endures, the more surely will this attitude develop.

Ideas:

I have already indicated what the visit meant to my wife and myself, to the enrichment of ourselves and for the strengthening of those bonds of acquaintance and friendship which have always meant so much to us. What have we brought back that will be useful to our work in race relations, or to South Africa more generally? What I set out below may seem unoriginal and meagre, but I give these thoughts for what they are worth and do so somewhat baldly.

1. General

I was interested in the insistence by White, Asian and African, that the only protection for minority rights lay in the entrenchment and protection of individual rights. At the present moment, a commission, set up by the South African Progressive Party, is examining how best minority rights can be secured in a rigid constitution. This it is doing presumably with an eye to the future when Africans will dominate South Africa, and an eye to the present when White fears must be calmed.

2. In Tanganyika, Mr. Nyerere seemed to combine in himself the twofold approach to change, the political and, what I would call, the "social constructive". This twofold approach can be seen in South Africa and in organizations in the U.S.A. interested in Africa, e.g. the American Committee on Africa, and the African-American Institute. Liberal conservatives tend to rely on the latter: radicals on the former. Mr. Mboya is "political". Where this combination cannot be found in one organization or person, it is important for each group to recognise the positive functions of the other.

3. Will Africa produce some new concept of democracy or of government? I was interested in both Mr. Mboya's and Mr. Nyerere's references to chieftainship and the tribal organization. To what extent can chieftainship and tribal concepts be regarded as democratic or possible democratic institutions?

4. With development, will African states see a "class struggle" or will African attitudes and approaches and intense feeling enable these states to work out a society in which the individual and the common good work in harmony?

5. There will be an enormous field in Africa in the near future for the technical expertise of young men of the West, if they are prepared either to accept jobs as jobs or jobs as a mission. Africans will probably prefer the former. Leadership in the West can make this the "New Adventure". Some American youth seem to be thinking in these terms.

6. Three or four years of university life in Britain or in the U.S.A. by well selected potential leaders from Africa (cf. Rhodes scholars) will pay dividends in future dealings with African states, and in future stable relations.

7. The personalized, individual handling of Africans coming to the U.S.A., however tiring to Americans, is a really significant service, c.f. African-American Institute and USSABEP. It is worth taking time out to do this.

8. Where travel grants are given to Africans, and wives can participate socially and intelligently, such grants should, if possible, be sufficient to enable both to travel.

9. While travel leadership grants may be given for specific educational or technical purposes, adequate time should be given for the quiet absorption of the general American scene, and for subconscious assimilation of the total experience.

8. <u>MORE PARTICULAR</u>

(1) I was impressed by the interest that business men take in Africa, and by the time they are prepared to spend learning more, either by travel in Africa or by meeting and discussions at home. My feeling is that business men in South Africa should

spend more time in travel in Africa. It appears as if they take the plane at Jan Smuts Airport and land in Athens, the Riviera,or London, having vertically by-passed Africa. The plan of two friends with their wives making a trip, which is practised by Americans, could be adopted by South Africans. Such a method would not give the appearance of being a delegation or a mission; it would enable informal contacts to be made, and would help responsible citizens to form their own opinions and make their own estimates. I do not think that Africans in other states would resent this, be suspicious, or unco-operative.

(2) I also believe it would be useful if foundations in the United States of America would suggest to South African grantees that they would welcome their spending some time in East, West or Central Africa before coming to the U.S.A. Travel from South Africa is expensive and it seems wasteful to me that grantees do not take advantage of the stops and the 10 - 15% deviation from fixed routes which airlines permit, to visit Africa. The experience and knowledge would not only be of advantage to themselves and South Africa, but would be helpful in the U.S.A. Although they live in Africa, South Africans are very ignorant of the African Continent and experiences in Africa would have some impact and be useful on return home. The total effectiveness of the travel grant would be greater and foundations could reasonably anticipate that grantees would defray expenses for such deviations in Africa from their own pockets.

(3) The USSALEP might consider a more highly organized servicing of Americans who come to South Africa. The idea is contained in elaborate form in the American Field Service, and in South Africa there is an Afrikaans women's organization which takes pains to see that visitors are introduced to homes. Could USSALEP develop this?

(4) South African business must, I imagine, entertain many overseas business men. The quick, informal, lunch-time meeting attended by business men when a visitor speaks briefly and answers questions might be practised in South Africa, not only for business visitors but for academic and other visitors from the U.S.A. The latter would be expected to speak of their own, or of America's interest in Africa, or e.g. of their impressions of the rest of Africa, for South Africa is often the end of a trip.

(5) The work of the USSALEP and of travel fellowships is showing results, and although there is difficulty at the South African end over Non-Whites, pressure to enable Non-Whites to

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travel should not be eased nor should there be any hesitation to continue the present policy despite the criticisms of liberals in South Africa. The policy is a long term policy. I suggest that, so far as Non-Whites are concerned, the difficulty over passports is best overcome by selecting on a clear academic or technical basis even although such persons may appear to be "good boys". I suggest that each successful applicant blazes the way for more and builds up confidence in the integrity of the organization.

(6) Where foundations may be afraid of appearing to interfere in South Africa's domestic affairs by giving assistance to Non-White organizations, even those well divorced from politics, it is always possible for foundations to give to international bodies with affiliates in South Africa on the understanding that South Africa should have particular attention. This may appear to be devious, but where the work of organizations is generally or universally accepted as good and not political and is in terms of a foundation's policy, I do not think foundations need hesitate. I think of such things as the Y.W.C.A., the Girl Scout movement, African associations, youth leadership organizations, church and mission work, African folk music, and research.

(7) Changes in Africa, which are bewildering in their rapidity, will have increasing effect in South Africa. South Africans should have a much greater knowledge of at least sub-Saharan Africa. I have suggested that new forms of government, new attitudes to the Christian churches, new approaches to urbanised, industrial living may come out of Africa. It is possible that South Africa has much to contribute to Africa. Would foundations consider giving grants to suitable South Africans to make visits to other African territories. "Suitable" South Africans would be of two kinds - those already in leadership position, and those of post-graduate or similar standing but of potential leadership status.

(8) My impression is that South African universities have devoted much time to anthropology and to native administration and law, but little or no time to the consideration of Africa as an "area study". It seems to me to be of particular importance that South African university students, its diplomatic corps, and its potential representatives abroad should be given the opportunity of specialist courses on Africa.

(9) If the image which the rest of the world has of South Africa is to be changed, it can only be done from changes in South Africa. The South African business world is greatly perturbed about events in Africa, and about unfavourable overseas opinion. The South African Foundation has been established but it will be useful only

if it can really induce changes at home. My position with regard to present policies is clear, but I believe that if the government could be induced, e.g. to embark now on a huge ten-year plan for the development of our under-developed areas, i.e. the native reserves, this would have a manifold effect: (a) even although apparently part of a policy of segregation, the world would react favourably; (b) it would involve the fast training of Non-White technical and administrative personnel and help escapes from negative frustration and attitudes to positive constructive rôles; (c) it would give rise to a skilled, leadership class with status; (d) it would be an injection which would benefit the whole economy; (e) it would release existing racial tensions; (f) it would strengthen Africans generally and so help to induce those compromises which are essential; (g) it might enable the Whites to face the future with courage and not with fear.

Such a scheme would have to be on a grand scale, catch the imagination, be carried out with determination and receive international loan funds.

(10) Where it is possible, African women and African women's organizations should be assisted. African women are a dynamic force in the situation and can be positive and constructive.

(11) Some form of non-governmental organization playing a rôle similar to that of the Institute of Race Relations should be set up in the Federation should it endure, or in Southern Rhodesia, should the Federation not endure. It is possible that a conference with this in view will be convened. The experience of the South African Institute of Race Relations could be useful. The initiative would, of course, have to come from the Rhodesias.

(12) Personal contact with individuals, organizations, political parties, administrators, etc. etc. is essential for developing work in the field of race relations. This is insufficiently realised in South Africa. Race Relations cannot be bettered, nor new approaches developed, from behind an office desk. It is vitally important that staff fully participate in this.

13) Officials of foundations have a major responsibility in fostering good relations between e.g. South Africa and the U.S.A. While it is anticipated that they must look to American interests, they nevertheless are representatives of foundations set up for purposes which are not confined by national boundaries, but extend far beyond to a greater good. They thus have the responsibility for a wider vision and a clearer purpose than national self-interest. In my experience, foundation officials carry this

latter function of theirs with great understanding and humanity. My purpose, in writing this, is to put it on record and to emphasize a function which may not be revealed by the successful or unsuccessful completion of an overseas project. Belief in the integrity of the supernational and altruistic function of foundations will induce a corresponding integrity towards them.

14) The idea of an Institute subsidiary was received with a general but cautious acceptance. Was it to be only an instrument for channelling American money to the Institute of Race Relations? Would there be any real function for it in the U.S.A. if it were established? I suggested that it would have a number of functions:

i. It would channel money to the Institute.

ii. It would channel money to other organizations in the Union, provided they were not political.

iii. Set up under the umbrella of the African-American Institute, which has wider Africa interests, it would be the South Africa specialist, voluntary group in New York.

iv. It would be the depot of information on South Africa.

v. It could serve a co-ordinating purpose for American interest in South Africa, academic, charitable, welfare or other.

15) Having organized many conferences, and having had experience largely from that angle, I had grown to question their value. Perhaps this is due to conditions in South Africa, where conferences consist so often of like-minded people. Perhaps I always expected action to emerge more dynamically than has been the case so often. Perhaps it was because conferences seemed to talk and not do. Reflection and discussions in New York gave a different slant on their value. I accept that they have greater value than I had latterly begun to think!

16) If the South African government would convene a conference sponsored by the United Nations, in particular the Division of Human Rights, I believe that the impact would be salutary, internally and externally. I have suggested such a conference to the South African Ambassador in Washington, who transmitted the suggestion to the South African Minister of External Affairs. It is hardly to be expected that the South African government would care to have a conference on race relations, so I suggested a technical conference on criminal procedure, and tacked on to it, the possible subject of African concepts of criminal justice. If

it is held, the important points will be that South Africa convenes it, the United Nations sponsors it, and delegates from sub-Saharan African states attend it.

17) It would greatly profit South Africa internationally if this government were to use self-confessed liberals in their technical or academic capacities on international missions or delegations, or internally.

18) To what extent is there active co-operation between America and British foundations and service organizations in relation to work in Africa?

19) In view of the setting up of the new university colleges for Non-Whites, which ideologically should eventually be staffed by Non-Whites, the government is unlikely to allow Non-White graduates to take jobs out of South Africa. If post-graduate scholarships were offered for specialised study or advanced courses, without any protest or political connotation to the gift, it is possible that the South African government would give passports. Africans will attend these new colleges; their standards will have to be reasonably good.

20) Anything that can support a greater appreciation of Non-White humanity and ability in South Africa is to be welcomed. I think of certain Negro achievements in America. For South Africa it could be athletic success, a night-club singer in Greenwich village, an outstanding writer, a jazz composer - in other words, something which touches common humanity. Thinking on race relations in South Africa is often too political or intellectualised.

21) The Institute of Race Relations must be maintained as independent and strong. It has its non-party political function. It cannot mount any emotional platform; it cannot receive the plaudits of a mass demonstration. In the situation in South Africa, it has a reputation for objectivity and integrity. It must maintain this. Some day I hope that, when the pace of change in Africa has caught South Africa in its course, and the children born of the Institute have come of age, the Institute, gasping and exhausted, left stranded by the tide of reform, will sit in contemplation and with an assured, benevolent eye, if rheumy, see what it was born to create, come to fruition. But the time is not yet.

28/.....

9. CONCLUSION

For my wife and myself I have said thanks to many persons. I would conclude by saying real and sincere thanks to the staff of the African-American Institute, to Loyd Steere for his friendly organization and understanding, to Mr. Hagbert for the exciting contacts in Washington, to Mr. Pat Murphy for a delightful but too brief visit in Accra, to Miss Shirley Smith to whom my wife is more than grateful, to Miss Allain for her unruffled handling and good humour, to the junior staff members of all organizations for friendly and charming assistance. May I add one last "idea" drawn from American experience - the impact of courteous and friendly reception by not only senior, but by senior-junior, or junior staff.

Quintin Whyte

February, 1960.

REMINDER FOR MF:

Send press pamphlet (when ready) to:

Mr. Fred J. van Wyk
Assistant Director
S. A. Institute of Race Relations
Auden House
68 De Korte Street
Braamfontein
Johannesburg, South Africa

Sent 3/25/60

File Quintin Whyte
S.A. Inst. for R.R.

For Personal & Not Public Information

c/o P.O. Box 97,

Johannesburg.

23rd April, 1960.

A LETTER I HAVE NOT SENT TO THE "NEW YORK TIMES"

Sir,

It is with the utmost distress that I have read reports of the now massive American criticism and condemnation of "South Africa", which, it appears, 32 organizations wish to translate into action, for I fear such action will isolate South Africa culturally and spiritually. I know that the many Americans whom I have known and met are highly critical of South African policies and condemn them, but I cannot believe that they would wish to support the suggested campaign.

Although my own opposition to, and condemnation of, the policy of "apartheid" in the less easy context of my own country is sufficiently known, I must admit to some hurt at this blanket condemnation of all white South Africans which this contemplated action implies. Is there a moral basis or real value in what would be a form of undiscriminating communal punishment?

If carried through, what will it do?

1) Surely Americans with vision and understanding, not only of the present but of the potential of South Africa as a future, stable, multi-racial state, will not wish to see this campaign succeed. I am certain they will agree that it will destroy the carefully built up bridges and contacts between South Africa and the United States of America. These are bridges by which it is hoped that the morale of those who find no truth in "apartheid",

both/.....

both black and white, will be sustained, and the vision of those of narrower belief be widened and liberalised.

2) Americans and American organizations in the past have played a significant rôle in helping the emergence of African leaders, deeply imbued with Christian and Western concepts and ideals of living - Luthuli, Xuma, Matthews, Mtimkulu, Ngcobo, Moroka, Mokitimi, Mahabane, and many others. These men have made their own judgment on Nkrumah, Mboya, Kenyatta. Surely America will wish to strengthen these men who are the guarantee of evolutionary and not revolutionary processes. A campaign, if successful, will deprive Americans of this opportunity. Vulgarly put, it will take the "guts" out of black and white Christian liberals, and deprive them of what has been a moral strength and backing for the belief that South Africa will find an evolutionary pattern. Will the campaign perhaps encourage the more radical left and entrench the more reactionary right?

3) Surely all Americans do not really believe that by such a process more fundamentally enlightened policies will be pursued in South Africa. One of the problems of South Africa has been the isolation of a large section of the white population who were cut off from the liberal and progressive movements of 19th century Europe. Will not a campaign of this nature throw South Africa back into the cultural and spiritual isolation from which it has been slowly emerging?

4) One of the guarantees of a more stable racial pattern in South Africa is an expanding economy. America has found South Africa a field, if small, for investment. One half of American capital investment in Africa is to be found in South Africa. Its depreciation in South Africa would not, of course, hurt the U.S.A., but it would seriously hamper the existing progressive integration

of non-whites/....

of non-whites into industry at higher levels of skills and wages. It would, of course, cut short the present willingness of industry and commerce to raise African wages and productivity. I do not really think that Americans would want this to happen. If successful in deterring economic interest in South Africa, a campaign will lead at least to a slowed-down economic tempo. It might even create economic depression in South Africa, and that, as we know, will not improve race relations.

5) Christian Churches must, of their very nature, pass judgment on human injustices and political evils but, while offering the bread of human and political justice, they surely would not forget that Christian compassion must also be extended to "evil-doers". I am sure that American Churchmen will not lose sight of this, for the use of political means is not likely to subserve adequately the ultimate Christian end. While it is true that a campaign might provoke thinking on the fundamental nature of the Christian teaching, would the campaign itself represent the Golden Rule and the Beatitudes or ....? Christian leaders will have to give thought to the impact of this on African Christian thinking.

6) My American friends will know that personally I do not raise such cynical questions as - Is it a diversionary tactic? Is it an expedient extension of American foreign policy? What speaks? American sense of right and justice or American self-interest? - Yet more hardened politicians may, and they will not appreciate the heartwarming and generous honesty and concern which imbues so many American hearts and directs their actions. Altruism should, however, be informed by sophisticated wisdom and accurate knowledge.

7) Nor do I believe that any of my friends would advocate the achievement of conversion by hitting a man on the head

rather/.....

rather than getting alongside him and discussing the error of his ways. They would reject, I think, the caveman tactic of self-righteous indignation and use, to put it at its worst, the strategy of the "hidden persuader". I do not believe that the image the world has of America is portrayed in "The Ugly American". I myself most sincerely reject it.

While accepting the right of the outside world to make moral judgments on a matter in which I believe the world is fundamentally right, I have asked that Americans proceed to the reform and rehabilitation of the "criminal". In other words, sir, I am suggesting that instead of reducing American-South African contact, this should be doubled and trebled. American foreign policy must, of need, give priority to African interests on this continent, but in applying this to South Africa, it will surely pay heed to the balance of forces in this country which are not to be met with in any other country south of the Sahara. In no other such country have Africans so fully adopted Western patterns of religious and political thinking, and in no other country do they wish so ardently to participate fully in its benefits. Would not more solid and sounder dividends be won by positive and constructive efforts to bring South Africans, black and white, more fully within the ambit and influence of the Western world than by thrusting "South Africa", black and white, into the outer darkness?

Yours truly,

Quintin Whyte

May 5, 1960

Via Air Mail

Mr. Quintin Whyte
South Africa Institute of Race Relations
68 De Korte Street
Braamfontein, Johannesburg
South Africa

Dear Mr. Whyte:

I greatly enjoyed reading your report to the African-American Institute. My sincere thanks to you for your thoughtfulness in sending it.

I particularly enjoyed the concluding paragraph on page 27 -- and am strongly tempted to plagiarize it.

In these days of grievous trouble for South Africa, it is good to know that the Institute of Race Relations is at work.

With every good wish to you and your colleagues, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (INC.)

35th Annual Report
1963 - 1964

Make folder

SOUTH AFRICAN

SUMMARY

Director — Otto Adendorff
Public Affairs Officer — Eschel Rhoodie
Editor — Dirk Rezelman

655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N. Y., TE 8-1700

Vol. 4, No. 17
April 23, 1965

AIRCRAFT FACTORY SEEKS STAFF IN EUROPE.

South Africa is trying to attract British aircraft workers made redundant by recent decisions to cancel orders for the British Government. South African Immigration Department officials have inserted advertisements in British newspapers over the last fortnight offering jobs in the Atlas Aircraft Company for British aircraft technicians.

A spokesman at the South African Embassy in London said yesterday that hundreds of replies had been received and they were still being sorted out.

The Johannesburg Sunday Express stated that the Atlas Aircraft Corporation, which is to build jet trainer aircraft for the South African Air Force, will need more than a thousand skilled technicians when it is in full production.

A spokesman for Atlas Aircraft said that South African technicians would be employed where possible, "but we will not rob other South African industries of their skilled men. The large majority of our skilled staff will be recruited mainly in Britain, France, Italy and West Germany."

NEW HARBOUR SITE ANNOUNCED: Richards Bay, - on the Natal coast approximately 150 miles Northeast of Durban - the site for South Africa's new major harbour, has more potential than Durban harbour. This was revealed by Mr. B. J. Schoeman, the Minister of Transport, after he had announced the new harbour site last week.

Mr. Schoeman said: "I am tremendously impressed and pleased at what I have seen during my inspection of Richards Bay and have no doubt in my mind that it has even more potential than Durban harbour. Therefore I had no hesitation in choosing it as the country's next major harbour."

Planning for the new harbour would start almost immediately but building would not start within the next few years as it was a long term project, he said.

COIN DEADLINE CONFRONTS MINT: The South African Mint in Pretoria is working at full pressure in preparation for the issue of 80 million new coins next month. Well over a million new five-cent and two-cent pieces are being struck daily to meet the deadline.

There will be 7 denominations in all - a R1 piece (in silver), 50-cent, 20-cent, 10-cent and 5-cent pieces in nickel and 2-cent and 1-cent pieces in bronze. The two and a half cent piece (tickey) will be retained as long as it is felt necessary. The first of the new five-cent and two-cent pieces will be issued on May 11, and it is expected that all the new coins will be in use in about two years' time.

S.W.A. CASE - COURT ADJOURNED FOR EASTER: The International Court of Justice adjourned for its Easter recess with parties in the South West Africa case still arguing the vital points of law involved - the first phase of the case - a month after the oral hearing started.

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South Africa, which is alleged to have violated its mandate over South West Africa, is expected to continue when the Court resumes on April 22, with its reply to points already argued by Ethiopia and Liberia. This may take three or four days and there will be comments from Ethiopia and Liberia followed by further arguments by South Africa.

The Court is also waiting to hear the reaction of Ethiopia and Liberia to South Africa's proposal that the Court, or a Committee of it, should make an extensive tour in Africa to get an impression of comparable standards of well-being and progress of the peoples.

LONDON SEEKS S.A. ART TALENT: During his visit to South Africa in December last year, Mr. Eric Estorick, Director of the Grosvenor Gallery in London, selected fifteen artists to exhibit in the first major representative showing of South African art in London since 1948. Mrs. Linda Miller, the Grosvenor Gallery's representative in South Africa, said that Mr. Estorick was so impressed with the standard of South African art that he is inviting other South African artists to submit examples of their work for possible inclusion in the big October show at the gallery.

SOUTH AFRICAN INVENTION NOTED IN BRITAIN: The new air conditioning developments devised in South Africa are listed in the latest journal of the New Product Centre in London which acts as a clearing house for information on new products throughout the world.

Listed under the heading "agriculture" is an evaporating cooling unit for greenhouses, developed by the air conditioning and refrigeration division of the National Mechanical Engineering Research Institute in Pretoria, primarily for use in countries with a hot dry climate. The unit, which can filter dust and microorganisms, aids air circulation to stimulate natural conditions for plants in greenhouses.

The air-conditioned overhead crane cabin devised by the Germiston firm of H.R. Lash is described in the journal as suitable for workshops where hot metal or similar substances have to be handled.

TRANSKEI INDUSTRIAL GROWTH A HIGH PRIORITY: The retiring Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. C. Bruce Young, said last week that the next task would be to help develop the Transkei industrially and economically. "We have gone a long way on the constitutional development. Now the progress and development of industry, trade and economy is high up on the priority list."

SOUTH AFRICAN LECTURED ON HEART SURGERY: Professor C. N. Barnard, Associate Professor of Surgical Research at Cape Town University, said last week he believed a team of properly equipped South African surgeons and technicians could teach India a great deal about heart surgery. Prof. Barnard visited India recently at the invitation of the All-India Institute of Medical Science to lecture on valve replacement surgery. He said he had not completed his mission because he found that he could not "go it alone". A great deal more equipment was needed for heart surgery than he had at his disposal. He was pressed to return with a fully equipped team, he said.

GOOD RAINS - MORE ON THE WAY: Steady soaking rains last week have given farm lands a new lease on life in the parched and sun-scorched western and northern Transvaal, Free State and Northern Cape. The drought is spoken of as the worst in fifty years. Although the rains have been fairly general, many areas are still drought stricken.

SHOALS OF TUNNY AT CAPE: Recently hordes of tunny were massed off Cape Town in shoals stretching for 20 miles and more and probably covering a far wider area. A fortnight ago fishermen caught at least 400 on rod and reel to give one of the biggest single day catches ever recorded in South Africa.

ARGENTINE RUGBY TOUR: Twenty five Argentine rugby players are preparing for the first ever Argentine rugby tour of the Republic of South Africa. The Argentine team will have to travel 9,000 miles by air before arriving at Jan Smuts Airport on May 5 and during their eight week visit they will play 16 matches.

SOUTH AFRICAN

SUMMARY

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Director — Otto Adendorff
Public Affairs Officer — Eschel Rhoodie
Editor — Dirk Rezelman

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ESCOM HAS VAST DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES

Two giant power stations, the biggest in the world, are to be built in the Transvaal at a cost of more than R320 million ($448 million). Known on blueprint as Station X and Station Y, they will be built by the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM). A multi-million rand contract for the supply of coal to the first of the two stations will be awarded this week.

With the new stations in operation, ESCOM will use 4,000 million gallons of water and 36 million tons of coal annually. Its output will be 40,000 million units of electricity a year.

The new power stations will attract tenders for contracts totalling R320 million ($448 million) for turbines and boilers. They will each have a capacity of 2,000 megawatts.

S.W.A. CASE: SOUTH AFRICA'S INVITATION REJECTED: Ethiopia and Liberia told the International Court of Justice that they considered South Africa's proposal that it should go on an extensive visit to Africa as "wholly unnecessary."

Mr. Ernest A.M. Gross for Ethiopia and Liberia, told the Court he did not consider that resolution of the issues, required or justified the Court to exercise its functions elsewhere than at its seat in The Hague. He also said that the proposal was premature because a number of legal issues required to be decided before the proposal could be decided upon.

BANTU EDUCATION BETTER THAN IN ANY AFRICAN STATE: Phenomenal progress has already been made in educating the Bantu people of the Republic of South Africa. The education received by them is nowhere equalled in Africa, Mr. W.A. Maree, Minister of Bantu Education and Indian Affairs, said in Pretoria last week, according to a report in the South African newspaper DAGBREEK. Mr. Maree was commenting on a report that U Thant, Secretary-General of the U.N., had called for assistance by Britain, the U.S.A., Norway and Sweden to help with the education of Bantu and other non-whites in South Africa because separate development was "restricting their education."

Mr. Maree said that proof to the contrary is contained in the following figures: 80 per cent of the Bantu in the age group 7 to 20 years were literate and 83 per cent of the total Bantu population in the age group 7 to 14 years attended school for a longer or shorter period at present. The number of Bantu pupils attending school had increased from 209,000 in 1925 to 1.7 million in 1963 - an increase of 746 per cent. The number of schools had increased from 2646 in 1925 to 8463 in 1963, while the number of teachers had increased during this period from 6995 to 30119. Compared with an attendance percentage figure of 83 per cent in the age group 7 to 14, the comparable figures in other African countries were much lower. In Ghana, it was only 29 per cent, in Ethiopia 18 per cent, in Kenya 49 per cent, in Liberia 17 per cent, in Nigeria 34 per cent, the Sudan 11 per cent, and in Somalia 5 per cent.

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TRANSFER OF INDIAN EDUCATION ADVANTAGEOUS: The South African Indian Council and the various Provincial Administrations concerned had agreed to the transfer of all Indian education to the control of the Department of Indian Affairs, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Mr. W.A. Maree, said in the Assembly last week when he moved the second reading of the Indian Education Bill. The Minister said the Bill would, among other things, provide more employment opportunities for Indian administrative and professional staff, prepare Indians better for the service of their own community and relieve Natal of the heavy financial burden which it had to bear in respect of primary and secondary education for Indians.

The South African Indian Council, which would eventually become an elected Council, would progressively gain control over Indian education under the Government's policy that each race group must eventually take responsibility for its social, economic and educational development services. An education advisory council for Indians, similar to the three existing advisory councils for Whites, Coloureds and Bantu respectively, would be established.

COLOUREDS NOW PERMANENTLY IN THE NAVY: For the first time, the South African Navy is to take on Coloured recruits on a permanent basis. There is a possibility that, under white officers, they may completely man smaller vessels like minesweepers, Naval Headquarters announced last week.

New recruits will receive basic training at the South African Coloured Corps Training Center at Eerste River and when this is done they will go to Simonstown for further training. A first batch of 100 Coloured men is to be recruited and there will be advertisements offering a career in the Navy later in the year.

TRANSKEI POLICY VINDICATED: Since its inception the Transkei Government had followed a policy which was fundamentally sound, being based on the proved and established principles of a genuine democratic form of Government, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M.D.C. de Wet Nel, said last week while opening the Third Session of the Transkei Legislative Assembly in Umtata. The Minister said it was a policy which aimed at the closest possible cooperation with the Republic and the peaceful co-existence of white and Bantu in South Africa by means of maintaining and extending strong ties of friendship between the Transkei and the rest of the Republic.

The Minister congratulated the Transkei Government on the manner in which it had succeeded in attaining the aims of its policy and on the manner in which the duties, activities and responsibilities assigned to it had been discharged. The deliberations in the Legislative Assembly and the legislation which had been passed by it were a testimony of the ability and dignity with which members had performed their task as representatives of their people.

NEW TOWNSHIP FOR AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY: A R10 million ($14 million) housing project for technicians employed by the new South African Aircraft Industry was announced at a Press Conference at Jan Smuts Airport last week. A new township, Bonaeropark, will mushroom three miles north-east of Jan Smuts Airport and 1,000 houses will be built during the next three years. Houses will be built in such a way that new settlers can be accommodated the same day they arrive. Furniture requirements will be minimal and each house will have a fully fitted kitchen and laundry facilities.

The first hundred homes will be constructed from ten basic designs to give variety to the housing scheme and each unit will occupy one-third of an acre and will cost between R5000 ($7000) and R6000 ($8400). In addition to individual houses, duplex flats are to be built.

MONUMENT PLAN IN HONOUR OF DIAS: A fund to build a monument to Bartholomew Dias, the Portuguese navigator who rounded the Cape of Good Hope, was suggested at a luncheon recently by the South African Information Officer in Lisbon, Mr. Cyrus Smith. He suggested that such a monument should be built either at Dias' birthplace or in Lisbon, as a sign of Portuguese-South African friendship. A Director of a Portuguese shipping company, Commander Henriques, immediately offered 100,000 escudos ($3,500) towards the building of the monument.

SOUTH AFRICAN SUMMARY

Director — Otto Adendorff
Public Affairs Officer — Eschel Rhoodie
Editor — Dirk Rezelman

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CHIEF MINISTER MATANZIMA ON TRANSKEI DEVELOPMENT

The Transkei had embarked on an intensive experimental project which could lead to the State becoming a very important tea-producing country, the Chief Minister, Chief Kaizer Matanzima, said during his Budget speech in the Transkei Legislative Assembly last week.

The Chief Minister outlined other development projects and added: "The Government has made great strides towards a sound agricultural economy. The successful production of commodities such as tea, sugar cane, fiber, timber and hides could only be the forerunner to factories for further processing and the eventual industrialization of parts of our homeland."

The first year of self-government, he said, had passed into the pages of history as "a year during which the eyes of the world had been focussed upon us and especially upon our reactions to being clothed with full financial powers."

None but the "harbingers of doom" had been disappointed and the standard set during the past twelve months for the financial administration of the Transkei had surprised and even confounded her critics.

BAG FACTORY FOR S.A.: A huge factory for the manufacture of grain bags is to be erected in South Africa. It will be an asset not only for agriculture in general, but will also give an impetus to the development of certain Bantu homelands. The fibre used in manufacture -- Phormium Tenax -- has already been planted extensively in the Transkei and Natal. The factory would probably be erected near the Transkeian border.

SUFFICIENT ARMS PRODUCED IN SOUTH AFRICA - FOUCHE: Mr. Jim Fouche, the Minister of Defence, disclosed last week that South Africa was practically self-sufficient as far as the production of armament was concerned. Speaking in Bloemfontein, Mr. Fouche said that South Africa could supply all the neighbouring states with weapons and could even export arms to Western Europe if those countries wanted to buy armaments from the Republic.

ORANGE RIVER PROJECT -- EQUIPMENT FOR DAMS: Tenders are invited for the supply of mechanical and electrical equipment for the Hendrik Verwoerd and the Van Der Kloof Dams of the Orange River Project.

The Department of Water Affairs has prepared a printed explanatory memorandum containing full information and a questionnaire on the equipment required. Copies of this document are obtainable, on request, from all South African foreign offices abroad.

REQUESTS FROM NUMISMATISTS SWAMP S.A. MINT: In efforts to obtain proof sets of the newly-designed South African coins, numismatists are swamping the Mint in Pretoria with letters. Although only 25,000 proof sets will be struck, the Mint had received more than a million requests by the middle of April and by the time these proof sets become available

SOUTH AFRICAN SUMMARY is published weekly to keep Americans up-to-date with news events in the Republic of South Africa. All inquiries, including subscription requests, should be addressed to: SUMMARY, Information Service of South Africa, 655 Madison Ave., New York 21, N.Y. All material may be reprinted with or without acknowledgement.

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in August, the Mint expects to have received at least three-million requests. Only numismatists who obtained proof sets from the Mint in previous years will be supplied and each collector will be entitled to only one set.

So great is the demand for these (as yet unstruck) proof sets in the United States, that 5,000 dealers and millions of numismatists are prepared to pay at least eight times the selling price of R3.50 ($4.9) per short set and R16.50 ($23.1) per long proof set.

SATOUR OPENS NEW OFFICES: The South African Tourist Corporation is aiming at 250,000 tourists a year by the end of 1966. Mr. Pierre Basson, Director of the Corporation, said recently that new promotional offices were being opened in Milan, Paris and Toronto this year as part of the drive to increase tourist trade. This would increase the number of offices abroad to eight, in addition to one in Salisbury, he said. The other offices abroad were at Sydney, London, Frankfurt, New York and Los Angeles.

Expanded air services made South Africa as accessible as many other popular tourist countries. "We are only fourteen hours away from Europe and another day away from the United States."

MORE TRAVEL BY AIR: Air passenger traffic at South Africa's six major airports more than doubled in the six years from 1958 to 1964. The total rose from 578,000 in 1958-59 to 1,182,000 in 1963-64. Statistics in the annual report of the Department of Transport for the year 1963-64 show that Jan Smuts Airport handled 574,000 passengers -- almost as many as the other five airports together.

BANTU IN CANE-SUGAR INDUSTRY: Bantu growers are obtaining an increased share in the Natal cane-sugar industry. Already 3,500 Bantu farmers with a total of 22,144 acres of registered quota land under cultivation are at present producing about R1-million ($1.4 million) worth of sugar cane per annum. In the last 10 years, with financial and technical assistance from the Department of Bantu Administration and-Development, Bantu growers increased their production from 34,317 tons to approximately 200,000 tons per year.

BOOKS FOR THE BLIND: When the service known as Tape Aids for the Blind began in Durban five years ago, it recorded ten books in its first year. It now records more than ten a month. The service depends entirely on public generosity and has no regular income. About a hundred men and women give their services free nearly every night as readers, operators and checkers. An average novel can take about forty man hours to record.

Non-fiction as well as fiction books are recorded in English, Afrikaans, Xhosa and other Bantu languages and a few in German and French. The record library today has 333 members.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA HAS BIG ENROLMENT: Among the 387 degrees and 251 diplomas conferred at the graduation ceremony of the University of South Africa last week, several were awarded to foreign students.

Speaking at the ceremony, Professor A.C. Cilliers of Stellenbosch, said that in 1948 there were 18,000 students registered in the Republic's eight residential universities. In 1965 the figure had reached 36,000 -- an average annual increase of 4-1/2 per cent. At the non-residential University of South Africa, 16,000 students were enrolled in 1965. A start was made last year with South Africa's 9th residential university, the University of Port Elizabeth.

TRAINING OF BANTU DOCTORS: A stepped-up program for the training of Bantu doctors to accommodate the growing needs of the 11-million Bantu in the Republic was advocated recently by Professor Francois J. de Villiers, speaking at the University College of Fort Hare.

"I believe the time is ripe for the establishment of a medical school devoted exclusively to the training of Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho doctors," he said. "We envisage a hospital with laboratory and lecture room facilities for 1,000 Bantu students and a stepped-up medical program for the growing needs of 11-million Bantu people."

THE THIRTY-FIFTH SESSION

of the

South Carolina Conference of Social Work

and

ASSOCIATED CONFERENCES

Conference Theme

"GEARING SOCIAL SERVICES TO MEET WAR AND POST-WAR PROBLEMS."

October 25, 26, and 27, 1944

THE STATE HOUSE

Columbia, South Carolina

THIS PROGRAM IS VALUABLE TO THE OWNER

Name Guy B. Johnson

Address Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

(If found, please return)

ANNOUNCEMENTS

REGISTRATION: Everyone attending the Conference is expected to register. There is no registration fee for Conference members, but individuals who are not members are requested to pay a registration fee of twenty-five cents. Please cooperate by registering promptly and filling in your address carefully. This registration is used as a mailing list for future meetings and one copy is kept with the permanent Conference records. Help us to keep this complete.

MEMBERSHIP: The fiscal year is from January 1 to December 31, and membership taken out now are for 1944. Please remember that the Conference depends upon its members for support and every membership serves to build a stronger, more effective, and more valuable Conference. If you are not a member, why not join? Your loyalty and assistance will mean much to the future program of the Conference and the social welfare program in South Carolina.

RESOLUTIONS: Resolutions originating in Section Meetings too late for consideration at the Buisness Session will be referred to the Executive Committee meeting for action.

PLEASE

Presiding officers are requested to start and close their meetings promptly at the hours scheduled. In turn, those attending the sessions are asked to show the chiarmen and speakers the courtesy of arriving at meetings on time. The confusion caused by late arrivals and drifting in and out of meetings is very distracting to speakers and annoying to the audience. We count upon your understanding and cooperation.

THE CONFERENCE INSTITUTES

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1944

9:30-12:00—Morning Session

2:00-4:30—Afternoon Session

"Problems of Institutional Workers"—Leader, Mrs. Kate B. Helms, Chief, Child Wlefare Division, State Department of Public Welfare, Columbia.

"Preparing Home and Community for the Return of the Service Man"—Leader, Doctor Luther E. Woodward, Field Consultant, Division of Rehabilitation, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City.

"Social Group Work"—Leader, Doctor Walter L. Stone, Director of Research, Council of Community Agencies, Nashville, Tennessee.

"The Case-Work Job in a Local Agency"—Leader, Miss Edith Stander, Child Welfare Consultant, Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis, Indiana.

"Social and Emotional Factors in Families Where Tuberculosis is a Problem"—Leader, Miss A. Frances Beery, Consultant in Social Services, National Tuberculosis Association, New York City.

"Principles of Interviewing"—Leader, Mrs. Helen P. Moore, Assistant to the Chief, Home Service Training, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

"Health Needs of Negroes—And What to Do About Them" Leaders, Doctor Fred C. Mason, United States Public Health Service, Georgia State Board of Health; Mr. Nelson C. Jackson, Social Protection Representative, Federal Security Agency, Atlanta, Georgia.

11:30—Registration. Lobby of State House.

12:30—Luncheon

South Carolina Tuberculosis Association Secretaries' Private Dining Room, Jefferson Hotel.

1:00—Salvation Army Agency

Colonial Room, Jefferson Hotel.

Speaker—Senator O. T. Wallace, Charleston County

6:00-7:45—Tea Conference, Alumni of the School of Social Work, University of South Carolina, Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel.

7:30—Registration, Lobby of State House

7:30—Exhibit Opens, Library of State House

THE CONFERENCE SESSIONS

WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCTOBER 25, 1944

8:15—General Session. House of Represntatives.

Concert—Apollo Chorus, Mr. Leonard C. Moltz, Director, Mrs. Leonard C. Moltz, Pianist.

Presiding—Mr. Henry R. Sims, President of the South Carolina Conference of Social Work, Rock Hill; Miss Laura Smith Ebaugh, Vice-President, Greenville.

Invocation—Doctor A. T. Jamison, Honorary President of Conference, Greenwood.

The President's Message—Mr. Henry R. Sims, President of Conference

Address—"Four Decades in South Carolina"—Mr. Alan Johnston, General Counsel, Federal Works Agency, Washington, D. C.

Assembly Singing—"Star Spangled Banner".

10:00—Reception honoring visitors and members at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Derieux, 532 Harden St.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26

8:30—Registration. Lobby of State House.

9:00-10:00—Business Session, Senate Chamber.

10:15-11:30—General Session, House of Representatives.

Presiding—Mr. Henry R. Sims.

Invocation—The Reverend Carl B. Caughman, Secretary, The Evangelical Lutheran Synod of South Carolina.

Address—"Contributing Causes of Delinquency and the Community's Responsibility in Providing Services to Prevent Delinquency."—Mr. H. K. Moss, Special Agent, Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice.

Address—"Plans for Vocational Rehabilitation under the Barden-LaFollette Act"—Mr. Michael Shortley, Director, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

11:45-1:00—SECTIONAL CONFERENCES AND ASSOCIATED CONFERENCES.

No. 1—"Community Organization for Human Welfare" Hearing Room, Public Service Commission, Wade Hampton Office Building

Leader—Dr. Harry Clark, University of South Carolina

"Getting the Community Into Action"—Dr. Walter L. Stone, Research Director, Council of Community Agencies, Nashville, Tennessee.

Participants: Dr. Beverly Munford Boyd, Rector of Grace and Holy Trinity Church, Richmond, Virginia; Mrs. Kate B. Helms, Chief, Child Welfare Division, State Department of Public Welfare; Miss Eleanor Shenehon, Director, Division of Community Services, The American Social Hygiene Association, New York City; Mr. John Edelman, Textile Workers Union, Washington, D. C.

Discussion.

No. 2—"Rehabilitation", The House of Representatives. Leader—Mr. Henry R. Sims

"The American Red Cross Aspects of Services to the Ex-Service Man"—Mr. Harry R. Hall, Administrator, Services to the Armed Forces of Southeastern Area.

"The Ten Point Program of the South Carolina Medical Association."—Mr. M. L. Meadows, Executive Director and Counsel, South Carolina Medical Association, Florence.

Discussion.

No. 3—Interdenominational Christian Social Relations Conference, Senate Chamber.

Presiding, Mrs. Ben W. Aiken, Chairman, Spartanburg

"The Place of the Interdenominational Christian Social Relations Groups in the Community."

Mr. J. P. Coates, Executive Secretary, South Carolina Education Association, Columbia.

Business Session

No. 4—Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students, Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel.

Presiding—Miss Frances Kinsey, President, Furman University, Greenville.

Panel—"Child Labor"

Discussion Chairman: Miss Ellen Denny, Furman University.

Representatives from the following Colleges will participate: University of South Carolina, Converse, Limestone, Winthrop, Coker, Furman University.

Consultants: Mr. R. L. Gamble, Commissioner, State Department of Labor; Mrs. Mary L. Bailey, Consultant, Child Welfare Division, State Department of Public Welfare.

1:15—Luncheons

No. 1—Social Hygiene Conference. Colonial Rooms, Jefferson Hotel.

Presiding: Mr. H. M. McElveen, Chairman, State Social Hygiene Committee.

"Social Hygiene Problems in Wartime and After"—Miss Eleanor Shenehon, Director, Division of Community Services, The American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.

No. 2—Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students. Metropolitan Cafe, 1224 Hampton Street.

Presiding—Miss Frances Kinsey, President, Furman University.

"The College Girl's Stake in Future Social Progress." Mr. Henry R. Sims, President, Winthrop College.

No. 3—Interdenominational Christian Social Relations Conference.—Trinity Parish House, 1200 Senate Street.

Presiding: Mrs. Ben W. Aiken, Chairman, Spartanburg

Introduction of Doctor Beverly M. Boyd, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Richmond, Virginia, by the Right Reverend John G. Gravatt, Bishop of the Upper Diocese of the Episcopal Church.

"Church and Community Needs"—Doctor Boyd.

AFTERNOON SESSIONS

3:15-4:30—Conferences

No. 1—"Improving Services to Dependent Children" House of Representatives.

Presiding: Mrs. Glenn Cannon, Consultant, Child Welfare Division, State Department of Public Welfare

Participants: Miss Leila Johnson, Chief, Public Assistance Division, State Department of Public Welfare.

Miss Cornelia Wallace, Director of Case Work, Connie Maxwell Orphanage, Greenwood.

Miss Rebecca Smith, Director, Child Care Committee, Greenville.

Miss Ethel Stander, Consultant, Children's Division, Indiana State Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis.

No. 2—"The Functions of Community Councils"—Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel.

Presiding—The Reverend T. F. Wallace, President, Richland County Council of Social Agencies.

Leader—Mr. Walter L. Stone, Director, Research Director, Council of Community Agencies, Nashville, Tennessee.

No. 3—County Public Welfare Directors Association Legion Room, Wade Hampton Hotel.

Presiding—Mrs. Ruth Covington, Chairman, Bennettsville

No. 4—Salvation Army Group Conference, Senate Chamber

Presiding—Major Ernest Pickering, Divisional Commander, Jacksonville, Florida.

"Religion in Social Work"—Major Gilbert Decker, Salvation Army, Atlanta, Georgia.
(Open to all interested persons.)

No. 5—South Carolina Attendance Teachers, Millwood Room, Wade Hampton Hotel.

Presiding: Mrs. Olin Horn, Chairman, St. George.

5:45-7:45—Annual Meeting of the South Carolina Mental Hygiene Society.

Dinner, Educational Building of The First Baptist Church.

Presiding—The Reverend J. Obert Kempson, President

"A Community Post War Program for Better Mental Hygiene Training of Children."—Dr. Luther E. Woodward, Field Consultant, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City.

Business Session.

EVENING SESSION

8:15—General Session, Sponsored by the State Department of Public Welfare, House of Representatives.

Presiding—Mr. Arthur B. Rivers, Director.

Invocation—The Reverend J. A. Ward, Walterboro.

Address—"Goals in Public Welfare"—Dr. James Kinard, Chairman, State Board of Public Welfare, and President of Newberry College.

Assembly Singing—"America".

(Immediately after the adjournment of the Evening Session, The Columbia Society for the Hard of Hearing will show a motion picture entitled "The Right to Hear Well."

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27

8:30—Registration. Lobby of State House.

9:00-10:00—Business Session. The Senate Chamber.
Presiding—Mr. Henry R. Sims.

10:15-11:30—General Session. House of Representatives.

Presiding—Mr. Henry R. Sims.

Invocation—The Reverend T. F. Wallace, First Presbyterian Church.

Assembly Singing—"America, The Beautiful"

"The World We Want"
(Representatives from the National Conference of Christians and Jews will present this topic).

Mr. Paul Williams, Former Director of the Catholic Committee of the South, Richmond, Virginia.

Mr. Jacob M. Kammen, Executive Director, Jewish Social Service Agency, Washington, D. C.

The Reverend William A. Ryan, Associate Director, National Conference of Jews and Christians, Washington, D. C.

11:45—Two Round Table Discussions of topics related to the presentation in the General Session will be conducted.

Sectional Conferences:

No. 1—The Community's Responsibility for the Care of the Aged", Senate Chamber.

Leader—Mr. W. H. Ward, Director, Extension Division, University of South Carolina.

"The Present Status of County Homes in South Carolina" Mr. Arthur B. Rivers, Director, State Department of

Panel—From the Point of View of:

A County Director of Public Welfare—Miss Charlotte Stevenson, Richland County.

A Physician—Dr. F. Eugene Zemp, Columbia.

A County Commissioner—Mr. Eugene Spearman, Newberry County.

A Superintendent of a Church Home—Mrs. R. W. Sease, Lowman Home, White Rock.

A Dietitian—Miss Julia McDill, Executive Secretary, South Carolina Nutrition Committee, War Food Administration, Clemson.

"The Plan for the Further Development of the Richland County Alms House"—Senator Joe E. Berry, Richland County.

Discussion

No. 2—"The Industrial Worker in the Community Program" Legion Room, Wade Hampton Hotel.

Leader—Mr. John Edleman, Textile Workers Union, Washington, D. C.

1:15-3:00—Associated Conference Luncheon

South Carolina Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers. Colonial Room, Jefferson Hotel.

Presiding—Mr. Jules Bank, President.

"The Function of the Social Worker in the Social Protection Program"—Mrs. Florine J. Ellis, Social Protection Division, Federal Security Agency, Atlanta, Georgia.

(For members and visiting members of the A.A.S.W.)

3:15—Interracial Conference. Sponsored by the Forum Committee, South Carolina Interracial Committee. Educational Building of the First Baptist Church.

Presiding—Mrs. George E. Davis, Chairman.

Introduction of speaker by Mr. Marion A. Wright, Chairman, South Carolina Interracial Committee.

"Today and Tomorrow in the South"—Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council. Atlanta, Georgia.

Discussion.

ASSOCIATED CONFERENCES

South Carolina Chapter American Association of Social Workers
South Carolina Mental Hygiene Society
State Department of Public Welfare
County Public Welfare Directors Association
Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students
South Carolina Attendance Teachers
The American Red Cross
The Salvation Army
Interdenominational Christian Social Relations Conference
Social Group Workers Committee
South Carolina Social Hygiene Committee
South Carolina Tuberculosis Association Secretaries Association
School of Social Work, University of South Carolina

OFFICERS OF THE CONFERENCE

Mr. Henry R. Sims, President, Rock Hill
Miss Laura Smith Ebaugh, Vice-President, Greenville
Mr. Thomas H. Daniel, Treasurer, Columbia
Dr. A. T. Jamison, Honorary President, Greenwood

Executive Committee

Dr. Francis W. Gregg, Rock Hill
Dr. R. C. Grier, Due West
Mr. Athur B. Rivers, Columbia
Mrs. Ben W. Aiken, Spartanburg

Executive Secretary

Miss Adele J. Minahan, Columbia

Regional Directors

The Reverend F. Clyde Helms, Columbia, Central
Dr. J. A. Ward, Walterboro, Coastal
Mr. Samuel Want, Pee Dee, Darlington
Dr. Robert Phillips, Piedmont, Greenville

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

Program

Miss Adele J. Minahan, Chairman
Mrs. Glenn Cannon
Mrs. Rosamonde Wimberly
Miss Carolina Caldwell
Miss Laura Smith Ebaugh
Mrs. H. Merrills Lewis

Sub-Committee

Mr. W. H. Ward
Mr. Arthur B. Rivers
Major Ernest Pickering
The Reverend T. F. Wallace
Mrs. Ben W. Aiken
Miss Frances Kinsey
Mrs. Thelma Crouch
The Reverend J. Obert Kempson
Mrs. George E. Davis
Mr. H. M. McElveen
Mrs. Frances Hicks
Mr. Jules Bank
Mr. P. G. Sherer

Conference Resolutions

Mrs. H. Merrills Lewis, Chairman
Miss Mary Calvert
Mr. D. McL. McDonald
Dr. J. A. Ward
Mrs. Mary Bailey
Miss Mary E. Frayser

Institute

Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Chairman
The Reverend J. Obert Kempson
The Reverend T. F. Wallace
Mrs. Glenn Cannon
Mrs. Martha Miller
Mr. Arthur B. Rivers
Miss Adele J. Minahan

Sub-Committee

Miss Lillian Hunt
Miss Leila G. Johnson
Mrs. D. McL. McDonald
Miss Pauline Radford
Miss Mae Beth Packer
Mrs. W. M. Lightsey
Mrs. Frances Hicks
Miss Allie McNeil
Miss Virginia Prouty

Courtesy Resolutions

Miss Jane Whitlock, Chairman
Mrs. Ruth K. Wilbur
Mrs. Sue Hutchinson
Hon. Ransome J. Williams
Mrs. John D. Bell

Nominating

Mr. Harold J. Reeves, Chairman
Mrs. Henry Raines, Central
Miss Rebecca Smith, Piedmont
Mrs. Mary K. Baskerville, Pee Dee
Mrs. Ferebe S. Cone, Coastal

Membership

Mrs. Sue Hutchinson, Piedmont
Mrs. Henry Raines, Central
Mrs. Ruth K. Wilbur, Coastal
Miss Adele J. Minahan, Pee Dee

Exhibit

Mrs. J. F. McInery, Columbia, Chairman

Necrology

Miss Charlotte Stevenson, Columbia, Chairman
Mrs. St. Julian Barnwell
Miss Annie Doty

Registration

Mrs. Thomas Derieux

Reception

Mrs. Robert E. Craig, Chairman
Mrs. Joe Bates
Mrs. Elizabeth Belser
Mrs. E. M. Herrick
Miss Charlotte Coppage

Song Leader—Miss Virginia Prouty

USHERS: Girls Scouts and Girl Reserves

Discussion with Exec. Com. of S.C. Interracial Com.

10-27-44

1. The S.R.C. – what it has been doing since Feb. Charter meeting

- Reason for slow development
  - staff difficult to get
  - overwhelming demands on time of our small staff.
  - New quarters
- Beginnings on Program
  - Publications
  - assistance to organizations
  - Participation in conferences
  -

2. Relation of S.R.C. to State Interracial Groups.

- Review relation of C.I.C. to state committees.
- Structure of S.R.C.
- Our proposal for affiliation
  - Membership in S.R.C. on individ. basis
  - all officers of affiliate must become members of S.R.C.

Sec. 562—P. L. & R.

QUARTERLY BULLETIN

THE SOUTH CAROLINA
CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume 2 OCTOBER, 1944 Number 3

President's Message

In this last message as President of the South Carolina Conference of Social Work, I desire, first of all, to express my appreciation of the co-operation so generally extended and my pleasure at having enjoyed the privilege of working with you.

I am very hopeful of the continuing development of our organization, and its increased influence in our State for the achievement of reasonable social progress. There will be no doubt about it, if every member will recognize and act on the responsibilities which adhere to every liberal. Some of these are:

—to live without hypocrisy, thinking honestly and acting sincerely;

—to examine critically every tradition, custom and institution which has been received from past ages, accepting and sponsoring only those which serve the present wlefare of mankind;

—to be a constructive members of society, bearing the burden necessary for good government and contributing to every cause which promises to make this earth a brighter and happier world;

—to strive intelligently and to battle bravely to remove ignorance, poverty, disease and affliction from the face of the earth;

—to exact no advantage, to grasp no comfort or luxury and claim no privilege except as you concede and desire to share with every other man and woman;

—to recognize your moral responsibility to justify the worth of your individual life, by so conforming to the ideals and principles of righteousness that your life will be a blessing and a joy and death will present no fear or terror.

HENRY R. SIMS

CONFERENCE CALL

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work hereby calls its members and invites other interested individuals to meet in a war conference in Columbia, October 25-27 in the State House. The conference is being held so that social work may contribute its utmost to winning the war and establishing a just and lasting peace.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

The Program Committee is delighted to announce that Mr. Alan Johnstone, General Counsel of the Federal Works Agency, Washington, D. C., will be the keynote speaker at the General Session of the State Conference on the evening of October 25, in the hall of the House of Representatives, The State House.

MR. ALAN JOHNSTONE

Mr. Johnstone is a native South Carolinian and needs no introduction to a South Carolina group and especially the South Carolina Conference of Social Work, for he has long been a member of the Conference and has rendered many services in the promotion of social betterment in the state. As a member of the State Legislature he was the author of the Child Labor and Compulsory Education Acts.

Mr. Johnstone organized and served as Director of the South Carolina Emergency Relief Administration during the dark period of the depression. Later as Field Representative for the Southeastern States for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and Civil Works Administration, Mr. Johnstone supervised the activities in South Carolina.

GENERAL INFORMATION 1944 CONFERENCE

Registration—Every one attending the conference is expected to register. There is no registration fee for Conference members. Individuals who are not members are requested to pay a registration fee of twenty-five cents. The registration desk will be located in the lobby of the State House.

Housing Accommodations—The following hotels are near the State House: "Wade Hompton", "Columbia", "Marmac". Several blocks away the "Jefferson", and "Marion."

Please communicate with the hotels direct.

Exhibits—Organizations desiring to arrange an exhibit please make application for space at once to the Conference Office. The Exhibits will be housed in the Library of the State House. We are desirous of having the exhibits arranged on Tuesday afternoon after three o'clock, October 24, and on Wednesday morning, October 25. J. F. McInerny is chairman of Exhibit Committee.

Memberships—Please remember that the Conference depends entirely upon

its membership for support and every membership serves to build a stronger, more effective, and more valuable Conference. If you are not a member, why not join? Your loyalty and assistance will mean much to the future program of the Conference and the social welfare program in South Carolina.

Resolutions—Members of the Conference who may be planning to introduce resolutions at the 1944 Conference are asked to give very careful thought and consideration to the intent, purpose, and effect of such resolutions. Resolutions must be presented in duplicate, typed if possible, and complete as to text. Please send resolutions to the Conference Office not later than October 18.

EIGHTH ANNUAL SOCIAL SERVICE INSTITUTE

Sponsored By THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Wednesday, October 25, 1944

No. 1—"Problems of Institutional Workers"

A discussion of the present day problems of institutional workers serving children. An effort will be made to determine the kind of services that are most needed for children in the State.

Leader—Mrs. Kate B. Helms
Chief, Child Welfare Division, State Department of Public Welfare.

No. 2—"Preparing Home and Community for the Return of the Service Man."

A discussion of what the professional worker can do to help the returned service man; how these workers can help the community be prepared for the return of these men and women; what can be done in the community for the service man vocationally and industrially; what can be done to help the community cultivate the right attitude to the service man, especially the handicapped and mentally ill; how we can meet the changed attitudes of the returned service man; what can be done to help him meet the changed attitudes of the home; and how the home can be assisted in meeting his changed attitudes.

Leader—Doctor Luther E. Woodward, Field Consultant, Division of Rehabilitation, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City.

No. 3—Social Group Work

The Group Work Institute will examine the place and the function of group work in community welfare, the gains made during the war period, and the unmet needs and implications for the future.

Leader—Doctor Walter L. Stone, Director of Research, Council of Community Agencies, Nashville, Tennessee

(This institute is designed for Recreational Workers, Scout Leaders, Y.W.C.A., Y.M.C.A., Church Group Leaders and others.

No. 4—"The Case-Work Job in a Local Agency."

This institute will be centered around a discussion of the part played by the worker in a local agency in helping the persons who apply for, and later receive, the services of that agency. Case material will be used in the discussion.

Leader—Miss Edith Stander, Child Welfare Consultant, Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis, Indiana

No. 5—"Social and Emotional Factors in Families Where Tuberculosis Is a Problem."

The basic facts about tuberculosis

QUARTERLY BULLETIN
of
The South Carolina Conference
of Social Work

CONFERENCE OFFICE
1119 Barnwell Street
Columbia, South Carolina

President
Senator Henry R. Sims.....Rock Hill

Vice-President
Miss Laura S. Ebaugh.....Greenville

Treasurer
Mr. Thomas H. Daniel, Columbia

Executive Secretary
Miss Adele J. Minahan.....Columbia

will be presented and a discussion of the social and emotional problems that the disease, because of its chronic and communicable character, produce in the individual patient and his family. The need for special services and methods of solving such problems will be considered.

Some of the services to be emphasized are: preparation of the patient and family for hospitalization; treatment of patient and family during hospitalization; and restoring of the patient to normal living after discharge from the sanitarium.

Application will be made to a community that has made a study of its tuberculosis situation and planned for the obtaining of additional resources through the cooperation of its health and social agencies.

Leader—Miss Frances A. Beery, Consultant to Social Services, Rehabilitation Service, National Tuberculosis Association, New York City.

No. 6—"Principles of Interviewing."

(Fee for this Institute is for the general Conference expenses. The American Red Cross participation is without charge to the Conference.)

Leader—Mrs. Helen P. Moore, Assistant Chief, Home Service Training, Washington, D. C.

No. 7—"Health Needs of Negroes—And What to Do About Them."

Leaders—Doctor Fred Mason, U. S. Public Health Service assigned to the Georgia State Board of Health.

Mr. Nelson C. Jackson, Social Protection Representative, Federal Security Agency, Atlanta, Ga.

GENERAL INFORMATION RELATIVE TO INSTITUTES

Registration Fee is $1.00. Please enclose with Application.

No Application will be accepted later than October 17, 1944.

Please mail Application to Mrs. Kate B. Helms, Chairman, Institute Committee, 2620 Preston St., Columbia 35, South Carolina.

As far as possible, the first choice will be given although it may be necessary to make allocations to the second or third choices. If several members of one agency staff request the same institute, the Institute Committee will assume responsibility for assigning the institute, regardless of choice.

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE PROGRAM

CONFERENCE THEME:

"Gearing Social Services to Meet War and Post-War Problems."

Wednesday, October 25, 1944

9:30 A.M.—Institute Sessions

11:30—Registration, Lobby of the State House.

12:30—LUNCHEONS (Open to all interested in attending.)
South Carolina Tuberculosis Secretaries' Association, Private Dining Room, Jefferson Hotel.

Make reservations to Mrs. Wallace Rutherford, Richland County Tuberculosis Association, Court House, Columbia. Price $1.25.

Salvation Army Agency Luncheon, Colonial Room, Jefferson Hotel. Price $1.50.

Speaker—Senator O. T. Wallace, Charleston

Make reservations to Captain Harold Ferking, Salvation Army, Columbia.

2:00-4:30 P.M.—Institute Sessions

6:00-7:45—Tea Conference, Alumni of the School of Social Work, Unievrsity of South Carolina, Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel.

Make Reservations to Miss Bess Ferguson, Society for the Hard of Hearing, 1514 Assembly St., Columbia.

7:30—Registration, Lobby of State House.

7:30—Exhibit Opens, Library of State House.

8:15—General Session, House of Representatives

Music—Apollo Chorus, Mr. H. A. Neal, Business Manager.

The President's Message—Mr. Henry R. Sims, President of the Conference.

Address—Topic to be announced: Mr. Alan Johnstone, Federal Works Agency, Washington, D.C.

10:00—Reception—Honoring guests and members.

Thursday, October 26, 1944

9:00-10:00—Business Session, The Senate Chamber

10:15-11:30—General Session, House of Representatives.

Address—"Contributing Causes of Delinquency and the Community's Responsibility in Providing Services to Prevent Delinquency."

Mr. H. K. Moss, Special Agent, Bureau of Inverstigation, United States Department of Justice

Address—"Plans for Vocational Rehabilitation under the Barden-LaFollette Act."

Mr. Michael Shortley, Director, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

11:45-1:00—Sectional Conferences and Associated Group Conferences

No. 1—"Community Organization for Human Welfare."

Hearing Room, Public Service Commission, Wade Hampton Office Building

Leader—Dr. Harry Clark, University of South Carolina.

"Getting the Community into Action"

Dr. Walter L. Stone, Research Director, Council of Community Agencies, Nashville Tennessee.

Resource Participants:

Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Chief, Child Welfare Division, State Department Public Welfare.

Miss Eleanor Shenehon, Director, Division of Community Services, The American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.

No. 2—Conference "Rehabilitation," House of Representatives

Leader—Mr. Henry R. Sims, President of Conference

"The American Red Cross Aspects of Service to Ex-servicemen."

Mr. Hamilton Eames, Director, Military and Naval Welfare Services, Southeastern Area.

"The Ten Point Program of the South Carolina Medical Association."

Mr. M. L. Meadows, Executive Director and Counsel, Florence

Discussion

ASSOCIATED CONFERENCES:

No. 1—Interdenominational Christian Social Relations Conference
The Senate Chamber

No. 2—Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students

Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel
Panel—"Child Labor"

1:15—LUNCHEONS

No. 1—Social Hygiene Committee, Colonial Room, Jefferson Hotel
Speaker—Miss Eleanor Shenehon, Director, Division of Community Services, The American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.
Make reservations to Miss Adele J. Minahan, 1119 Barnwell St., Columbia. Price $1.25.

No. 2—Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students. Metropolitan Cafe, 1224 Hampton St.
Speaker—Mr. Henry R. Sims, President of Winthrop College
Make reservations to Miss Frances Kinsey, Pres. Furman University, Greenville. Price $1.00.

No. 3—Interdenominational Christian Social Relations Conference
Trinity Parish House, 1200 Senate Street.
Make Reservations to Miss Dorothy Crawford, Trinity Parish House. Price $.75.
Speaker—The Reverend Beverly Boyd, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

Afternoon Session

3:15-4:30—

No. 1—"Improving Services to Dependent Children."
House of Representatives
Chairman—Mrs. Glen Cannon, State Department of Public Welfare.

No. 2—Community Councils—
Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel
Chairman—The Reverend T. F. Wallace, President, Richland County Council of Social Agencies.

No. 3—County Public Welfare Directors Association, Legion Room, Wade Hampton Hotel
Mrs. Thelma Crouch, Edgefield
Chairman of Arrangements

No. 4—Salvation Army Group Conference, The Senate Chamber (opened to all interested persons)
Chairman—Major Ernest Pickering, Divisional Commander, Jacksonville
Speaker—Major Gilbert Decker, Salvation Army, Atlanta, Georgia
Topic—"Migration"

No. 5—South Carolina Attendance Teachers Conference
Millwood Room, Wade Hampton Hotel

5:45-7:45—Annual Dinner Meeting of the South Carolina Mental Hygiene Society
Speaker—Dr. Luther A. Woodward, Field Consultant, Division of Rehabilitation, The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, New York City
Education Building, First Baptist Church. Price $1.00.
Make reservations to Mrs. Alice Siebels, 1200 Henderson Street, Columbia

Evening Session

8:15—General Session, House of Representatives
Sponsored by the State Department of Public Welfare
Mr. Arthur B. Rivers, Director
Address—"Goals in Public Welfare", Dr. James Kinard, Chairman, State Department of Public Welfare, Newberry

Friday, October 27

9:00-10:00—Business Session, The Senate Chamber

10:15-11:30—
Topic—"The World We Want"
(Representatives from the National Conference of Christians and Jews will develop this timely topic in a though provoking way.)
Mr. Paul Williams, Richmond, Va.
Former Director of the Catholic Committee of the South

Mr. Jacob M. Kammen, Executive Director, Jewish Social Service Agency, Washington, D. C.
The Reverend William A. Ryan, Associate Director, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Washington, D. C.

11:45—Two Round Table Discussions of topics related to the presentations in the General Session will be conducted.

Sectional Conferences

No. 1—"Community's Responsibility for the Aged."
The Senate Chamber
Leader—Mr. W. H. Ward, Director, Extension Division, University of South Carolina

No. 2—"The Industrial Worker in the Community Program"
Legion Room, Wade Hampton Hotel
Leader—Mr. John Edleman, Textile Workers Union, Washington, D. C.

1:15—Luncheon
S. C. Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers, Colonial Room, Jefferson Hotel. Make reservations to Mrs. Millie D. Sanders, State Department Public Welfare, Columbia.
(For members and visiting members of the A.A.S.W.)
Price $1.25.

3:15—Interracial Conference. Sponsored by the Forum Committee, South Carolina Interracial Committee, Mrs. George E. Davis, Orangeburg, Chairman.

"Today and Tomorrow in the South"
Miss Margaret L. Fisher, Director, Public Relations, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia.

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

PROGRAM:

Miss Adele J. Minahan, Chairman
Mrs. Glenn Cannon
Mrs. Rosamonde Wimberly
Miss Caroline Caldwell
Miss Laura Ebaugh
Mrs. H. Merrills Lewis

SUB-COMMITTEE:

Mr. W. H. Ward
Mr. Arthur B. Rivers
Major Ernest Pickering
The Reverend T. F. Wallace
Mrs. Ben W. Aiken
Miss Frances Kinsey
Mrs. Thelma Crouch
The Reverend J. Obert Kempson
Mrs. George E. Davis
Mr. W. H. McElveen
Mrs. Frances Hicks
Mr. Jules Bank
Mr. P. G. Sherer

INSTITUTE:

Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Chairman
Miss Winifred Zwemer
The Reverend T. F. Wallace
Mrs. Glenn Cannon
Mrs. Martha Miller
Mr. Arthur B. Rivers
Miss Adele J. Minahan

SUB-COMMITTEE:

Miss Lillian Hunt
Miss Leila G. Johnson
Mrs. D. McL. McDonald
Miss Pauline Radford
Miss Mae Beth Packer
Mrs. W. M. Lightsey
Mrs. Frances Hicks
Miss Allie McNeil
Miss Virginia Prouty

CONFERENCE RESOLUTIONS:

The Reverend J. A. Ward, Coastal
Mrs. Mary Bailey, Piedmont
Miss Mary E. Frayser, Central

COURTESY RESOLUTIONS:

Miss Jane Whitlock, Chairman
Mrs. Ruth K. Wilbur, Coastal
Mrs. Sue Hutchinson, Piedmont
Hon. Ransome J. Williams, Pee Dee
Mrs. John D. Bell, Central

NOMINATING:

Mr. Harold J. Reeves, Chairman
Mrs. Henry Raines, Central
Miss Rebecca Smith, Piedmont
Mrs. Mary K. Baskervill, Pee Dee
Mrs. Ferebe S. Cone, Coastal

MEMBERSHIP:

Mrs. Sue Hutchinson, Piedmont
Mrs. Henry Raines, Central
Mrs. Ruth K. Wilbur, Coastal
Miss Adele J. Minahan, Pee Dee

EXHIBIT:

Mrs. J. F. McInnery, 3404 Abingdon Road, Columbia, Chairman

NECROLOGY:

Miss Charlotte Stevenson, Department of Public Welfare, Columbia, Chairman
Mrs. St. Julian Barnwell
Miss Annie Doty

(Please send to the Chairman the names of members known to you who have entered eternal rest.)

October 3, 1945

Miss Adele J. Minahan, Executive Secretary
The South Carolina Conference of Social Work
1930 College Street
Columbia 21, S. C.

Dear Miss Minahan:

I am sorry to be this late in replying to your request for help in lining up a Negro speaker for your annual conference on November 6th. I have been thinking of a number of possibilities, and after talking with Dr. Forrester B. Washington, Director of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, I have decided to suggest Mrs. Dan L. Davis.

Mrs. Davis teaches courses on Child Welfare in the Atlanta University School of Social Work and has charge of their field work in child welfare. She is a native of Kentucky, and she has served as Consultant on Child Welfare in the State Welfare Department in Illinois. Dr. Washington recommends her very highly. I will know shortly whether Mrs. Davis is available or not.

In the meantime, I suggest that you let me know by collect telegram whether you would like to have Mrs. Davis and whether the Conference can take care of her expenses. Then, if you wish, I can proceed with final arrangements at this end.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work

CONFERENCE OFFICE
1930 COLLEGE STREET
COLUMBIA, 21, S. C.

President
DR. R. C. GRIER, Due West
Vice-President
MISS LAURA SMITH EBAUGH, Greenville
Treasurer
MR. THOMAS H. DANIEL, Columbia
Executive Committee
MR. HENRY R. SIMS, Rock Hill
MR. ARTHUR B. RIVERS, Columbia
MRS. BEN. W. AIKEN, Spartanburg
MR. SAM M. SMITH, Greenwood
Executive Secretary
MISS ADELE J. MINAHAN, Columbia

DR. A. T. JAMISON, HONORARY PRESIDENT
CONNIE MAXWELL ORPHANAGE
GREENWOOD

Regional Directors
THE REVEREND F. CLYDE HELMS, Columbia
Central
DR. J. A. WARD, Walterboro
Coastal
MR. SAMUEL WANT, Darlington
Pee Dee
MRS. MARY P. EDWARDS, Spartanburg
Piedmont

September 24, 1945

RECEIVED
SEP 25 1945
Southern Regional Council

Doctor Guy B.Johnson, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue , N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

We are planning for a series of institutes in connection with our Annual Conference on November sixth. We are writing in an endeavor to enlist your interest in an institute developed along the thought of a child welfare service program meeting the real needs of dependent Negro children. We should appreciate having your organization secure the services of the institute leader- a Negro leader, if possible. This institute will be attended by both races- social workers, and lay citizens.

Of course, we agree with Dr.Charles S.Johnson's statement: " Things that are happening to Negro children are things in bold relief that are happening to all children. In the long run, the best safeguards are security for Negro children rest in the determination of the whole nation to provide good care for all its children. We cannot care for our minority children one-handed; we need the cooperation of all the races in our Country."

On the other hand, the fact still remains, that we do not have adequate facilities for Negro children, and there is a poverty of resources and opportunities for Negro children, at least this the situation in South Carolina.

We feel sure that you understand that this situation will have to be handled carefully by the leader - we need to face facts -in a sound way.

Your assistance will be deeply appreciated.

Cordially yours,

Adele Johnston Minahan

Adele Johnston Minahan
Executive Secretary

SC Gen
SW

South Carolina Committee of The Southern Regional Council

1st. Vice Chairman
MRS. MARION B. WILKINSON
Orangeburg

2nd. Vice Chairman
J. E. BLANTON
Denmark

EXECUTIVE BOARD

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Charleston

Treasurer
ADELE J. MINAHAN
Columbia

Secretary
REBECCA REID
Sumter

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1945
Southern Regional Council

Tel - 375

Dr. Guy E Johnson
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3,Ga.

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I am very grateful for your prompt reply to my appeal about Dr. Alexander. I sent a wire at once as advised, but have had absolutely no reply. Western Union can get no report. So today I put in a call for Dr. Odom's office at Chapel Hill and they say they do not know where he is. Can you give me any further light? I want to get a reply from him before taking any further steps and time is growing short.

Please tell me what his permanent address is, or will it be possible for you to"corral" him and find out whether he could be in Columbia November 8 for a Forum on connection with the State Conference of Social Work.

May I ask your judgment on the possibility of your "Publicity" member of the staff fitting into such a "pinch-hit". You know South Carolina and her limitations, and the need for glove handling this dynamite here; also the need for a person who is very dynamic in impressing his group. I have no authority to issue such an invitation, but I am sure that your opinion and mine will have weight with the Forum Committee.I have been instructed to invite Dr. W.W.Alexander.

Thanking you for an early reply and any help you can give me and the Cause I am,

Cordially yours,

Rebecca Reid

Rebecca Reid.

G.E.J. left for Washington before this could be handled.
Miss Reid telephoned 10/25. Asked me to get someone for meeting, perhaps Dr. Clement. I tried to get Clement, but he is away.
Called John Griffin; he thought he might be able to do it.
10/26 - I called Miss Reid & she says get Griffin if possible. S.C. Com. will pay his expenses.

Oct.19,1945. 5.30 P.M.

At last a Western Union report from Washington telegram being held for Dr. Alexander's return to that City Oct.23. Will let you know what I hear from him then.

Thank you for your cooperation.

R.R

Rebecca Reid.

RECEIVED
OCT 20 1945
Southern Regional Council

FEDERAL ANNEX. ATLANTA, GA.
OCT 20 1945
5 PM
RECD.

Re: Special Delivery letter mailed you an hour ago. This follows.

October 8, 1945

Miss Adele Johnston Minahan
Executive Secretary
S. C. Conference of Social Work
~~1330 College Street~~
Columbia 21, S. C.

Dear Miss Minahan:

Thank you for your letter of October 5. I shall tell Mrs. Davis that Mrs. Helms will be writing her soon about the subject matter of the program on which you want her to speak.

I wish I could be at your meeting, but right now it looks as if it will be impossible. We are sending some literature under separate cover for distribution or display at the November 6th meeting.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

25 copies #1; 10 copies #4, 50 of After the War, 50 Veterans: It need not happen, 10 August and 10 September Frontier, 1 copy of South, ½ doz adds re South.

C W
10/8/45

October 8, 1945

Mrs. Dan L. Davis
Atlanta University School of Social Work
247 Henry Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Davis:

I have just received a letter from Mrs. Adele Johnston Minahan, Executive Secretary of the South Carolina Conference of Social Work, in which she states that you may expect to have a letter soon from Mrs. Kate B. Helms, Chairman of the Institute Committee concerning the program which they want you to conduct.

I think it is splendid that you are willing to speak to the South Carolina Conference and I am sure that you will make a fine contribution.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work

CONFERENCE OFFICE
1930 COLLEGE STREET
COLUMBIA, 21, S. C.

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Coastal
MR. SAMUEL WANT, Darlington
Pee Dee
MRS. MARY P. EDWARDS, Spartanburg
Piedmont

October 5, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 8 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr.Guy B.Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

We appreciate very much your assistance in securing the services of Mrs.Dan L.Davis of the Atlanta University to lead the institute in connection with our State Conference of Social Work on November the sixth.

Mrs.Kate B.Helms, Chairman of Institute Committee, will write Mrs.Davis about the subject matter content of the institute.

Thank you again for this service. If you are near Columbia - November 6~~8~~ 8 we will be so glad to have you attend. We hope that some kind wind will blow you this way.

Sincerely yours,

Adele Johnston Minahan

Adele Johnston Minahan
Executive Secretary

Will be glad to have on literature table some of the pamphlets of the Southern Regional Council, if pamphlets are available .

S.C. Con. of S.R.C.

p.10

THE THIRTY-SIXTH SESSION

of the

South Carolina Conference of Social Work

and

ASSOCIATED CONFERENCES

Conference Theme

"FACING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES AND PROBLEMS".

November 6, 7, and 8, 1945

THE STATE HOUSE

Columbia, South Carolina

THIS PROGRAM IS VALUABLE TO THE OWNER

Name .....

Address .....

(If found, please return)

ANNOUNCEMENTS

REGISTRATION: Everyone attending the Conference is expected to register. There is no registration fee for Conference members, but individuals who are not members are requested to pay a registration fee of twenty-five cents. Please cooperate by registering promptly and filling in your address carefully. This registration is used as a mailing list for future meetings and one copy is kept with the permanent Conference records. Help us to keep this complete.

MEMBERSHIP: The fiscal year is from January 1 to December 31, and memberships taken out now are for 1945. Please remember that the Conference depends upon its members for support and every membership serves to build a stronger, more effective, and more valuable Conference. If you are not a member, why not join? Your loyalty and assistance will mean much to the future program of the Conference and the social welfare program in South Carolina.

RESOLUTIONS: Resolutions originating in Section Meetings too late for consideration at the Business Session will be referred to the Executive Committee meeting for action.

NINTH ANNUAL SOCIAL SERVICE INSTITUTES

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1945

9:45-12:15 Morning Session

2:00-4:30 Afternoon Session

No. 1 "Planning and Coordinating Services for Veterans in a Local Community."

Leader—Mr. Robert E. Bondy, Administrator, Services to the Armed Forces and Veterans, American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

No. 2 "The Problems of Mental Health of the Civilian Caused by the War and Other Influences of This Time".

Leader—Dr. Maurice E. Greenhill, Associate Professor of Neuropsychiatry, Duke University School of Medicine, Durham, N. C.

No. 3 "The Role of the Social Service Exchange in Community Welfare".

Leader—Mrs. Mary Ansley Miller, Executive Secretary, Social Service Index, Atlanta, Georgia.

No. 4 "Emerging Trends in Juvenile and Domestic Relations Courts".

Leader—Mr. Francis H. Hiller, National Probation Association, New York City.

No. 5 "Understanding of Illness as a Part of Social Case Work".

Leader—Mrs. Barbara Bailey Hodges, Director of Medical Social Work, National Catholic School of Social Work, Washington, D. C.

No. 6 "Social Group Work Institute".

Leader—Miss Lazelle D. Alway, National Child Labor Committee, New York City, formerly with the National Young Women's Christian Association.

No. 7 "Everyday Problems in Children's Institutions".

Leader—Mr. O. V. Woosley, Superintendent, Childrens Home, Inc., Winston-Salem, N. C.

No 8 "Institutional and Foster Home Care".

Leader—Alex H. Kaplan, Lt. M. C., U.S.N.R., Fort Jackson, South Carolina.

No. 9 "Case Work Problems in Public Assistance".
Leader—Mrs. Ella W. Reed, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, Illinois.

No. 10 "Modern Case Work Methods".
Leader—Miss Pearl Salsberry, School of Social Work, University of South Carolina, Columbia, South Carolina.

No. 11 "Meeting the Needs of Dependent Negro Children—An Integrated Community Program".
Leader—Mrs. Dan W. Davis, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1945

No. 1 "Probation and Parole".
Leader—Dr. C. J. France, Director, State Department of Social Welfare, Providence, Rhode Island.

No. 2 "The Clerical Worker in a Social Agency".
Leader—Mrs. Ella W. Reed, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, Illinois.

12:00 Registration. Lobby of State House.

5:00-6:30 Tea Conference, Alumni of the School of Social Work, University of South Carolina, Rathskeller, Jefferson Hotel.

7:30 Registration. Lobby of State House.

7:30 Social Service Exhibit. State House Library.

THE CONFERENCE SESSIONS

TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 6, 1945

8:15 General Session. House of Representatives.

Presiding—Doctor Robert Calvin Grier, President of the South Carolina Conference of Social Work, Due West;

Miss Laura Smith Ebaugh, Vice-President, Greenville.

Invocation—Doctor A. T. Jamison, Honorary President.

Welcome on behalf of the State. Governor Ransome J. Williams.

The President's Message "Am I My Brother's Keeper"

Address—"Juvenile Delinquency, Causative Factors and Remedial Measures". Mr. Noel B. Wright, Jr., Federal Bereau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice.

10:00—Reception at Governor's Mansion.
Governor and Mrs. Williams, host.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7

8:45 Registration. Lobby of State House.

9:00-10:00 Business Session, Senate Chamber.

10:00-12:30 INSTITUTES

No. 1 "Probation and Parole".
English Room, Columbia Hotel.

Leader—Doctor Clements J. France, State Department of Social Welfare, Providence, Rhode Island.

No. 2 "The Clerical Worker in a Social Agency".
Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel.

Leader—Mrs. Ella W. Reed, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, Illinois.

10:00 COUNCIL OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL SERVICE.
Registration.

10:30 Opening Session.

Presiding—Mrs. Ben W. Aiken, Chairman, Spartanburg.

Invocation—The Revered James G. Jennings, Greenlawn Baptist Church.

"What is Christian Social Service"—Doctor James W. Jackson, First Presbyterian Church.

Forum: "Religions Contribution in Helping Families and Individuals Out of Trouble".

Leader—The Reverend William A. Thompson, City Missionary for the Episcopal Church, Columbia.

Participants: Mrs. Kate B. Helms, Chief, Child Welfare Division, State Department of Public Welfare.

Mrs. L. William Brown, Executive Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Columbia.

Open Discussion.

10:15-11:30 General Session, House of Representatives.

Presiding—Doctor Robert Calvin Grier.

Invocation—The Reverend F. Clyde Helms, Shandon Baptist Church.

"From Veteran to Civilian"—Mr. Robert E. Bondy, Administrator, Services to the Armed Forces and Veterans, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

"The Challenge Is Now Or Never"—Doctor C. N. Sisson, Coker College, Hartsville.

11:45-1:00 SECTIONAL CONFERENCES

No. 1 "Unmet Needs of the Physically Handicapped"
Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel.

Leader—Doctor Rosamonde Wimberly, Spartanburg.

"Vocational Rehabilitation"—Mr. P. G. Sherer, Director, State Vocational Rehabilitation Department.

"The Blind"—Mrs. Annie B. Owings, Chief, Division for the Blind, State Department of Public Welfare.

"The Hard of Hearing"—Miss Mary Phelps Wheeler, School of Social Work, University of South Carolina.

"The Deaf"—Doctor Laurens Walker, Superintendent, State School for the Deaf and the Blind, Cedar Springs.

"The Crippled"—Doctor G. S. T. Peeples, Director, Crippled Children's Division, State Board of Health.

"The Epileptic"—Dr. W. K. Beckman, State Hospital.

Discussion.

No. 2 "Care of the Aged and Chronically Ill".
English Room, Columbia Hotel.

Leader—Mrs. Mary Earle Stevenson, State Department of Public Welfare, Chester.

Discussion.

No. 3 "Social Treatment of the Sex Delinquent".
Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives.

Leader—Mrs. Florine Ellis, Social Protection Division, Federal Security Agency, Atlanta, Georgia.

Discussion

No. 4 "Impact of Post-war on Child Labor"
Committee Room of the House of Representatives.

Presiding—Miss Laura Smith Ebaugh, Furman University

Leader—Miss Lazelle Alway, Assistant Secretary, Legislative and Field Service, National Child Labor Committee, New York City.

Discussion.

1:15 **LUNCHEON SESSION.**

No. 1 Social Hygiene. State Committee.
Private Dining Room, Metropolitan Cafe, 1224 Hampton Street.

Presiding—Mr. H. M. McElveen, State Board of Health, Chairman.

"Health Education in Industry"—Mrs. Percy Shostac, Consultant on Industrial Cooperation. The American Social Hygiene Association, New York City.

No. 2 Council of Christian Social Service.
Good Shepherd Episcopal Church, 1512 Blanding St.

Presiding—The Reverend F. Clyde Helms, Shandon Baptist Church.

Blessing—Doctor Lewis N. Taylor, Good Shepherd Episcopal Church.

"The Christian Churches Responsibilty to Society"—Senator Alfred Scarborough, Sumter.

3:00 Business Session.

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:30 South Carolina Attendance Teachers Association.
Ways and Means Committee Room, House of Representatives.

Mrs. J. Olin Horne, St. George, Chairman.
(Members only)

3:15-4:30

No. 1 County Public Welfare Directors Associations
Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel
Mr. Hoyt Burnett, Saluda, Chairman
(Members only)

No. 2 "The Red Cross Program of Services to Veterans"
Senate Chamber.
"Functions of the Home Service Division in Chapters"
Miss Mary B. Calvert, Deputy Director, Home Service, Southeastern Area, Atlanta, Georgia.
"Financial Assistance to Veterans: A Community Responsibility".
Mr. Ray T. Schaeffer, Assistant Manager, Southeastern Area, Atlanta, Georgia.
Discussion.
(Open to the Conference)

No. 3 "Settlement and Settlement Laws".
English Room, Columbia Hotel.
Presiding—Mr. Thomas H. Daniel, Chairman.
Leader—Doctor Clements J. France, Director, State Department of Social Welfare, Providence, Rhode Island.
Discussion.
(Open to the Conference)

No. 4 Workers in the Children's Courts Conference
Committee Room of the House of Representatives.

6:00-730 Annual Dinner Meeting of the South Carolina Mental Hygiene Society.
Laurel Hill, Corner of Assembly and Laurel Streets.
Presiding—Mr. William C. Nau, Greenville, Vice-President.
"Psychiatry Becomes of Age"—Doctor Maurice E. Greenhill, Associate Professor of Neuropsychiatry, School of Medicine, Duke University, Durham, N. C.
Business Session.

EVENING SESSION

7:30 Registration. Lobby of State House.

8:15 General Session. House of Representatives.
Sponsored by the State Department of Public Welfare.

Presiding—Mr. Arthur B. Rivers, Director.

Invocation—The Reverend Carl Caughman, Social Mission Pastor of the South Carolina Lutheran Synod.

"The Role of Public Assistance In The Postwar Economy" Mr. Victor D. Carlson, Regional Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8

8:45 Registration. Lobby of State House.

9:00-9:50 Business Session. The Senate Chamber.
Presiding—Doctor Robert Calvin Grier.

10:00-11:15 General Session. House of Representatives.

Presiding—Doctor Robert Calvin Grier.

Invocation—Doctor Lewis N. Taylor, Good Shepherd Episcopal Church.

The Corrections Study Plan Committee, Mr. John W. Crews, Chairman.

"Shall there be a New Prison World?"—Doctor Clements J. France, Director, State Department of Social Welfare, Providence, Rhode Island.

Discussant—Mr. Francis H. Hiller, National Probation Association.

"Community Action at the Cross Road"—Mrs. J. Florine Ellis, Social Protection Division, Federal Security Agency, Atlanta, Georgia.

11:15 Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students.
Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel.

Presiding—Miss Kit Hale, President.

Business Session.

11:45 Panel Discussion.

"Professional Opportunities for Sociology Graduates" Miss Mary N. Gray, Furman University, Chairman.

Participants: Student representatives from: University of South Carolina, Columbia, Limestone, Coker, Converse, Erskine, Winthrop, Furman.

11:30 General Session. The Senate.

Presiding—Doctor Robert Calvin Grier.

"Social Work In Action—In Europe Today"

Mr. Edumnd P. Grice Jr., Director, Charleston County Public Welfare Board, formerly with the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization.

"Childhood—Our Real Atomic Age"

Mr. Stephen L. Nelson, Executive Director, Community and War Chest, Charleston.

1:00 Adjournment.

1:15-3:00 **Associated Conferences Luncheons.**

No. 1 Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students.

Metropolitan Cafe. 1224 Hampton Street.

Presiding—Miss Kit Hale, President.

"The Role of the Student in Securing Social Action"

Miss Lazelle D. Alway, National Child Labor Committee, New York City, Committee Member of Associated Youth-Serving Organizations.

Immediately after this session the Students will visit the State Hospital Clinic.

No. 2 South Carolina Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers. Rathskeller, Jefferson Hotel.

Presiding—Mr. Jules Bank, President.

"Planning and Development for South Carolina".

Mr. Robert M. Cooper, Director, State Research Planning and Development Board.

3:00 Interracial Conference.

Chapel of First Presbyterian Church, Corner Marion and Washington Streets.

(See Special Program)

Sponsored by the Forum Committee of the South Carolina Committee of the Southern Regional Council. Doctor Rosamonde Wimberly, Chairman.

"The Unmet Needs of Minority Groups"

(See Special Program)

ASSOCIATED CONFERENCES

State Department of Public Welfare: Mr. Arthur B. Rivers, Columbia.

Probation and Parole Association: Mr. J. C. Todd, Columbia.

South Carolina Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers: Mr. Jules Bank, Columbia.

South Carolina Mental Hygience Society: The Reverend J. Obert Kempson, Columbia.

School of Social Work of the University of South Carolina: Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, Columbia.

County Public Welfare Directors Association, Mr. Hoyt Burnett, Saluda.

South Carolina Attendance Teachers Association: Mrs. J. Olin Horne, St. George.

Institutional Workers Association: Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Columbia.

Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students: Miss Kit Hale, Winthrop.

Council of Christian Social Service: Mrs. Ben W. Aiken, Spartanburg.

The American Red Cross.

The Salvation Army.

The Young Women's Christian Association.

South Carolina Tuberculosis Secretaries Association: Mrs. Louise Lightsey, Barnwell.

South Carolina Committee of the Southern Regional Council: Mr. Marion A. Wright, Conway.

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Miss Laura Smith Ebaugh, Vice-President, Greenville
Mr. Thomas H. Daniel, Treasurer, Columbia
Dr. A. T. Jamison, Honorary President, Greenwood

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Mr. Arthur B. Rivers, Columbia
Mrs. Ben W. Aiken, Spartanburg
Mr. Sam M. Smith, Greenwood

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Miss Adele Johnston Minahan, Columbia

Regional Director

The Reverend F. Clyde Helms, Columbia, Central
Doctor J. A. Ward, Walterboro, Coastal
Mr. Samuel Want, Darlington, Pee Dee
Mrs. Mary P. Edwards, Spartanburg, Piedmont

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Institute

Mrs. Kate B. Helms, Columbia, Chairman

Program

Miss Adele J. Minahan, Columbia, Chairman

Conference Resolutions

Doctor Rosamonde Wimberly, Spartanburg, Chairman

Courtesy Resolutions

Mrs. Florence Bolger, Sumter, Chairman

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Exhibit Committee

Mrs. Francis Clark, Columbia, Chairman

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Mrs. Henry Raines, Columbia, Chairman

Membership Committee

Mrs. Glenn Cannon, Central, Chairman
Mrs. Raih William, Coastal, Chairman
Miss Adele J. Minahan, Pee Dee, Chairman
Mrs. Sue Hutchinson, Piedmont, Chairman
Mrs. Sarah H. Reedy, West Central, Chairman

Constitution

Mr. Hubert

Reprint

Mr. Wright's

Talk

2000 copies (paid)

Def SC Soc Work

January 15, 1946

Miss Evelyn E. Fripp
Box 248
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Fripp:

Thank you for your letter of January 14. We do not have any detailed material dealing with social work in South Carolina, but we are enclosing a couple of pieces of literature which might be of some interest to you.

If you had more time for the preparation of your paper, I would suggest that you get in touch with Miss Adele Johnston Minahan, who is Executive Secretary of the South Carolina Conference of Social Work, 1930 College Street, Columbia 21, South Carolina. However, it is probably too late to obtain any information from her in time for your January 20 deadline.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Enclosures - 2

Facing Facts in S.C. - Mr. Wright
Statement on Race Problem by SC citizens

Vm 1/15/46

Box 248
Atlanta University
Atlanta, Georgia
January 14, 1946

Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
710 Standard Building,
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JAN 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sirs:

In one of my classes we are required to write a term paper entitled "The Development of Social Work in South Carolina from 1935-1945." You were given as a reference from whom I would possibly be able to secure such information. If you have information pertaining to Negroes in regard to the above subject I would appreciate that also. If convenient it would probably be advisable for me to come and get the material, if there is any. My telephone number is JA 8249 in case the suggestion is alright.

Enclosed you will find a self-addressed envelope as an early reply is greatly appreciated. The papers are due January 20th and I am thanking you for an early reply.

Yours very sincerely,
(Miss) Selma E. Tripp

Repairers of the Breach
Post-war Planning for Negro Veterans, Miss.
Mrs. Tilly's letter re KKK

GBJ

Dupe

May 23, 1946

Miss Adele Johnston Minaham, Executive Secretary
South Carolina Conference of Social Work
1330 College Street
Columbia 5, South Carolina

Dear Miss Minahan:

Thank you for your letter of May 20. I did not give you an immediate reply because of a meeting of our Executive Committee yesterday.

I suggest that the following SRC materials would be suitable for inclusion in the publication on race relations which is being compiled by a group of church women in South Carolina.

Unhealthy Roots
Brothers in Black
Black G.I. Joe Comes Home
Facing Facts in South Carolina
"Brothers or Bombs", an article by Dr. Trigg, which was published in New South

Of course, you probably have copies of all these in your files, but I am enclosing a copy of each for your convenience.

The group is welcome to use excerpts from any of our other materials such as the pamphlet, America's Tenth Man, or Understanding Our Neighbors. I am sure that they will find many good passages which they might like to quote in their publication.

The old Interracial Commission booklet, Repairers of the Breach, also might be of use. I shall send this and many other pamphlets I think of under separate cover.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GBJ
5/23/46

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work

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COLUMBIA 5, SOUTH CAROLINA

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PIEDMONT
THE REVEREND E. F. GETTYS, McCORMICK
WEST-CENTRAL

May 20, 1946

Air mail

Doctor Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue , N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

We have been asked by a state-wide group of church women to suggest from four to six sound publications not too extreme (for they have to inch along) to include in a publication on race relations which they are compiling.

We are turning to you for sound advise in this matter . We are wondering if you could let us have copies of the publication. Will be glad to reimburse the Council. All this sounds very cautious but it is necessary to contribute sometime to the status quo if we are to go forward.

This service will be deeply appreciated.

Cordially yours,

Adele Johnston Minahan

Adele Johnston Minahan
Executive Secretary

SRC

- Mt. Roots
- Bros. in Black
- B. G. F. Joe Comes Home
- Bros. of Bowles — Tragg
- Facing Facts in S. C.

Others

- N. in Answer. Counsel for Defense.
- Clinical appr. to Race Relations
- Mc-Gill on the Klan Klan

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work

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THE REVEREND E. F. GETTYS, MCCORMICK WEST-CENTRAL

May 28, 1946

RECEIVED
MAY 29 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson :

Thank you for letter and information. The material was just what we needed for the church group.

Best wishes for continued success in your work.

Sincerely yours,

Adele Johnston Minahan

Adele Johnston Minahan
Executive Secretary

Def

June 28, 1946

Miss Adele Johnston Minahan
S. C. Conference of Social Work
1930 College Street
Columbia 5, South Carolina

Dear Miss Minahan:

Thank you for your letter of June 24. I am glad to be able to recommend the following persons for the institute on problems of Negro Youth which will be held in connection with your annual conference next October.

Professor William B. Carrington
School of Religion, Howard University
Washington, D. C.
Professor Sam W. Williams
Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. Beulah Winston, Dean of Women
Clark University, Atlanta, Georgia

I am sure that any one of these can do an excellent job so I have listed them in the order of preference from my personal point of view.

Very cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work

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1930 COLLEGE STREET
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THE REVEREND E. F. GETTYS, McCORMICK
WEST-CENTRAL

June 24, 1946

RECEIVED
JUN 26 1946
Southern Regional Council

Doctor Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue , N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Doctor Johnson:

We are again planning a series of Institutes in connection with our Annual Conference, October 8th to 10th in Columbia. We have received a number of requests for an institute with Negro leadership to consider the problems of the Negro youth.

You rendered such an excellent service in securing Mrs. Davis last year we are writing to ask for a similar service. We hesitate to impose on you, but we well realize you are in a key position to know the leaders of the Negro race who can make worthwhile contributions.

Whatever you may be able to do will be deeply appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Adele Johnston Minahan

Adele Johnston Minahan
Executive Secretary

The Institute will be on October 8th.

A.J.M.

Cannington - Howard Univ.
Dr. Winston - Clark Univ.
Mr. Sam. Williams - Teaching in A. H. Summer School.

S. C. CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
1930 COLLEGE STREET
COLUMBIA 5, SOUTH CAROLINA
ADELE J. MINAHAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

July 1, 1946

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED
JUL 2 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Thank you for your letter received this morning and for the names of persons qualified to hold an institute on problems of Negro youth in connection with our State Conference.

As we have to consider the expenses involved in the travel of the leader we are writing Professor Sam W. Williams of the Atlanta University. If you can conveniently add a word to our invitation we feel that it will be most helpful.

Very sincerely yours,

Adele J. Minahan

Adele Johnston Minahan
Executive Secretary

July 17, 1946

Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly
537 Palmetto Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Wimberly:

This will acknowledge your letter of July 13, inviting me to speak at the South Carolina State Conference of Social Work on October 10 at three o'clock in the afternoon.

I am happy to accept this invitation and will speak to some topic within the general theme which you mention in your letter, Southern Needs and Cooperative Efforts to Meet Them.

I am sure that the Southern Regional Council will take care of my expenses for that trip, since this is a part of the work of the Council.

I look forward with keen pleasure to a visit to Spartanburg and to the privilege of appearing on your program.

Very truly yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

537 Palmetto St.
Spartanburg, S.C.
July 13, 1946

Dear Dr. Trigg:

At the State Conference of Social Work on Oct. 10th at three o'clock there's to be an Interracial Institute — really a forum. It has been customary for us to have an informative, dynamic speaker and after a talk of twenty to thirty minutes there follows a discussion. We would like to have you

as the guest speaker this year if possible.

Since our State Conference is active but not wealthy we have to plan our finances very carefully. As a member of the SRC staff your expenses would be covered by them, wouldn't they? Let us know and we will do whatever is necessary.

In the spirit of SRC you will of course take a subject dealing with Southern

Needs and Cooperative Efforts To Meet Them, won't you?

You may concentrate on one need or emphasize a configuration of needs.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience as I leave on July 25 for the West Coast and want to hand in all program material to State Conference for printing.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr) Rosamonde Kimberly

SC Conf of Social Work

July 23, 1946

Dr. Rosamonde R. Wimberly
537 Palmetto Street
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Wimberly:

I thank you for your letter of July 20 correcting my erroneous impression as to the place for the October meeting of the Institute.

I shall look forward to seeing you and the many other fine people who will attend the meeting at Columbia on October 10.

With kindest good wishes, I am

Yours very sincerely,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:jm

537 Palmetto St.
Spartanburg, S.C.
July 20, 1946

Dr. Harold Trigg, Ass. Director,
So. Regional Council,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Dr. Trigg;

We are so pleased that you can be with us at our Institute affiliated with the S.C. Conference of Social Work.

My note obviously was not clear as to place of meeting. Columbia being

centrally located and, also, being the seat of Government and state-wide agencies is our customary meeting place. Many of us from Spartanburg will be there and we want you to help us with plans for our city as well as with plans state-wide in scope.

Looking forward to having you with us on October 10th, I am,

Sincerely yours,
Rosamonde R. Wimberly

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work

CONFERENCE OFFICE

1930 COLLEGE STREET

COLUMBIA 5, SOUTH CAROLINA

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THE REVEREND E. F. GETTYS, MCCORMICK WEST-CENTRAL

September 28, 1946

Dr. Harold Trigg
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg :

I am enclosing a copy of the preliminary program for the South Carolina Conference of Social Work and the interracial forum on October 10th.

Will you please advise us if you are planning to remain in Columbia over night for we would like to arrange for your entertainment, if this has not been attended to .

We look forward to the pleasure of having you with us in Columbia.

Cordially yours,

Adele J. Minahan

Executive Secretary

South Carolina Division of The Southern Regional Council

1st. Vice Chairman
MRS. MARION B. WILKINSON
Orangeburg

2nd. Vice Chairman
J. E. BLANTON
Denmark

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Columbia

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Newberry

M. F. WHITTAKER
Orangeburg

DR. ROSAMONDE E. WIMBERLY
Spartanburg

REV. A. J. WRIGHT
Bennettsville

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MARION A. WRIGHT
Conway

Chairman Emeritus
MRS. C. P. McGOWAN
Charleston

Treasurer
ADELE J. MINAHAN
Columbia

Secretary
REBECCA REID
Sumter

Spartanburg, S. C.
September 27, 1946

Friend:

The Institute Committee of this Council is planning a Forum for Thursday, October 10, 1946, 3:00 P.M., at Trinity Parish House, Columbia, in connection with The South Carolina Conference of Social Work.

This Forum will be led by Dr. Harold L. Trigg, Associate Director of Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga. The subject for discussion will be:

"THE SOUTH'S NEEDS AND COOPERATIVE EFFORT TO MEET THEM".

Dr. Trigg, a vestryman and lay reader of the Episcopal Church, was for eleven years supervisor of Negro Schools in North Carolina, has been a college president and president of North Carolina Negro Teachers Association. He has completed his course requirements for his doctorate at Columbia University.

With this first-hand liberal understanding of the South and a broad background of study and experience, his approach to the questions involved is different.

We are asking interested and forward-looking citizens of our State to share with us this rare opportunity.

Cordially yours,

Rosamonde R. Wimberly

Rosamonde R. Wimberly
Institute Chairman.

Dr. Rosamonde Wimberly
537 Palmetto St.
Spartanburg, S.C.

Sec. 562—P. L. & R.

QUARTERLY BULLETIN

THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

Volume 4 OCTOBER, 1946 No. 2

CONFERENCE CALL

The South Carolina Conference of Social Work hereby calls its members and invites other interested citizens to meet in Columbia, October 8-10, 1946, in the State House.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The theme of our approaching Conference, October 8-10—"One World and Human Welfare"—has about it a cry of universal appeal. It will deal with interests in which every human being is, or ought to be, concerned—Human Welfare. May I express the earnest hope that, in point of attendance, we make a supreme effort to be there. Surely at a time like this in world affairs, we can't afford to be complacently unconcerned about the vital human interests which justify the existence of our Conference.

Yours for a fine meeting and a great attendance

R. C. GRIER

TENTH ANNUAL SOCIAL SERVICE CONFERENCE

Tuesday, October 8, 1946

No. 1.—"How Can We Assist Family in Understanding Their Food Needs"

Leaders—Nutrition Committee and Dr. Marietta Eichelberger, Nutritionist, Evaporated Milk Association

No. 2.—"Case Work Principles and Practice As Related to Client Interview"

Leader—Miss Eloise Cleveland, Executive Secretary, Family Service of Spartanburg, Inc., Spartanburg

No. 3.—"The Need for Medical Care and Ways of Meeting This Need"

Leader—Miss Lucille M. Smith, Chief, Medical Needs Section, Standard and Program Development Division, Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

No. 4.—"Negro Youth: Problems and Opportunities in a Democracy"

Leader—Dr. Samuel W. Williams, Department of Philosophy, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia

No. 5.—"The Clerical Worker's Responsibility in a Social Agency"

Chairman—Miss Pearl Salsberry, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of South Carolina

No. 6.—"Social Hygiene Planning—A Community Responsibility"

Leaders—Mrs. Esther Emerson Sweeney, Acting Director, Division of Community Service, The American Social Hygiene Association, New York City; Dr. J. R. Heller, Jr., Chief, Division of Venereal Disease Control, U. S. Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.

No. 7.—"Public Welfare Administration"

Leader—Mr. Joseph E. Baldwin, Director, Lake County Department of Public Welfare, Gary, Indiana

No. 8.—"Mental Hygiene Institute"

Leader—Dr. Otto Billig, Clinical Director, Highland Hospital, Asheville, N. C.

No. 9.—"Recreational Opportunities and Problems Involved"

Leader—Dr. Harold D. Meyer, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina, and Director, The North Carolina Recreation Commission, Chapel Hill, N. C.

No. 10.—"Developing and Sustaining Community Relationships"

Leader—Miss Annie Laurie McElhenie, Training Assistant Home Service, The American National Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

No. 11.—"Development of a Foster Home Program In South Carolina"

Leader—Miss Cornelia Wallace, Director of Case Work, Connie Maxwell Orphanage, Greenwood

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ADDITIONAL INSTITUTE

The Probation and Parole Institute will be held on Thursday, October 10, 1946. Enrollment open to all interested persons. Please make separate application, if you wish to enroll in this Institute.

No. 12.—"Probation and Parole Treatment of Penal Problems"

Leaders—Mr. Richard A. Chappell, Chief, Federal Probation Division, Washington, D. C.; Dr. Eunice Stackhouse, Member State Probation and Parole Board; Miss Mary P. Wheeler, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of South Carolina

REGISTRATION in the Institute is open to all interested persons, but enrollment in some institutes will be limited. They will meet simultaneously and it will not be possible for a person to enroll in more than one institute, except the **Probation and Parole Institute on Thursday, October 10 Please submit an additional application and fee for this institution.**

APPLICATIONS. Until registration limit is reached, applicants will be assigned upon receipt of application. Final date for the receipt of applications is **October 1, 1946.** Staff members of each agency are asked to choose several institutes in order that representative groups will be present in each study group.

FEE. A fee of $1.00 will be charged. Applications for Institute enrollment must be accompanied by a check or money order payable to the South Carolina Conference of Social Work.

TIME SCHEDULE. Each Institute will hold two sessions of two and a half hours each, making a total of five hours devoted to each Institute. The Institutes will meet Tuesday, October 8, from 9:45 to 12:15 p. m. and from 2:30 to 5:00 p. m.

GENERAL INFORMATION 1946 CONFERENCE

REGISTRATION—Every one attending the Conference is expected to register. There is no registration fee for Conference members. Individuals who are not members of the Conference are requested to pay a registration fee of twenty-five cents. The registration desk will be in the lobby of the State House.

HOUSING ACCOMODATIONS—The following hotels are near the State House: Columbia, Wade Hampton, Marmac, DeSoto, Jerome, The Jefferson, Davis and Marion Hotels are several blocks from Conference headquarters.

Accommodations may be secured at nearby Tourist Homes: The Martha Washington, 1615 Gervais St.; Mrs. A. F. Funderburk, 1706 Gervais St.; Gilliams, 1218 Bull St.; Byrd's, 1413 Washington St. The management of these tourist homes request that a check be sent with reservation. Please make all reservations direct.

EXHIBITS—Organizations desiring to arrange an exhibit please make application for space at once to Conference Office, 1930 College Street, Columbia. Exhibits will be housed in the Library and Lobby of the State House. We are desirous of having the exhibits arranged on Monday afternoon, October 7, after two-thirty o'clock, and on Tuesday morning, October 8.

MEMBERSHIPS—Have you enrolled for 1946? Please remember that the Conference depends upon its membership for support and every membership serves to build a stronger, more effective, and more valuable Conference. If you are not a member, why not join? Your financial assistance and participation will mean much to the future program of the Conference, and the social welfare program in South Carolina.

RESOLUTIONS—Members of the Conference who may be planning to submit resolutions at the 1946 Conference are asked to give very careful thought and consideration to the intent, purpose, and effect of such resolutions. Resolutions must be presented in duplicate typed, if possible, and complete as to the text. Please send Resolutions to the Conference Office not later than October 1, 1946.

PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE PROGRAM

CONFERENCE THEME: "One World and Human Welfare"

Tuesday, October 8, 1946

9:45 A. M.-12:15 P. M.—Institute Sessions
11:30-12:30—Registration. Lobby of State House
12:30-2:15—Luncheons
No. 1—SOCIAL HYGIENE
Speakers: Dr. J. R. Heller, Assistant Surgeon General, United States Public Health Service, Washington; Mrs. Esther Emerson Sweeney, Acting Director, Community Service Division, The American Social Hygiene Association, New York City
Topic—"The Growth of Interagency Relationships between Official and Voluntary Agencies"
Make reservations to Mrs. Corrie Plyler, State Agriculture Department, 1413 Senate Street, Columbia
No. 2—RECREATION
Topic—"Recreation from the Layman's Point of View"
Speaker—Dr. Harold Meyer, Professor of Sociology, University of North Carolina, and Director, The North Carolina Recreation Commission, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
Make reservations to Mrs. Christine Ruff, City Recreation Department, P. O. Box 1292, City Hall, Columbia, S. C.
2:30-5:00—Institute Sessions
7:15—Registration. Lobby of State House
7:30—Exhibit Opens. Library of State House
8:15—General Session. House of Representatives
The President's Message—Dr. Robert Calvin Grier, Due West
Address—Topic and speaker to be announced
10:00—Reception for Conference members and guests

Wednesday, October 9, 1946

7:45 A. M.—Breakfast—Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel—Alumni group of the School of Social Work, University of South Carolina
Make reservations to Miss Mary P. Wheeler, School of Social Work, University of South Carolina, Columbia
9:00-10:00—Business Session—Senate Chamber
10:15—General Session. House of Representatives
Address—"Alcoholism—An Unmet Health Problem"—Mrs. Marty Mann, Executive Director, National Committee for Education on Alcoholism, New York City
Address—"Changing Trends in Social Work"—Miss Betty C. Wright, Director Field Service, American Hearing Society, Washington, D. C.
"Five Minute Message"—Council of Christian Social Service
11:45-1:00—Sectional Conferences
No. 1—Unmet Needs of the Physically Handicapped—Chairman: Dr. Rosa Monde Wimberly, Spartanburg.
No. 2—The Responsibility of the Board Member in Public and Private Agencies—Chairman: Mrs. F. Clyde Helms, Columbia
No. 3—Education on Problems of Alcohol—Leader: Mr. W. A. Taylor, State Department of Education
11:45-12:45—Council of Christian Social Service—Senate Chamber
Presiding—Mrs. J. A. Turner, President
Luncheons—
1:00—No. 1—Council of Christian Social Relations—First Presbyterian Church, 1324 Marion Street
Topic—"Christian Citizenship"—Mr. A. L. M. Wiggins, Hartsville
1:15—No. 2—Regional Conference Luncheon—Opportunity School (Columbia Army Air Base)—A tour of the School will be conducted.
Make reservations to Mrs. M. O. J. Kreps, 211 Wateree Avenue, Columbia 36, S. C.

Miss Adele Dunlap

Afternoon Session

2:30—State Youth Conservation Committee—Senate Chamber.
Arranged by Miss Lucia Murchinson, Secretary, Conservation Committee
3:15—Sectional Conferences—
No. 1—Public Welfare County Directors Association (members only)
Mr. J. Hoyt Burnet, Chairman, Saluda
No. 2—South Carolina Attendance Teachers Association (members only)
Mrs. Bertha Barker, President, Allendale
No. 3—American Red Cross (staff members)
No. 4—How to Organize Local Hearing Societies
Leader: Miss Betty Wright, American Hearing Society
Sponsored Columbia Society for the Hard of Hearing (open to all interested)
No. 5—Travelers Aid Secretaries and Board Members
4:30—Planning Board of the State Youth Conservation Committee (Executive Session)
5:45-7:45—Annual Dinner Meeting of the South Carolina Mental Hygiene Society. Mr. Guy Varn, President
Speaker—Dr. Dale C. Cameron, Senior Surgeon and Assistant Chief of the Mental Hygiene Division of the United States Public Health Service, Washington, D. C.
Make reservations to Miss Caroline Voight, Logan School, Columbia

Evening Session

8:15—General Session. House of Representatives
Sponsored by the State Department of Public Welfare
Mr. Arthur B. Rivers, Director
Address—"Public Welfare's Contribution to the Prevention of Social and Economic Problems"—Miss Lula Dunn, President, American Public Welfare Association, Montgomery, Alabama

Thursday, October 10

8:45-11:00—Registration
9:00-10:00—Business Session. Senate Chamber
9:45-12:15—Probation and Parole Institute
10:15—General Session. House of Representatives
Address—"Reintegration of the Veteran—What the Community Can Do"
Mr. R. E. White, Administrator, Service to Veterans, American Red Cross, Southeastern Area, Atlanta, Georgia
Address—"Maternity Homes for Unmarried Mothers—A Community Service"
Lt. Colonel May Wilmer, Social Service Secretary for the Salvation Army in the South
11:00—Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students, Crystal Room, Columbia Hotel
Chairman—Miss Adelaide Rutland, Limestone College, Gaffney
11:45—Sectional Conferences—
No. 1—Planning for the Aged—Arranged by Committee on "Care of the Aged and Chronically Ill"—Mrs. May Earle Stevenson, Chairman
No. 2—Maternity Homes—(A discussion of every day problems in a Home. How can the standards of service be improved)
No. 3—Industrial and Economic Problems—Arranged by Miss Mary E. Frayser, Winthrop College, Rock Hill
1:15—Luncheons
No. 1—Social Service Federation of South Carolina College Students. Metropolitan Private Dining Room, 1224 Hampton Avenue
Make reservations to Miss Adele J. Minahan, 1930 College Street, Columbia
No. 2—S. C. Chapter of the American Association of Social Workers. Jefferson Hotel
Make reservations to Mr. Jules Bank, % M. Citron Co., Columbia
No. 3—Probation and Parole
Make reservations to Mr. J. C. Todd, State Probation and Parole Board, Calhoun Office Building, Columbia

Afternoon Session

3:00—Interracial Conference. Satterlee Hall, Trinity Episcopal Parish House, Corner of Senate and Sumter Streets
Address—"The South's Needs and Cooperative Efforts to Meet Them—Dr. Harold Trigg, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia
3:15—Public Affairs Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association Conference—Miss Laura S. Ebaugh, Chairman, Greenville

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Correction - Luncheons

1:00 - No. 1 - Council of Christian Social Relations - First Presbyterian Church, 1324 Marion Street. Topic "Christian Citizenship", Mr. A.L.M. Wiggins, Hartsville, S.C.

Make reservations to Mrs. M.O.J.Kreps, 211 Wateree Ave., Columbia 36, S.C. Price $1.00

1:15 - No. 2 - Regional Conference Luncheon - Opportunity School (Columbia Army Air Base). A tour of the school will be conducted.

Make reservations to Miss Adele J. Minahan, 1930 College St., Columbia 5, S.C. Price $1.00

S. C. CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
1930 COLLEGE STREET
COLUMBIA 5, SOUTH CAROLINA
ADELE J. MINAHAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED
OCT 4 1946
Southern Regional Council

October 3, 1946

Dear Doctor Johnson:

Thank you for the use of Dr.Trigg's picture . We had an engraved plate made so we are returning the photograph. We will present the plate to Dr.Trigg as a souvenir of his visit to our State.

I wish that you could be in attendance at our Conference. Please come to Columbia some time soon -the latch string is out.

Cordially yours,

Adele Johnston Minahan

Adele Johnston Minahan
Executive Secretary

SCSW

October 7, 1946

Miss Adele J. Minahan
Executive Secretary
The South Carolina Conference of Social Work
1930 College Street
Columbia 5, South Carolina

Dear Miss Minahan:

I plan to leave here at 8:15 on Thursday morning. I should arrive there around 9:35 by Delta Airlines. Will stay Thursday night and return here by plane Friday morning.

I look forward with pleasure to being present at the Conference.

Cordially yours,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MP

October 21, 1946

Miss Adele Johnston Minahan
Executive Secretary
South Carolina Conference of Social Work
1930 College Street
Columbia 5, South Carolina

Dear Miss Minahan:

I thank you for your letter of October 14 and for the engraved plate which cameunder separate cover.

May I assure you that I enjoyed thoroughly my vist to Columbia and the opportunity to speak to the very fine audience which attended the interracial forum. It was stimulating and inspiring throughout. It is apparent that South Carolina has a fine group of courageous leaders in this field of human relations and we are anticipating continued improvements in the interaction between racial groups as the years go by.

With every good wish, I am

Yours very cordially,

HAROLD L. TRIGG
Associate Executive Director

HLT:MP

S. C. CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
1930 COLLEGE STREET
COLUMBIA 5, SOUTH CAROLINA
ADELE J. MINAHAN, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 14, 1946

Dr. Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Trigg:

We deeply appreciate the excellent address which you made at our Conference on Thursday. Thank you for coming and for your stimulating participation.

Under seperate cover we are mailing you an engraved plate of your photograph which we hope you will accept as a souvenir of your visit.

Cordially yours,

Adele Johnston Minahan

Executive Secretary

SC Women's Council for the common good

August 23, 1951

Miss Mary E. Frayser
Box 41
Winthrop College
Rock Hill, S. C.

Dear Miss Mary:

I called Mrs. Turman, and she had already written you about the Georgia Citizens Council.

To buttress your knowledge of it, I send you a few items from our files. Do send these back to us when they have served your purpose.

The Georgia Citizens Council was a useful thing until we got a bad governor. He ruined it quickly. Except for a brief period, it was never less than quite timid on Negro matters. I seem to recall that they had a practice of forming a large white meeting and then doing the thing all over again for a smallish Negro meeting.

All my advice would be on the side of keeping your organization strictly private.

Would it not be well if a group of South Carolina people turned out a leaflet on the McCray case? It does from here look to be a disgraceful matter. I am mentioning the subject to Mr. Dabbs.

Nice to have the occasion for calling Mrs. Turman. She and I are apt to converse reminiscently about real ham and the other joys of Virginia.

Cordially,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec
Encl.

South Carolina
Women's Council for the Common Good

PRESIDENT
MISS MARY E. FRAYSER
BOX NO. 41
WINTHROP COLLEGE
ROCK HILL

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT
MISS MILDRED HUGGINS
TIMMONSVILLE

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT
MRS. HOWARD JACOBS
549 HUGER STREET
CHARLESTON

SECRETARY
MISS MARY B. CALVERT
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH CAROLINA
COLUMBIA

TREASURER
MRS. CORRIE T. PLYLER
127 SOUTH HARDEN ST., APT. 3
COLUMBIA

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN

CHILD CARE
MRS. T. J. MIMS
P. O. BOX 1143
GREENVILLE

CONSERVATION
MISS JUANITA NEELEY
WINTHROP COLLEGE
ROCK HILL

CIVIL DEFENSE
MRS. TOM L. WILSON
P. O. BOX 333
ROCK HILL

EDUCATION
MISS MARGUERITE TOLBERT
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
COLUMBIA

FINANCE
MRS. GEORGE K. WAY
WINNSBORO

HEALTH AND REHABILITATION
MRS. W. R. WALLACE
YORK STREET
CHESTER

INSTITUTES AND FORUMS
MRS. W. D. WORKMAN
4350 TRENHOLM ROAD
COLUMBIA

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
DR. MARY BURTS
ALABAMA STREET
SPARTANBURG

INTER-RACIAL PROBLEMS
MRS. GEORGE E. DAVIS
ORANGEBURG

LEGISLATION AND COUNTY COUNCILS
MRS. PAUL H. LEONARD
900 LAURENS STREET
COLUMBIA

PUBLICITY
MRS. EUGENE SPEARMAN
1511 LAUREL STREET
COLUMBIA

PUBLIC LIBRARIES
MISS ESTELLENE P. WALKER
STATE LIBRARY BOARD
1207 CALHOUN STREET
COLUMBIA

SCHOOL LIBRARIES
MISS NANCY JANE DAY
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
COLUMBIA

STATE AND COUNTY GOVERNMENT
MISS RUTH ROETTINGER
WINTHROP COLLEGE
ROCK HILL

STATUS OF WOMEN
DR. ROSAMOND BOYD
442 UNION STREET
SPARTANBURG

YOUTH CONSERVATION
DR. T. B. STACKHOUSE
1511 LAUREL STREET
COLUMBIA

RECEIVED
AUG
Southern Regional Council

Winthrop College
Rock Hill, South Carolina
August 18, 1951

RECEIVED
AUG 21 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Doctor Mitchell:

Help wanted.

First, read copy of letter to Mrs. Turman. If she is in Atlanta she will give desired information. Please ask your secretary to find whether she is in Atlanta and if not will you send me the address of "The Georgia Citizens Association"?

Some of the South Carolina Council members wish to change to Georgia type of organization.

It is meant that men and women should work together.

"The Lighthouse and Informer" issue of August 18 is distressing--the action against Mr. McCray unjust.

The New South's recent presentation of the segregation matter was fair and fine.

I rejoice in your leadership.

Yours sincerely,

Mary E. Frayser

Mary E. Frayser

MEF:mdk
encl

Winthrop College
Rock Hill, South Carolina
August 15, 1951

Mrs. P. L. Turman
37 Camden Road, N. E.,
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Turman:

GREETINGS! How I did enjoy you last October!

Now help is wanted!

Is the Georgia Citizens Committee still active? If so, will you give me the address, better yet phone its office asking that it send me material telling of its objectives and ways of getting things done.

Is the membership of men and women about equal? If not, which sex is in the majority? Is the major office held alternately by a man and a woman?

See attached article on The South Carolina Women's Council for The Common Good.

Some of our members would like it to drop "Women's" from its name but the majority has opposed doing so. Its constitution requires that women shall predominate in numbers in having membership in The Council.

Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse, fine Council member is asking that The Council change to The Georgia Citizens plan of organization and operation.

Your "Active Voters" program is suggestive; but the Council is committed to a wide range of social and civic interests with chief emphasis on the legislation the study of its standing committees reveals to be needed.

The objectives of The Council and those of The Georgia Citizens Committee are similar.

Men as well as women should be members of The Council in nearly equal numbers. If so, the South Carolina women are afraid the men will "take over". Have they done so in The Georgia Citizens Committee.

I go to a family house party next Monday at Ellie's camp near Lexington then to Richmond for a week.

COPY

If you can get the material desired to me here I will appreciate it.

Perhaps Atlanta will be calling me this autumn. It will be a happy occasion if it offers opportunity for an hour with you.

Your friend

Mary E. Frayser

MEF:mdk
encl.

COPY

THE SOUTH CAROLINA WOMEN'S COUNCIL FOR THE COMMON GOOD.

WHAT IT IS: Its constitution states that "The object of this organization shall be to bring about a coordination of the plans and policies of the various state-wide and county organizations of women and men looking toward greater social, economic and governmental progress in South Carolina through united effort". Eighteen South Carolina organizations having state-wide membership, predominantly women, are members of The Council. Each is represented on it by its president, its legislative chairman, and a member-at-large. Approximately 200,000 persons are members of the eighteen organizations that make up The Council.

WHAT IT DOES: The standing committees of The Council study social, economic and governmental conditions in order to support intelligent recommendations for action, usually leading to effort to secure legislation to meet the needs study has disclosed.

Its major objective is to stimulate its members to a greater interest in government and to purposeful effort through its standing committees. Since it believes that "action without study is futile and that study without action is fatal", it endeavors to get bills introduced in the General Assembly to meet the most urgent needs and supports bills in the United States Congress of interest to it.

Its members agree that the study of qualifications of persons offering for office is a responsibility of every citizen as is the obligation to vote and get others to vote.

Its chief effort is in the field of legislation. Annually it publishes "United We Stand", the compilation of the legislative items receiving a majority favorable vote at the meeting of the legislative committee of The Council and a later majority favorable vote at the annual meeting of The Council. "United We Stand" is mailed to the members of The Council, each state legislative chairman of each member organization is asked to secure copies for each local legislative chairman of her organization.

The National Council on State Legislation has members in 17 states and the District of Columbia. The South Carolina Women's Council for The Common Good is one of the 17. Through this national membership each of states is kept informed of the current legislative efforts and results in all the other member organizations of the National.

Mary E. Frayser, President
South Carolina Women's
Council for The Common Good

MEF:mdk

COPY

Charlotte Observer 1/3/67

Progress Continues In Human Relations

COLUMBIA, S.C. — Mrs. Eugene Spearman didn't hesitate to accept when the job of executive director of the S.C. Council on Human Relations was formed.

"It fit my temperament," she recalls.

She gathered together the remnants of the old S.C. Council on Interracial Cooperation and started piecing together a new organization.

FROM 78 members, the rolls quickly went up to 500, and then she says, "The resistance movement began."

In Camden, a school bandmaster was severely beaten. The dean of the school of education at the University of South Carolina was fired for saying that segregation in schools could not be morally defended.

Complusory school attendance was repealed, as was a constitutional requirement for a public school system.

There were crosses burned in the yards of persons who dared speak out.

"We could only tread water," she says of the late 50s.

Even in the roughest years of the 50s, Mrs. Spearman says she was never really threatened or physically intimidated. "People here are not mean people," she maintains. "There are wonderful people in this state."

CONDITIONS and attitudes have changed in South Carolina, and the Council on Human Relations has become activist in many programs in the last few years.

In 1965, when state and local officials looked with suspicion at Head Start programs, the council organized groups in more than 30 counties to make applications.

In many instances, the public schools later agreed to help run the programs. More than 18,000 pre-schoolers participated in 1966, and every county in the state has indicated plans to apply for a Head Start program next year.

Meanwhile, membership in the council had climbed to 1,178 persons in 153 communities by September of this year. The number of local councils on human relations increased to 12 this year from a previous high of eight.

LAST SUMMER, the S.C. Council on Human Relations secured a demonstration grant for $137,454 from the Office of Economic Opportunity for SPEED-UP (Student Program for Educational and Economic Development).

This was a crash 12-week program in which 2,000 high school students from low income families received special accelerated training. A number of South Carolina college seniors and graduates particiapated, living in the communities in which they worked, with whites often living with Negro families in 13 counties and 28 neighborhoods under the guidance of local bi-racial advisory committees.

Since 1961, the council has received supporting grants from the Field Foundation, beginning the first year with $3,500. A $17,000 grant has been announced for fiscal 1967 to help the expanding programs.

South Carolinian Doesn't Pussy-Foot About Life

1/3/67 Charlotte Observer

By JACK BASS
Observer Columbia Bureau

COLUMBIA, S.C. — For almost three years as a young woman, Alice Buck Norwood traveled the world, living on skimpy savings, $500 from her father, and by her wits.

She spent six weeks in Russia with a student group in 1930 and later found herself branded a Communist as a result.

To save money, she slept on the floor of train stations in India—with hundreds of the native poor.

Through it all, the South Carolina banker's daughter developed a sense of compassion, a rejection of race as a measure of individual worth, and a desire "to teach people to raise hell and do something."

AS EXECUTIVE director of the S.C. Council of Human Relations, she took over a sickly organization in 1954 with 78 members and has given it her own drive and vitality.

She has been Mrs. Eugene Spearman for almost 30 years, a smartly-tailored — but not overly stylish—animated aristocrat committed to democracy.

Strangers meeting her for the first time usually guess she is in her early 50s. It is almost unbelievable that she will be 65 next year—a fact she easily volunteers—and is talking of retirement.

"You have only one life to live and you have to choose whether you want to go around pussy-footing about what you believe is right," Mrs. Spearman says.

At the same time, she believes it "stupid to alienate people who are just as sincere in the light of the experience they've had as you are."

While she may be a reformer, she doesn't believe it practical to try to tell other people what they should think.

THERE ARE still Negro leaders in South Carolina who distrust all whites, but there are others who once felt this way who have found through this woman of commitment a bridge of reconciliation.

When Gov. Donald S. Russell announced in December, 1963 his Special Training for Economic Progress (STEP) program to provide job training and basic education for adults on an integrated basis, many Negro leaders viewed it cynically as another empty promise. There had been almost no desegregation in South Carolina at that point. The 1964 Civil Rights Act was six months away.

In several counties, quiet visits by a field representative of the Human Relations Council persuaded local leaders to work in support of the program. There have been more than 6,000 graduates of STEP since it began.

As a pilot project, its success resulted in several amendments to the Manpower Development and Training Act. In South Carolina, STEP provided the foundation for a more massive assault against the crippling roadblocks of untrained and uneducated masses. This will be Project T-Square (Training for Tomorrow), a $20 million federally financed, state-operated project aimed at reaching 22,000 adults in two years.

MRS. SPEARMAN'S eyes sparkle at the memory of her work as a New Deal administrator in South Carolina. She met the man she married while she was state director of the Worker's Education Project.

It was in this role that the Hearst newspapers called her a Communist, strongly implying that her visit to Russia had trained her to implant subversive ideas in the minds of the poor.

Never one to back down for a minute, Mrs. Spearman stood up to the charge, saw it discredited and recalls with fondness the support she received from the South Carolina press and legislature.

Much of Mrs. Spearman's interest in the welfare of others came about as a result of experiences during her childhood.

Although her family was aristocratic, Mrs. Spearman attended public schools in Marion because her father was "very democratic."

While attending Converse College in Spartanburg, she spent a summer working in a textile mill to learn about both the conditions and the character of the working girls.

She came to admire the girls and abhor the conditions.

After two years of study at Columbia University, she began her travels abroad, there again to see people in impoverished conditions.

When her father died in 1932, she returned to South Carolina to stay.

Among other activities, she has been administrator of relief in Marion County, a member of a White House study committee called by Eleanor Roosevelt and S.C. director of the Worker's Education Project.

After her husband died in 1962, she was executive director of the S.C. Federation of Women's Clubs before taking charge of the human relations council.

File
S.C. Convention Rels.
On Hun.

File
S.C. Council

March 7, 1967

Mrs. Florence S. Thompson
The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Mrs. Thompson:

Please forgive us this long delay in responding to your inquiry about the audit. Ed and I discussed the inquiry immediately on its receipt, but unfortunately each thought the other had agreed to answer it. Since Ed is out of the office today, I am happy to do so.

It is not necessary to have a CPA conduct your annual audit so long as a competent accountant does so following all of the normal and appropriate rules of accounting. This would include a full statement with breakdown of all income and expenses for all operations of the South Carolina Council and a balance sheet showing all liabilities outstanding and all assets controlled by the South Carolina Council. Would you please share this letter with whoever conducts the work and ask that this be considered as he does it.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

(1)

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

March 3, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Mr. Ed Stanfield, Director of
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Mrs. Spearman has asked me to remind you that to date we have not received a reply to our letter of January 31 about having our books audited annually by a CPA.

We shall appreciate an early reply so that we will know how to proceed. Thank you.

With all good wishes,

Respectfully,

(Mrs.) Florence S. Thompson
Office Secretary

ft

Rec'd 2/2/67

E & S
Let Jim
PA

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

February 1, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Mr. Ed Stanfield, Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Friends:

I am writing this letter to both of you to clear up a stipulation set forth in the guidelines which accompanied the 1967 announcement of the SRC grant to SCCHR. No doubt I shall be writing for fuller information on a number of items, if needed. At the moment, however, I would like to clear up your reference to having our books audited annually by a CPA.

Paul, you will recall the expensive audit which we had made a number of years back by an expensive company. All the work was done by a totally green, recent graduate of U.S.C. and from our point of view left much to be desired, especially by way of a reasonable charge. At that time, Paul, you told me that SRC was not using a CPA but a person in whose skill and integrity you had complete confidence. I remember your confiding the flexibility he allowed in adjusting over-charges which invariably occurred to certain funds when a person professionally responsible for allocating charges cannot be on hand to advise against what fund each expenditure shall be entered. Naturally I understood your need for this flexibility, which we find also. At that time I also understood that if it were satisfactory with our board that it would not be necessary for us to use the professional services of a CPA. We have not done so. I am wondering if the present guidelines are to be interpreted as a new policy to be strictly adhered to. Please advise fully.

Last year our treasurer was a CPA who took the trouble to visit our office frequently, check with the bookkeeper and run a variety of checks on the system being used. Since this person has moved to Charleston, South Carolina, and will not be available for these frequent checks, we had planned to try to work for 1967 an arrangement similar to the one Frances Pauley had told me she uses -- that is, to have monthly audits by an accountant whereby the December cumulative report would represent an annual audit. I doubt seriously that we could get such a service from one of the CPA firms but perhaps could from several reputable accountants whom we plan to approach.

We shall not take any step in this matter until advised by you. ----

NOTE: Mrs. Spearman was interrupted before she was able to dictate about a few other matters. I am sure she will be doing this as soon as she returns from a field trip.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs.) Florence Thompson - office sec.

File
S.C. Council
on Hum Rels

February 13, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina, 29201

Dear Alice:

Your programs for February 19-26 look excellent. Let us know how they come out.

Certainly we can be of help in covering costs of speakers.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Paul - See note on back of this page ing

YOU ARE INVITED to the

1967 OBSERVANCE OF BROTHERHOOD WEEK
February 19-26

WHERE? . . . At the Parish House, Trinity Episcopal Church, Senate and Sumter streets (across from the State Capitol), Columbia, South Carolina

WHEN? . . . Sunday afternoon
February 19, 1967
at four o'clock

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations and the Columbia Council on Human Relations are presenting jointly as speaker

DR. LUCIUS PITTS
President of Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

MAN OF THE HOUR . . . Dr. Pitts is a native of Georgia, where as a boy his father farmed as a sharecropper. There he established life-time habits of hard work which 'stood him in good stead' as he labored against the educational odds of poor rural schools and of economic hardships. He knows the personal cost and value of education. Perhaps that is why he became an educator. In no sense, however, is Dr. Pitts a traditional educator; he is a 'telling' advocate of a sweeping overhauling as well as of a mammouth strengthening of education at all levels.

Because thinking South Carolinians realize that education, relevant education, is a top priority for the State if its progress is to continue, Dr. Pitts will be a timely speaker.

Because ways must be found to extend equal opportunities for self realization and expression to all our citizens,

Because all citizens have an equal right to job training and placement, and

Because education of the head and hands will not be enough,

Because citizens are needed with a breadth of understanding and empathy for the educationally, economically and socially disadvantaged among us -- citizens who will help them to help themselves,

Dr. Lucius Pitts, a man of courage, a man of deep faith, is the man to call us to answer the age-old question, Am I My Brothers Keeper? He will indeed be the man of the hour!

COME AND BRING OTHERS WITH YOU

Paul,

Inviting from the S.C. Governor thru State Development Bd, Technical Ed. Commission - - - on down to Mr. James' boys. At Trinity Episco Church this <u>will</u> <u>be</u> the revolution!

Hope we're able to do a good enough class of middle class education to warrant the honorarium and travel expense money for this our

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1330 Laurel Street Columbia, South Carolina, 29201

February 3, 1967

Dear "Special Person":

The SCCHR Executive Committee voted to hold an "enlarged" Board meeting and wants you to participate in its vital deliberations.

YOU ARE INVITED . . . . .

to participate in two important meetings. Mark your calendar now and begin to make plans to attend!

PLACE: Trinity Episcopal Church -- The Parish House on Senate street at Sumter, across from the State Capitol, Columbia, South Carolina

TIME: Sunday afternoon -- February 19, 1967
1:30 p.m.--3:30 p.m. and 4:00 p.m.--5:30 p.m.

WHAT: First meeting of the 1967 SCCHR Board of Directors-- perhaps the most significant and far-reaching one in The Council's history -- 1:30 to 3:30 p.m. Followed by Observance of Brotherhood Week -- a public meeting at which Dr. Lucius Pitts, president of Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama, will speak -- 4:00 to 5:30 p.m.

Dr. Pitts is an ardent advocate of education for life as well as for making a living and urges bold, new and creative programs. Although education is a major concern of South Carolina at this time, perhaps most of all it is the depth of this man's faith, the breadth of his understanding and empathy with his fellowman which make the "State Council" and the Columbia Council grateful of the opportunity to present Dr. Lucius Pitts as speaker to open National Brotherhood Week, February 19-25, to a statewide audience.

The Board meeting is scheduled at this time so that members will be available to hear Dr. Lucius Pitts, president of Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama, who will speak at the public meeting co-sponsored by the Columbia Council on Human Relations and the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, following the Board meeting.

We need you. --- Do come! Let us hear that we may expect you.

Faithfully yours,

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/ft

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1330 Laurel Street Columbia, South Carolina 29201

February 3, 1967

Dear SCCHR Board Member:

The first meeting in 1967 of the SCCHR Board of Directors will be perhaps the most significant and far-reaching on the The Council's history. We must count upon you to be present. If not possible, won't you designate a substitute and let us hear who it will be?

TIME: Sunday afternoon
February 19, 1967
1:30 p.m. -- 3:30 p.m.

PLACE: Trinity Episcopal Church--
Parish House on Senate at
Sumter across from The State
Capitol, Columbia, S. C.

Immediately following the Board meeting there will be a Coffee Hour Fellowship.

At 4 o'clock the South Carolina Council on Human Relations and the Columbia Council on Human Relations are presenting as speaker Dr. Lucius Pitts, president of Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama, in a public observance of Brotherhood Week, which is February 19-26. After reading the enclosed "brief" about Dr. Pitts, I'm sure you will want to stay to hear him.

Please advertise the public meeting which, like the Board meeting, will also be held at Trinity Parish House.

The SCCHR Executive Committee voted to invite some key members and friends of SCCHR to the board meeting, which will not be an executive session but one to chart a new course for which widely representative participation and enthusiasm will be needed.

Your involvement will be vital if we are to build a close-knit, responsible citizens movement in South Carolina.

Yours with great expectations,

Alice Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/ft

second speaker offered the public.
We're planning #3 and #4 now - Alice

Bring up Mon. 16
re: original from Ed. Stanfield

Paul does anything need to be done about this prior to the 23rd — i.e., fresh with E.S.?

Full S.C. council

Spence c/ letter from Alice Spearman passed on to E.S. with note to set.

March 8, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Alice:

I would be delighted to meet with you on the afternoon of the 23rd. I am sharing your letter with Josephine both to determine if she will be available and to give her some idea of the purpose of our meeting.

If I understand your general idea, you are proposing that the South Carolina Council go substantially into the fact finding business and build on this to inform and educate South Carolinians on conditions and needs. If this is the case, I am enthusiastically in agreement.

Certainly I agree it's premature to send any final comments to Mrs. Harvey or for any of us to react too quickly at this point. As you say, a great deal of thinking and cognizance needs to take place on this extremely important subject.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

cc: Josephine Wilkins

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

March 7, 1967

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.,
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

I have had a letter from Mrs. Harvey who is serving on a SRC committee relative to re-thinking the working relationships between SRC and the state councils. It is the second request which I have received from her by letter following a verbal one made to me at the time of the SRC annual meeting. She has asked me to put in writing for her any ideas which I might have. I am sure that I do not need to tell you that I have many tentative suggestions but feel a reluctance to put into writing anything which might create an impression that my ideas have completely jelled. The truth is that this area of inquiry needs to be an in-depth shared quest for identity for both SRC and the state councils as they attempt to function effectively in a rapidly-changing situation. You will agree, I am sure.

I would like very much to have an opportunity to send up some trial balloons with you as the recipient so that I might have the benefit of your responses. However, because of my delay in writing Mrs. Harvey, I think I should make a few jottings immediately and rush them to her. I shall tell her that I shall be sending them to you as well as to her, lest any misunderstanding develop. Your reaction, please.

Needless to say, I am eager to wrap up a great many loose ends so that my successor will not come in at a disadvantage. This is extremely hard to do because the situation in South Carolina is mobile enough at the present time to require a legion of new programs and processes which hitherto would have been so difficult as to be virtually impossible.

In the last quarterly report made to SRC covering the period September through November I projected not only for your response but that of our Executive Committee to whom we send copies, a long-range goal for SCCHR of building an 'inclusive' citizens' movement. Such a movement would be dedicated, of course, to the development of human resources and relationships.

In the back of my mind is the thought that Josephine Wilkins as a professional, directed a citizens' fact-finding movement in Georgia many years ago. Such fact finding, of necessity, would provide a rational basis for decision-making in a state which has previously relied heavily upon feeling rather than fact.

I have written Mrs. Tilley that, barring some unforseen emergency, I shall attend the Fellowship of the Concerned at the Atlantan on March

22 through 23 at noon. I have wondered if you and Josephine might have some time in the afternoon of the 23rd when I might discuss this matter with the two of you jointly. If, for any reason, you can not be available, would you find out from Josephine and let me know about her availability?

Sincerely,

Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS.em

File
S.C. Council
Charge to
#319 C&R
Consultants

May 2, 1967

Mrs. Alice Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Alice:

Enclosed is our check for $344.84 to cover the cost of the two consultants reported on by Mrs. Thompson in her letter of April 24th.

(Incidentally, I don't know Mr. Faxon of Detroit and assume he was worth it. But nearly $200 total, including a $100 honorarium strikes me as pretty dear.)

At any rate, here it is and I hope we can help with some others. Do, however, check in advance since we are commiting these funds rather rapidly.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check; $344.84)

Rec'd 4/26/67

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina

April 24, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are enclosing copy of a letter written to Dr. Lucius Pitts on March 3, soon after his speech at the Brotherhood Week Observance in Columbia, sponsored by the South Carolina andthe Columbia councils on human relations. You will note that we sent a check for $150.00 to Dr. Pitts to cover his travel expense and an honorarium. We will deeply appreciate reimbursement for this $150.00 from the Southern Regional Council.

Also, the Student Council incurred expenses of $194.84 (travel $94.84 and honorarium $100.00) for a special speaker, Mr. Jack Faxon* of Detroit, Michigan, at a meeting of the students on "Youth and Politics," in Columbia on April 16. Reimbursement for this amount will also be appreciated.

Total reimbursement requested is $344.84. Thank you.

Respectfully,
(Mrs.) Florence S. Thompson
Office Secretary

ft

* Mr. Faxon is a young member of the Michigan state legislature who is developing national recognition.

COPY

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1330 Laurel Street, Columbia, South Carolina 29201

March 3, 1967

Dr. Lucius Pitts
Miles College
Birmingham, Alabama

Dear Dr. Pitts:

You, your honesty, your courage and wisdom are a source of strength to me personally and I'm sure to literally thousands of others. Thank you deeply for bringing us such a sensitively interpretative message on February the 19th.

Although the number of persons who ably organize and present information and ideas are scarce, they're numerous compared with those who are able in a telling way to project a range of feelings, deep-seated and strong. You showed yourself to be more than an artist, but an artist none-the-less. Many previously inactive persons are asking for a recording of your address. Has the radio station sent you a recording yet? If not, let us know and we'll follow up for you.

We are still eager to secure from your secretary a copy of your paper when convenient.

Dr. J. M. Dabbs, Martin England and Bishop Paul Hardin were among those who sent special messages to you.

We are enclosing our check in the amount of $150.00, which we hope will cover your travel expense and an honorarium. I'm taking the liberty of sending this before hearing from you in order to avoid further delay in repayment of your travel expense. Let me hear from you if we have inadvertently overlooked any possible additional expense.

We regretted that you could not be with us longer, and the circumstances which required your immediate return. Hopefully progress is being made.

I join you in a deep concern for the future of the South and of the nation. It will be helpful to have your ideas of what might be done and should be tried.

With sincere gratitude to you and for you, and with every good wish,

Faithfully yours,

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/ft

File
S.C. Council

June 14, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human
Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Alice:

This will acknowledge with appreciation the contribution of $500 in support of the Voter Education Project.

We note the anonymous donor wishes this spent in South Carolina, and we are happy to comply.

Our check for $500 is being forwarded today to the South Carolina Voter Education Project.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check; $500.00)

June 14, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human
Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Alice:

Regarding the matter of your files I certainly think, if at all possible, you should turn them over to some university library where they will be properly kept. Duke would seem to me the best spot, but I think the first matter of importance would be any library that would want them and preserve them.

We would appreciate having the several folders you have on SRC.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

June 12, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Please find enclosed a check for $500.00 about which I talked with you last week. As I told you, it is being sent to you earmarked for the South Carolina Voter Education Project. I shall appreciate its being sent to the SCVEP at the very earliest convenience as it is needed to be applied on a bank note which has already become due.

Unfortunately, I have not yet received any word from the Internal Revenue in Columbia and have hesitated to stir up anything there. It was heartening to have the assurance from you that even though SRC has recently been called "on the carpet", it was swept clean and neither your tax exempt status nor that of VEP are in any way in question.

We are happy to be able to transmit this anonymous gift but there have been a few headaches, just to prove, I suppose, that even the price of a gift may come high!

Thank you for your gracious help in this matter.

Sincerely,

Alice Spearman

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/ft

$500.00
6/14/67
c.h

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

June 12, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director, Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have not yet had much time to go through files, some of which have accumulated over almost thirteen years and a few of which ante-date them! I feel that I want to do this and in time shall be able to. Much of our material is in pasteboard boxes into which they were placed hastily and without too much rhyme or rhythm. Upon several occasions when we have needed space, we have turned over newspaper clippings files. Dr. Howard Quint, author of "Profiles in Black and White" drew heavily upon these files for his book at the time he wrote it and was a professor at the University of South Carolina. Dr. John McConaughy, political science professor at the University of South Carolina and a graduate student who later studied at the University of North Carolina were glad to get many of our clippings having to do with Negro registration and voting in South Carolina.

After a visit to the microfilm clipping files at the Southern Education Reporting Service, we mailed them a lot of our clippings.

More recently, the University of Wisconsin has written us and also sent a graduate student -- a native of Columbia -- to us a number of times, asking that our papers be turned over to them.

On Saturday I received copies of correspondence between Dr. P. M. Hamer from the National Archives and the librarian at Duke University, indicating that the library may have some interest.

Any advice or reaction you may have, I hope you will share with me.

I have come across a few folders which are carefully marked SRC memoes, communications, news releases, publication lists, and attacks on SRC. A peep inside reveals a few of the memoes in which history, personnel, questions and proposals concerning the future of SRC, state and local organizations relationships etc., were offered. Would you like to have me send these materials for your files or do you think your own files are complete?

Please let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Alice

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/ft

(over)

Confidential

Ernest Leut who was with The Unitarian-Universalist Service Committee has today conferred with Bill Wesson & the chm. of SCCHR personnel comm. re the exec. directors job. He made a very favorable impression. He's on vacation but would like some word. He stated that he knows you and Les Dunbar. Please give us the benefit of your knowledge & reaction - P & G !!!

Ann

file — S.C. Council

June 19, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Alice:

We did make a mistake on returning the check to you, and I am glad that you sent it back since it had already been sent also to the South Carolina Voter Education Project indicating it was a gift through the South Carolina Council.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

June 15, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We are returning the enclosed check for $500 to you. To us here in the office, it looks as though an error has been made in your office.

Should the check be made to the South Carolina Voter Education Project instead of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations?

Sincerely,

Alice

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/c

Sorry, our error.
RHA

File - S.C. Council -

June 22, 1967

Miss Tally T. Sessions
Box 843
Columbia College
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Miss Sessions:

I am sorry not to have answered your inquiry sooner, but have been attempting to determine if any funds could be found to support your interesting work. Regrettably, I must inform you that we have been unsuccessful and, therefore, cannot help make it possible for you to produce the film. I do hope you are able to find some alternative.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Box 843
Columbia College
Columbia, S.C.
29203
June 13, 1967

Mr. Paul Antony , Executive Director
Southern Regional Council on Human Relations
5 Forfythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 30303
Georgia

Dear Mr. Antony:

Having been in recent contant with Mrs. Spearman, Executive Secretary of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations, I have been advised that there is a possibility that you would have funds available for a project which I have been involved with for some time.

Early in February, Dr. Robert Moore, Second Vice President of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations and history professor at Columbia College, asked me to take charge of a program to be presented in connection with a study of poverty then being conducted by the Methodist Church in South Carolina. For this program, I directed "Two in a Trap", a thirty minute one- act play, to be followed by a discussion period led by myself and the two actors involved. Subsequently, due to the enthusiastic reception of the play, we were confronted with several requests for performances from various churches and social welfare organizations, including the Columbia chapter of the South Carolina Council on Human Relations. We attempted to comply with as many requests as possible. However, we soon realized that due to such technical problems as transportation of lighting and sound equipment and of the set and our own rather limited time as a result of academic obligations, it had become a physical impossibility for us to continue with the program as much as we desired to keep it alive. It was a mutual feeling that a program of such merit should not be lost to the community. It was then that we hit upon the idea ofa film adaptation of the play, thus making it more easily accessible to a greater number of people than we could reach in person.

We have proceeded along these lines, securing use of locations, and a photographer, and clearing film rights to the play. Unfortunately, we have now reached an impasse in obtaining the necessary funds. In concidering all aspects of the expense involved, we have realized we cannot produce this film with less than 1250 dollars. We have been in contact with several church related organizations concerning funds, but to no avail. Mrs. Spearman has informed us that there might be in your budget funds for a student involvement such as we have planned.

With your provision of funds, we will produce the film. The play has become too meaningful to us to let it die. There are too many people who need to be reached and we want to reach them.

Thank you very much for your time .

Sincerely yours,

Tally T. Sessions

Tally T. Sessions

File
S.C. Council

June 26, 1967

Mrs. Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 Laurel Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Alice:

I share your high regard for Jacques Wilmore, and would be happy to have any further reaction from you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mj

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1330 LAUREL STREET
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

June 16, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

You have been most helpful and considerate of me in every way and I am deeply appreciative. Your good turns certainly deserve a few from me and I shall try to offer a helpful suggestion below:

I know what a tremendous problem is posed in finding and keeping good personnel. Therefore, I am writing to tell you that I esteem highly Jacques Wilmore who is directing the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Memphis office. Things have begun to move since he took over as they had not done previously. He seems to be an extremely well adjusted person, dynamic, creative and efficient - I would think he may have considerable executive ability. The way he is going about program planning for the advisory committees is quite exciting. A few of us from each of the committees in the eleven to fourteen states under his supervision will be going into Memphis for a two-day planning session June 30. I shall give you any further reactions which may develop out of that meeting, if you are interested.

Sincerely,

Alice

(Mrs.) Alice N. Spearman
Executive Director

ANS/c

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SOUTH CAROLINA COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

REGARDING

Letter from L. W. Dunbar to Alice Spearman regarding $17,00 support of the Council for another year.

DATE

7-7-67

(SEE)

NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION

file — South Carolina Council

November 21, 1967

Mr. Paul W. Matthias
Executive Director
South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Paul:

To my sincere regret I will be unable to attend your Annual Meeting, November 30. We have an extremely important Executive Committee Meeting December 1-3, as you know, and I must get with Ray Wheeler before that meeting. Regrettably, about the only thing he and I could work out was for me to join him in Charlotte on the evening of the 30th.

I do hope you have a good meeting and especially regret that I was unable to be at your first one.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

The South Carolina Council on Human Relations
1420 ~~1330 LAUREL STREET~~ Lady St.
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

November 15, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atl nta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

We hope you have scheduled November 30 as your visit to South Carolina to be with us for the thirteenth annual meeting of the Council.

Enclosed is your complimentary ticket, and we look forward to having you with us at that time.

Sincerely,

William H. Wesson

William H. Wesson
President

Paul W. Matthias

Paul W. Matthias
Executive Director

Price 50c

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK

A MODERATE APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK

A Moderate Approach to Race Relations

Compiled By

The Reverend Ralph E. Cousins
The Reverend Joseph R. Horn, III
The Reverend Larry A. Jackson
The Reverend John S. Lyles
The Reverend John B. Morris

Printed in U.S.A.

Copyright 1957 By

The Reverend Ralph E. Cousins

The Reverend Joseph R. Horn, III

The Reverend Larry A. Jackson

The Reverend John S. Lyles

The Reverend John B. Morris

"I disapprove of what you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."

—Francois M. A. Voltaire
1694-1778

" . . . To those who, misled by their fears, their ignorance, or by evil counseling, turned a deaf ear to our appeals, we should not be vindictive but magnanimous. Let us show to all of them that the true interests of both races can best be secured by cultivating peace and promoting prosperity among all classes of our fellow citizens . . . "

—Wade Hampton
1818-1902

Preface

In the course of human affairs, whenever a change in the existing order is proposed, it is inevitable that some men will favor the new path of action, others will defend the accustomed patterns, and most will not commit themselves to either way, desiring only that the issue be settled peacefully and justly. The present controversy in the field of race relations is no exception. Recent days in South Carolina, as well as in the entire Southern region of the United States, have seen the development of a climate of opinion and emotion in which extreme positions have dominated. Not only has communication between the two races virtually ceased, but we have come tragically close to being unable to communicate with one another within our own race. As the opposing camps become more firmly entrenched, they inadvertently drift toward a struggle which may impair the growth of our State for decades. Is this an absolute "either — or" issue, one on which there can be no compromise? We believe not. The time is long overdue for a strong voice of moderation to be heard, and for a middle ground of peaceful settlement to be cleared in South Carolina.

The current racial dilemma is producing a threat to one of the basic institutions of American democracy — the right of the individual to freedom of thought, opinion and speech. Often the real question has not been, "What shall we do about segregation and desegregation?" but, "Shall men have the freedom to differ and still maintain mutual respect for each other?" There are some who would require all South Carolinians to subscribe to their

point of view or be ostracized from the community. Fear of free, unrestricted discussion of the problem, and hesitancy to disagree with either the majority or the minority quickly lead to a withering of American ideals.

The undersigned group of ministers believes that the moderate leadership which is desperately needed will come from the esteemed and respected men and women of each community in our State. Until such leadership manifests itself, the impasse will not be broken, and creative communication and understanding between the races will not be strengthened. We have, therefore, compiled this booklet as one means of giving public expression to such moderate leadership. As Christian pastors of various denominations, we believe that our commitment to Jesus Christ calls us to minister to the sicknesses of society as well as to the ills of the individual.

Each of the persons whose statements appear herein was visited personally. We asked them if they would venture out with us into that difficult middle ground through a public statement of their own thoughts and feelings. Although they did not seek this task, out of a love for their communities and their State they have undertaken this vital responsibility. They, as we, are people of the South with a deep love for this section of our country. While not presuming to be experts in the field of race relations, they live in daily touch with the problems and are concerned about the present trends. The statements are as the various writers submitted them to us. They do not necessarily agree with us on every point, nor we with them. It will also be apparent that the individual writers differ among themselves at certain places. We believe, nevertheless, that they all represent a mod-

erate position and provide the kind of guidance so urgently required.

We offer *South Carolinians Speak* in the hope that it will give strength to the countless people who see a moderate approach toward a solution as the only workable one. May this book also give encouragement to concerned citizens who have feared, or have had difficulty in expressing themselves. Finally, it is our prayer that all thoughtful people will affirm the necessity of the free, open exchange of ideas and will insist on mutual regard for persons of differing opinions.

To the many people who have heartened us in this effort, and to those without whose support the book would not have been published, we can only indicate our grateful appreciation. We are convinced that the serious, reasonable people of South Carolina will adhere to our democratic principles in dealing with this complex issue, and that together all our citizens will move into an era of more harmonious relations and greater usefulness in fulfilling God's will for our State.

July 25, 1957

Ralph E. Cousins, Marion, S. C.
Joseph R. Horn, III, Florence, S. C.
Larry A. Jackson, Florence, S. C.*
John S. Lyles, Marion, S. C.
John B. Morris, Dillon, S. C.

*Mr. Jackson left Florence on July 1, 1957 to assume the Pastorate of the Union Church, Santiago, Chile.

Same ltr. sent to: Robt. Hughes (Ala.)
Rabbi Mantinband (Miss.)

Enclosures: Ltr. from Rev. John B. Morris - dtd. 3/24/58
Promotion ltr. from Morris - dtd. 2/28/58

April 2, 1958

Dr. Guy H. Wells
Chief Consultant
Georgia Council on Human Relations
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Wells:

I would appreciate it if I could have your reaction to the suggestion advanced by the Reverend John B. Morris in the enclosed correspondence. I am assuming, I hope correctly, that you have seen a copy of South Carolinians Speak. If I am mistaken, I am sure that Mr. Morris will be glad to send a copy to you.

It is possible that the Southern Regional Council could give modest financial help toward a fair price for the booklets if you feel that distribution is desirable.

I will look forward to hearing from you.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

April 2, 1958

Reverend John B. Morris
St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 East Cleveland Street
Dillon, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Morris:

Thank you for your letter of March 24 suggesting possible distribution of South Carolinians Speak by the state councils in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. We are passing the idea along to them, and as soon as we have reactions I will be writing you again. We think well of the idea and will cooperate in every way we can to make it possible.

We can do little to assist in meeting the remaining deficit. However, if we work out some distribution in the other deep South states, we will hope to pay at least a modest sum for the booklets so used.

All people of good will are indebted to you and the others who made this publication possible.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 3/25/58
Thursday

St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 EAST CLEVELAND STREET
DILLON, S. C.

March 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The compilers of South Carolinians Speak have about two to three thousand copies of this publication remaining undistributed and will happily give them away or sell them at a minimal cost where they will be effectively used in the "deep South". Mail orders continue to come in but these are slow and do not require such a large supply.

Possibly, the Councils on Human Relations in such states as Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi might like to have copies for distributing to their members or generally. For the postage we would send them copies if it appeared they would be used.

It isn't that we don't have needs of our own. We are still working on raising the money to pay for this venture. The enclosed copy of a fund letter will give you some idea of this - and, also, some picture of our evaluation of response to the book. But, we want to see the copies we have left exerting a positive influence in the kind of climate and with the kind of people they're designed to reach.

If you would care to pass this information on to any affiliate organizations please feel free to do so.

Yours sincerely,

John B. Morris

(Rev.) John B. Morris

SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK
P. O. Box 806
Dillon, South Carolina

February 28, 1958

Dear Friend:

Four months ago I shared, along with four other clergymen, in the publishing of a book as an effort to bring a greater degree of calm and reason to bear upon the race controversy. Together with our Preface this book is a collection of statements of belief from twelve respected and influential lay people. Fifteen thousand copies of South Carolinians Speak: A Moderate Approach to Race Relations are now in circulation and are working quietly to strengthen freedom of expression, improve communications on the issue, and draw out the great numbers of citizens who reject any extreme position and seek a moderate approach.

The response of South Carolinians to this book has fully substantiated our premise that political spokesmen of the "deep South" have not always reflected the true picture of our region. This response has been overwhelmingly positive - with only the ugly incident of the dynamiting of the home of one of the book's writers to the contrary and in substantiation of the need for a better climate of opinion. Leading newspapers have editorially commended South Carolinians Speak and notable figures in the state have praised it, including former Congressman James P. Richards who termed it a "real contribution" toward "preserving freedom of expression of thought". We have received hundreds of supportive letters from South Carolinians, and informed observers tell us that they feel the book has served to lessen the rigidness of extremists on both sides.

We who sponsored South Carolinians Speak acted wholly on our own initiative and with the shared concern of the writers. We carried the project to completion in the confidence that persons anxious for the health of the South would contribute toward the costs. While many contributions have already come in, we must raise approximately $3,000 more. That the book was priced lower than cost to encourage sales (which have been good) and the fact that we sent 8,000 free copies to selected community leaders in South Carolina are factors which would compel us to ask the help of others from the outset. We will derive no financial profit from this, and have already invested considerably of personal funds, and will have to assume any deficit that might remain.

Checks may be made payable to South Carolinians Speak - or to me - and should be sent to the above address. There will be no published list of contributors. If you do not have a copy of the book, kindly advise me and one will be sent to you. Also, copies may be ordered at 50¢ each. Many persons have secured copies to send to friends in other parts of the country - believing, as we do, that an additional value of the book is in helping persons outside of the South to appreciate the complexities of our problem. A further use reported to us is by church and club study groups.

With gratitude for your consideration of this, I am
Yours faithfully,

(Rev.) John B. Morris

CLASS OF SERVICE
This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS
DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
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The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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1958 MAY 16 PM 3 56

A LLR318 (P YWS061) PD=FE NEW YORK NY 16 229PME=
HAROLD FLEMING, SOUTHERN REGIONALL COUNCIL=
63 AUBURN AVE NORTH EAST RN ATLA=

PLEASEM AIL 25 COPIES OF "SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK" TO
REACH ME BY TUESDAY, MAY 20 REGARDS=
HALLOCK HOFFMAN=

file S. Carolinians

60 E. 42d St
NY 17, NYC

air mail

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Copy

St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 EAST CLEVELAND STREET
DILLON, S. C.

May 19, 1958

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
The Fund for the Republic
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

Your phone call today was the best news we've had in a long time. Assistance that the Fund for the Republic is able to grant to the Southern Regional Council, thereby enabling them to purchase copies of SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK, will be greatly appreciated by us. This will go a long way toward eliminating our deficit which, at the present, is down to about $2,000.00.

I told you on the phone that we could probably supply the Southern Regional Council with 2,500 copies of the booklet. I have just gone over our supply of copies and find that we could let them have as many as 3,000 copies. I am presently filling an order for 500 copies for a church agency but have estimated that this increased number could be made available to the Council if they desire them. This would leave us with around 700 copies on hand which would not be too many for meeting the mail orders that continue to come in. I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Fleming of the Southern Regional Council so that he may have these figures.

As mentioned on the telephone I am sending you herein a copy of a mimeographed letter that my wife and I enclosed with our Christmas cards this past December. The major parts of it deal with the background and publication of SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK. Together with the copy of our fund letter of April 16th and the book itself I believe you have the whole picture.

Thank you for calling me. The concern and interest of others is as appreciated as the possibility of actual assistance. I should like to publish another book now which would be composed of samples of the many responses we have had to SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK - some "crank" letters, but many more affirmative communications. The possibility of financial help from the Fund for the Republic is, in a similiar way, reinforcing and strengthening to us.

Yours sincerely,

(Rev.) John B. Morris

cc. Mr. Harold Fleming

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

FFR grant of $1,250 to SRC

REGARDING:

The purchase of "South Carolinians Speak" (approx. 2,500 copies)

DATE

May 23, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Foundations - Fund for the Republic (Officers)
Ltr. from Hallock Hoffman, Treasurer

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
SAINT BARNABAS' CHURCH
DILLON, SOUTH CAROLINA

June 2, 1958

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I may see you before you receive this. At any rate this is entirely separate from the other matter I have written you about.

Your frank comments on the enclosed will be appreciated at some time. I'm sending it to various selected persons - mostly clergy - and asking for criticisms so that I can assess whether or not to press on with it.

Should you generally approve the idea and see a need for such as this, I would welcome suggestions of particular persons for the chapters, or some of them, and, also, some advice on the publishing end of things.

Thank you for your consideration of this.

Sincerely,

John Morris

PROSPECTUS

Proposal: Issuance of a book, in symposium form, that will speak to the role of the Church and the clergy in meeting relevantly the segregation issue in the South. A proposed outline is attached. It would encompass an analysis of the situation, presuppositions of Christian social concern, discussion of the prophetic ministry in its various expressions, and such resource data or chapters as would be useful to Southern churchmen, etc. A portion of the book would contain actual accounts of instances where effective prophetic ministries have been exercised.

Purpose: To challenge the Church in the South, and clergy in particular, to meet increasingly - with adequate concern, strategy, and faith - the controversy over racial discrimination and attendant efforts to eradicate or support its practices and attitudes.

Scope: With regard to the varied and changing complexion of the South, such a symposium should be directed primarily to the situation existing in the "hard-core" or "deep South" states.

As regards orientation to the different denominations, such a book should be pertinent to the major churches of Protestantism within the South.

Regarding the authorship of various chapters, they would be written by clergymen in all probability, but full consideration should be given any suitable persons. The writers should have a direct connection with the South in terms of background or residence. If possible, they should include persons from each major church - with consideration given to such as would the more readily command respect and attention from others of the same persuasion. Prior emphasis, however, should be placed on any contributor's ability to deal with a particular facet.

Editing: The undersigned will retire this proposal if other parties are already engaged in preparing such a volume. Otherwise, and subject to counsel received from selected persons to whom this Prospectus may be sent, an endeavor will be made to carry it through. It may be that increasing the number of editors at the outset would be advisable for a sharing of work and collaboration on decisions and policy. Whatever arrangement is settled upon, it is apparent that the advice and interest of key persons in the various churches will be necessary for its effective accomplishment.

Publishing: Unless some agency wanted to underwrite it, publication and distribution would be by one of the standard publishing firms - possibly a church-related one. Hopefully, they could be shown, during the early stages of compilation, the need for such a volume and its potential market. That costs might be at a minimum, the book's format should be of the less expensive type, with no realization of profit to the editors or authors.

John B. Morris
St. Barnabas' Church
Dillon, South Carolina

June 3, 1958

OUTLINE

FOREWORD (By prominent churchman.)

INTRODUCTION (Purpose & need defined.)

Part I - THE CHURCH IN THE SOUTH TODAY

1. The Cultural Crisis. (The Southern scene since 1954.)
2. Crisis Confronts the Church. (Analysis of church's response to race controversy. Role of clergy & laity in resisting or aiding change.)
3. Things Resolved. (Official statements of churches.)

Part II - THE CHURCH AND ITS PROPHETIC MINISTRY

1. Theology of Christian Social Concern. (Basis for prophetic role of church generally and with regard to the racial controversy in particular.)
2. The Prophetic Church: Conscience to the Community. (Need for a concerned laity. Study suggestions, conference ideas, etc. Effective mobilization of resources in a Southern parish.)
3. Clergy: Conviction or Culture? (Prophetic imperative. Tension involved. Resolving background, etc. Pitfalls of involvement. The witness that is in "being", and that which is doing and saying.)
4. The Prophetic Ministry That is Pastoral. (Reconciliation & effective leadership through personal relationships. Special problems. Counselling.)
5. The Prophetic Ministry Through Preaching. (General theory and specific helps.)
6. A Community Concern. (Suggestions for cooperative programs in education, averting violence, preparation for change.)

Part III - ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

1. Segregation and the Bible. (What it does & does not say.)
2. A Christian Understanding of Race. (Review of issue from standpoint of Christian Ethics.)
3. The "Moderate" Position. (Its nature and need.)
4. Interpreting the Court Rulings. (From legal standpoint.)
5. Segregationist Arguments. (Exploded and countered.)
6. Humor and Other Strategies.

Part IV - PROPHETIC MINISTRIES IN ACTION

(Accounts by between six and eight clergymen where significant prophetic ministries have been noted: some of more dramatic instances, some less spectacular, others where no particular local crisis has yet existed.)

Same ltr sent to Guy Wells - Ga. Council

JC
FYI
Return for filing
10 Jun

June 4, 1958

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
Room 1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

On April 2nd I wrote you asking for your suggestions about possible distribution of "South Carolinians Speak." You will recall that the Rev. John B. Morris of Dillon, South Carolina, one of the publishers of the volume, had asked if the Deep State Councils would be interested in distributing this booklet within their respective states. I further wrote that SRC might be able to absorb the cost of the booklets.

I have not had a reply from you, and now developments make it imperative that we proceed on this matter. SRC has accepted a foundation contribution earmarked for the purchase of the remaining stock of "South Carolinians Speak" - about 2500 copies. In turn, we have agreed to see that these volumes are given effective distribution in the Deep South.

Would you please let me know at your very earliest convenience, (1) whether or not you would be interested in making a distribution of this booklet; (2) if so, the type of distribution

you have in mind and the number of copies you feel you could use; (3) whether or not you feel your State Council could make a distribution, your suggestions as to other appropriate groups or channels through which distribution could be made in your State.

I might say in passing that Will Campbell of the National Council of Churches has written that he is preparing a report of key religious leaders in the Deep South who would benefit from the booklet. We would plan to make this distribution, or some part of it, ourselves. If we do so, we will supply you with the names in your State who are receiving it from us.

Your earliest reply will be very much appreciated.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 5, 1958

Rabbi Charles Mantinband
808 Mamie Street
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

My dear Rabbi Mantinband:

You will recall that I wrote you a couple of months ago about the possibility of some distribution of "South Carolinians Speak" in Mississippi. We have now made arrangements to secure approximately 2500 copies of the booklet and are ready to proceed with such distribution as seems most desirable.

Have you had a chance to read the booklet and to make some judgment of how it might best be used in Mississippi? If so, I would deeply appreciate it if you would let us have your recommendations. If you could supply us with a list of names, we would be happy to make that distribution from here; or alternately, we could supply a specified number of the booklets for distribution out there, as you think best.

I will look forward to hearing from you. Meanwhile, my warm regards and good wishes to you and Mrs. Mantinband.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

John Constable - Memo from HCF to

REGARDING:

Distribution of "South Carolinians Speak"

DATE

June 13, 1958

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Staff Memos (General)

June 18, 1958

Mr. Robert Hughes
Executive Director
Alabama Council on Human Relations
1218 Comer Building
Birmingham 3, Alabama

Dear Bob:

Harold, who is away from the office, has asked me to acknowledge your letter of June 16th concerning the Alabama distribution of "South Carolinians Speak."

As soon as all returns are in from those whom we've contacted on this matter, we'll know how many we can shake loose from Alabama. This we should be able to do shortly. John Constable is handling the returns so you'll probably hear from him.

I have our file - such as it is - on the Alabama resistance movement for your inspection if and when you get the opportunity. If your trip to Fisk does not enable you to get by Atlanta, perhaps we can mail you anything of possible value. In the meantime, the missing envelope has turned up and that I enclose - empty gesture though it is.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA

Re - "South Carolinians Speak"

1218 Comer Bldg.
Birmingham 3, Ala.
June 16, 1958

Dear Harold:

I trust that Emory informed you that we could use up to approximately 1,000 copies of the "South Carolinians Speak" pamphlet or booklet. Now that I've gotten Emory's survey project out of the way I'll attempt to give you an answer on the distribution questions.

If we had 1,000 we could send them out through our membership & prospect mailing list. 300 copies alone would cover our membership. 200 copies would cover white moderate to liberal ministers over the state some of which are covered in the membership and all in our general (1,000) mailing list. Our state ministers organization could make this mailing to white ministers and we as they could add an additional 200 for negro ministers.

Hurriedly & cordially,

Bob Hughes

June 19, 1958

Mr. John B. Morris
St. Barnabas' Episcopal Church
605 East Cleveland Street
Dillon, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Morris:

I did enjoy our conversation when you were here and only wish that there had been time for us to talk at much greater length.

I have read with interest the sample letters of reactions to "South Carolinians Speak." If you have no pressing need for them, I would like to hold on to them for a while and consider ways in which their contents might be effectively used to shed light on Deep South attitudes. I will be writing you again about this within a couple of weeks.

I wish you the very best of luck in your plans to further your education.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rcd 7/17/58 mf

Dillon, South Carolina
July 12, 1958

A FINAL REPORT ON "SOUTH CAROLINIANS SPEAK":

The compilers and publishers of South Carolinians Speak: A Moderate Approach to Race Relations are able to report that its total costs of almost $7,000.00 are now virtually met through sales and contributions. This is a final report on the project and is being sent to writers for the book and to others who have had a particular interest in its progress. It is made two years after preparatory work on the book was begun, a year following the attack on the project by Governor Timmerman, and ten months after publication.

Nineteen thousand copies of South Carolinians Speak have been distributed to date. Of these about 9,000 comprised the free distribution we made to community and state leaders in South Carolina. News stand and book store sales in South Carolina (with one distributor still to report final sales) totaled 4,760 copies. A definite correlation was evident between the number of copies sold by area distributors and the racial attitudes of the respective agency managers or their fear of handling the book. In some areas the distribution was quite good and in others it was only sparse - with copies remaining out on the stands only a limited time. Some intimidation of news stand operators was suggested in a few locales. One agency solicited the opinion of the local newspaper before consenting to distribute the book. Mail orders from within South Carolina presently account for 639 copies. Including these, the initial free mailing, and subsequent donations of copies to various organizations, church groups, and individuals, the total distribution within South Carolina comes to about 15,000 copies. The bulk of these were distributed in the two months following publication date. The total number of copies sold outside of the state presently comes to 3,848.

The response of South Carolinians to this book has been overwhelmingly positive. There have been the usual few anonymous letters, some signed ones, together with an array of spurious literature, but in the first months of publication we heard from people all over the state who wrote to express their appreciation for the book. During ensuing months commendatory letters have continued to come from South Carolinians, but also from as far away as have the mail orders - including such distant places as Paris and New Zealand. Within the state we feel the response fully substantiates the claim that the greater number of thinking South Carolinians want moderate leadership in the racial crisis. Financial contributions, coming largely from South Carolinians, are an additional indication of this concern among the people. From the northern part of our country have come letters that suggest the book is serving to strengthen communications in that direction by helping others understand the complexity of our problems.

Response to South Carolinians Speak from political leaders in the state has varied. Some have expressed positive feelings for the book, although such expressions have been on a confidential basis generally. It was apparent that Governor Timmerman sought no favors for us last summer when he released a copy of the project's "Prospectus" to the press along with his own covering statement. While he must have hoped that pressures brought against us after his statement would cause the

termination of the project, it worked quite to the contrary and provided the stimulus to public interest and a general anticipation of the book's appearing far beyond what we might have desired or hoped for. To the often-asked question, "How did the governor obtain a copy of the Prospectus?, we can only surmise that one or more influential persons who failed to reply to our correspondence that sought writers for the project chose to furnish the governor with the Prospectus we had sent them. The prospectus asked that the matter be kept between those with whom we corresponded and ourselves, because no one publishing a book goes around publicizing it before he is sure it will come out. Several newspapers were appropriately critical of the governor for his action. Since the appearance of the book he has declined to comment upon it on several occasions when members of the press have asked his opinion.

Press reaction to South Carolinians Speak has been quite favorable for the most part. Some headlines in the beginning were slanted to suggest that this was an "integrationist" book, but as the weeks went by and the book received public support from significent persons, the press increasingly reported on it altogether fairly. One exception to this is a major newspaper which changed the sub-title of the book in several stories from "A Moderate Approach to Race Relations" to "A Moderate Approach to Integration". They have persisted in doing this despite repeated and unacknowledged communications to them pointing out the error. The several letter writers from the North who castigated us for publishing such a conservative document would not understand this distortion of fact! On the more positive side it can be reported that an equally major newspaper in South Carolina editorially commended the book several times. Altogether there were seven negative editorial-type comments on the book as compared to eighteen positive references. These all appeared before the Gaffney dynamiting incident. In reaction to that affront to freedom of speech nearly every daily and many weekly newspapers in the state had editorials deploring such violence.

Public statements in commendation of South Carolinians Speak included one from former Congressman James P. Richards who said the book was a "real contribution" toward preserving freedom of expression. Henry Savage, Jr., author and former mayor of Camden, said in a statement of praise for the book, "It is high time that South Carolina should start building some measure of freedom of speech and freedom of thought". Dr. R. Wright Spears, President of Columbia College, said, "With hearts of gratitude many, many people will welcome the statements of this book in sharp contrast to the cutting remarks of extremists of various groups!"

How seriously South Carolina will contend with persons who would abridge freedom of speech with acts of violence remains to be seen. Proceedings are pending against alleged Ku Klux Klansmen who are charged with dynamiting the home of one of the book's writers, Mrs. J. H. Sanders, of Gaffney, on the evening of last November 19th. Only a technical failure in the explosive device limited the damage to the house and spared the lives of four persons inside. The influence of official South Carolina is being brought to bear in favor of extremists in that a state senator is serving as defense attorney for the suspects in the case. Recent reports indicate a possibility that persons responsible

for pressing the case may not do so as thoroughly as they could. With a little influence here and a little sympathy for the extremists there, it could all be overlooked on the basis of technicalities if the authorities grow weary of pressing their charges which, according to the newspaper accounts, contained considerable evidence. The State Law Enforcement Division, responsible for preparing the case and collecting the evidence, is to be commended on its good work. It is frustrating for them, though, as one agent expressed it to me, for a case to be thoroughly prepared and have justice fail. Such was the occasion with the Camden assault case of several years ago. We may hope that righteous indignation of the South Carolina press and the people generally when this dynamiting occured will be sufficient stimulus to obtain justice in the Gaffney case. Happily I can note that Mrs. Sanders has survived the strain and tension of the whole experience satisfactorily through drawing upon the resources of her deep Christian faith and the support of family and friends.

Other writers for South Carolinians Speak indicate there has been a generally positive response to the book in their communities. Exceptions to this include an instance of a threat of bodily harm, similar to the Gaffney matter, and anonymous phone calls were inflicted on one or two of the writers for a brief period. In most cases, though, there were neighbors and associates who were quick to register their approval for the stand taken and especially for the fact that some had dared speak out in a moderate manner. One writer reports that his volume of business has increased since the book's appearance and another writer was elected to the state legislature three months after the book came out.

Of the five clergymen who compiled and published the book, one was enroute to a long-desired overseas appointment at the time of the governor's attack. Three of us have suffered no particular strain, although there have been moments of stress in our pastorates. For the most part we have found a sympathetic and supportive laity. It did not go so well, however, with the Rev. John S. Lyles, of Marion. Although our project's plans were known locally, the release of them by the governor provoked his church's governing board to plan the termination of his services. This separation was planned before the book could attest to its moderateness. Mr. Lyles left in December and is now serving a large church in West Virginia. There are those who rejoice at the departure of young Southern clergymen who speak their conscience and the Will of God, but for everyone who has to leave the South there are countless others who are awakening to the prophetic mission of the Church.

In summary, the accomplishments of our booklet could be described as giving strength to the moderates, buttressing the principles of freedom of thought and speech, and generally assisting in improving communications across racial and regional lines and between white South Carolinians. Instances may be noted where the book has helped a clergyman, a church group, or other persons to speak positively on the issue where they might have neglected an opportunity. In short, the book's chief accomplishments are in intangible ways that have to do with public opinion and personal stands. While some political leaders have

tempered their racial views with a little more moderation due to the book's influence, the greater consequence is in the hearts of the many who were given cause to reconsider their position.

What does the future hold for South Carolina in the racial controversy? I do not know - nor does our booklet offer a single answer. Its purpose is to stimulate constructive discussion - which, in itself, must be a part of any solution. We will have dark days ahead if official South Carolina holds to a rigid position and does not move ahead voluntarily in the improvement of race relations and in providing equal education opportunities for all its people. Our sister Carolina state is setting an example we would do well to consider. In desegregating at the upper levels, with some desegregation at lower levels, they are showing a "good faith" compliance with moral and legal imperatives of the day and are, thereby, insuring for themselves a strong position before the courts. While I do not believe it would be wise to desegregate the public schools in most parts of a "deep South" state such as ours, I know that it is an affront to our democratic heritage and our religious conviction that we have made no movement at the graduate school level and in other areas. Even Virginia, the present leader in "massive resistance", long ago began to correct the situation with regard to higher education and Florida has indicated it will do so peacefully this coming fall. This is what the moderate position means in South Carolina, I believe: careful and wise planning for a more democratic society through definite, although limited, movement ahead - at the same time that the expediency of separate facilities at certain levels is dispassionately maintained. To do otherwise we move backwards and begin to compete with South Africa for the formost place in the West in maintaining a structure that is repugnant to our Christian teaching and our American traditions.

For you who wrote the chapters for South Carolinians Speak - I have the highest respect and admiration. Because you took a stand, however much you may differ among yourselves, there are now more South Carolinians who will speak when a calm voice is needed. The publishing of a book containing personal views on the race issue will be forgotten, but the principles that the book presupposed - freedom of thought and the need for open discussion - will be more firmly imprinted on the minds of a host of South Carolinians because of your witness. That we have been on an adventure or pilgrimage together in this project is an understatement. The fact of our association is a sufficient bond, though, to warrant enduring relationships. In the next year I shall enter upon a program of graduate study in areas that pertain to the churches' role in the South's racial crisis. I shall hope to see you from time to time - both for the renewal of personal friendships and for a sharing of mutual concerns.

Faithfully,

(Rev.) John B. Morris

April 20, 1966

Southeastern Education Corporation
408 Tallahassee Building
1209 Thomasville Road
Tallahassee, Florida 32303

Gentlemen:

Thank you for the Prospectus for A Regional Education Laboratory. We hope you are able to develop this important service.

I note in reading this that your organizational chart calls for a regional council. While it's really not a matter of major importance, I would only ask that you consider not using this term. This is not because we have any objection to sharing the title, but we have found from our own experience that there are a number of organizations with these two words in their title, ranging from SRC to the Southern Regional Council on Mental Health and this has caused some confusion for everyone. Should you decide to join in the confusion, we will welcome it but I did want to mention our own experience in this regard.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Make folder

April 29, 1966

Mr. J. Stanley Marshall
Interim Director
Southeastern Educational Corporation
408 Tallahassee Building
1309 Thomasville Road
Tallahassee, Florida 32303

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Thank you for your letter of April 26 concerning the title "Regional Council".

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Rec'd 4/28/66

(1)

SOUTHEASTERN EDUCATIONAL CORPORATION

408 TALLAHASSEE BUILDING
1309 Thomasville Road
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32303

April 26, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I note with interest your request that we refrain from using the title "Regional Council" in connection with the Southeastern Regional Education Laboratory. I will certainly bring this matter to the attention of the interim Board of Directors at its next meeting. I see no good reason why we could not change the name to something like "Governing Council."

Let me point out that the Regional Council to which we refer in our literature is a group which meets only twice a year for a couple of hours or so and their primary purpose is the election of the Board of Directors of the Corporation. It is this Board which has the real power and the Regional Council serves only as a kind of electoral college. The Council will not be identified prominently with the Laboratory as the Board of Directors will. This is by way of pointing out that the Regional Council as we envisage it will not be an active organization in the usual sense and I doubt that the term will be used very much. Nevertheless, your request is certainly reasonable and I will ask the interim Board of Directors to consider changing our title.

Sincerely yours,

J. Stanley Marshall

J. Stanley Marshall
Interim Director

JSM:mm

May 4, 1966

Mr. J. Stanley Marshall
Interim Director
Southeastern Educational Corporation
408 Tallahassee Building
1309 Thomasville Road
Tallahassee, Florida 32303

Dear Mr. Marshall:

Thank you for your letter of April 26 concerning the title "Regional Council".

Please understand my comments were made only to point out the potential confusion you might run into. Certainly we have no exclusive claim to the term "Regional Council".

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

April 15, 1963

Miss Jane Bond
Acting Editor
NEWSLETTER
Southern Christian Leadership Conference — file
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Jane:

The March issue of the SCLC Newsletter may not be the first you have edited, but it is the first time I have noticed your name on the mast head. Even before I saw your name I was thinking that this was the best issue I had ever read. Good going!

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

SCLC
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Newsletter

SPRING ISSUE

Volume 1 March, 1963 Number 9

Burned Churches...

Portion of 400 persons who observed ground-breaking ceremony for three churches burned last summer. Walker, author of statement below is shown 2nd to right of Dr. King.

Ground-Breaking Services Held

The following are introductory remarks by Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Assistant to Martin Luther King, Jr.

During the last summer, the dynamism and fervor of the Albany Movement electrified all of South Georgia. It was the most dramatic bid for self-respect and human dignity in the Negro community since the Freedom Ride of 1961. The sharp lines of racial separation and discrimination in the general Albany area ultimately overflowed the cup of the Negro community's patience and twice, within the span of a year, the Albany Movement erupted in its bid for Freedom.

The Albany Movement was prodded by the voter registration activity of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the December protest as well as the July and August activity, were supplemented by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and two of its titular leaders, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Ralph D. Abernathy. Parallel to the registration and direct action efforts in Albany, SNCC maintained training centers in Lee and Terrell County to aid the rural community equip itself for full citizenship. The church communities of Leesburg and Sasser were particularly responsive.

The impact of the revived activity of the Albany Movement in early July and increase of staff workers on summer internships with SNCC, produced a never-ending series of incidents directed at harassing the work of voter registration.

The harassment degenerated to church burnings and/or bombings. On the morning of August 15th, Miss Margaret Dammond of the SNCC staff notified SCLC headquarters in Albany that the Shady Grove Baptist Church at Leesburg had been almost leveled by fire in the aftermath of an obvious bombing. Scarcely three weeks later, on September 9th, the Mount Olive and the Mount Mary churches were burned to the ground

(*Continued on Page 3*)

SOLID WALL OF SEGREGATION CRACKS AT ALBANY

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

Sharp social change is painful and at times painfully *slow*. This has been apparent at Albany, Georgia, scene of the largest "jail-ins" of the non-violent movement. The City Commission, recently repealed the entire section of the city code that carried segregation ordinances. Despite the fact that this was only an obvious maneuver to preserve the segregated system through some sophisticated technique other than by law, it is of critical significance to those who have been working for more than a year to "democratize" this now-famous southwest Georgia city.

The repeal of the city's segregation laws indicates clearly that the city fathers are realistically facing the legal death of segregation. The city is not wont to battle in the legal arena because the outcome, with all its costliness, is a forgone conclusion. In the wake of the legal retreat at Albany, the public library has been opened on a 30-day "trial" basis—*integrated!*

To be sure, neither of these related

(*Continued on Page 4*)

Dr. King, SCLC president, breaks ground for burned churches at Shady Grove in Lee County. The Rev. J. D. Ousley at right shoulder of Dr. King, pastor of Shady Grove, looks on, with the Rev. William Boyd (left) minister of Mount Mary in Terrell County. The Rev. Benjamin Gay, Albany movement leader, is shown at right.

LWD
PA
SB
ML

SCLC

Seventh Annual Convention

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King, Jr., *President*

Sept. 24-27, 1963

Richmond, Va.

Theme: 'FREEDOM NOW'

HOST: VIRGINIA UNIT SCLC

Rev. Curtis Harris, *President*

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

WB
PA
VJ
SB
MJ-file

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

October 30, 1963

Dear Friend and Supporter:

I am pleased to enclose a copy of the Annual Financial Report of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which includes a statement of income and expenses as well as a schedule of operating expenses for the fiscal year ending August 31, 1963.

As Financial Secretary and Treasurer of SCLC, I would like to call your attention to two items in the statement of income and expenses which may appear misleading without further clarification. The first of these is the item carried as "Net Income Over Operating Expenses," which indicates that the sum of $263,358.84 has been appropriated for future legal defenses.

At a glance, it would appear that this item is a reserve for expenditure at some point in the future, when, in truth, almost all of this sum already has been used in providing bail bonds for demonstrators and others in Birmingham, Ala., particularly, and in such other areas as Savannah, Ga.; Albany, Ga.; Danville, Va.; Jackson, Miss.; Greenwood, Miss.; and elsewhere. Accounting procedures will not allow this particular item to be carried as an expenditure, therefore, it must be listed as income. The reason is simply that because once these cases reach the Supreme Court there is a possibility that these funds may be returned to the organization. However, as you undoubtedly know, this may not be possible until after several more years of litigation.

In the instance of the second item, listed as "Net Income After Appropriations," you will observe from the report a balance of $88,633.36, but I wish to inform you that our intensified operations since August 31 has lessened this sum greatly. Certainly 1963 has been a big year in the growth of SCLC, but the growth has been so phenomenal that the necessity for staff expansion and additional machinery to carry on our daily work load has already eaten heavily into this balance. Our actual balance at present is less than $20,000.00. Yet, while our struggle for equality and human dignity continues to be a long and wearisome battle, we know that it is because of your continued support and generous contributions that we are constantly being helped in our fight.

Therefore, this letter carries with it a two-fold purpose--that of thanking you for your past support and asking that you kindly make a contribution to SCLC at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph D. Abernathy

Ralph D. Abernathy
Financial Secretary-Treasurer

RDA/etc
Enclosures: 2

SCLC

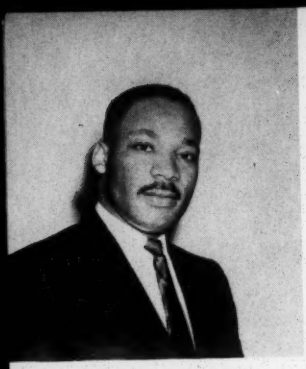
ANNUAL REPORT 1962 – 1963

RALPH D. ABERNATHY
Financial Secretary-Treasurer

MRS. LILLIE HUNTER
Bookkeeper

FRANCIS A. COVINGTON
W. O. MACAMSON
Accountants

Martin Luther King, Jr.
President



Martin Luther King, Jr.
President

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer*

Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

September 24, 1963

Dear Friends of Freedom:

We are pleased to present our Financial Statement reflecting the Revenue and Expenses of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

We deeply appreciate the confidence you have placed in us by contributing to this organization. We are proud that it is built on your goodwill and the goodwill of your friends and neighbors.

Our battle for freedom, equality, and human dignity has been a long and arduous one. With your generous assistance we shall continue this just struggle against the forces of reaction until we attain the "American Dream".

Cordially yours,

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Statement of Income and Expense September 1, 1962 to August 31, 1963

		Per Cent Of Total Income
INCOME:		
Appeal Letters	$ 231,650.10	31.3
Freedom Rallies	223,116.73	30.3
General Contributions	204,725.06	27.8
Benefit Concerts	48,389.96	6.7
Churches, Fraternal, & Labor Organizations	12,209.02	1.7
Convention & Board Meetings	12,730.18	1.8
Sale of Dr. King's Books & Others	2,712.97	.4
TOTAL INCOME	$ 735,534.02	100.0
LESS OPERATING EXPENSES	383,541.82	52.2
NET INCOME OVER OPERATING EXPENSES	$ 351,992.20	47.8
NET INCOME OVER OPERATING EXPENSES	$ 351,992.20	47.8
Appropriated for Future Legal Defense from 1962-1963 Operations	263,358.84	35.8
NET INCOME AFTER APPROPRIATIONS	$ 88,633.36	12.0

Schedule of Operating Expenses September 1, 1962 to August 31, 1963

Aid to Affiliates:			
Legal Defense	$ 9,427.25		
General Aid to Communities	43,154.87	$ 52,582.12	7.2
Voter Registration:			
Field Service & Travel	$ 25,146.43		
Salaries	29,749.50		
General Expense	19,483.25	74,379.18	10.1
Fund Raising:			
Special Promotions	$ 13,435.33		
Appeal Letters	40,945.20	54,380.53	7.4
Administrative Travel for Fund Raising and Direct Action		41,977.84	5.7
Publicity, Educational Materials, & Newsletter		31,457.98	4.3
Salary Expense:			
Administrative	$ 27,503.56		
Clerical & Attendants	27,216.85		
Payroll Taxes	6,373.24		
Group Insurance	2,199.56	63,293.21	8.6
Administrative Expense:			
Office Supplies & Postage	$ 20,784.56		
Telephone & Telegraph	26,869.57		
Office Rent	4,669.50		
Maintenance & Upkeep of Office & Equipment	818.07		
Accounting & Auditing	1,140.00		
Interest on Loans, Bank Charges, Foreign Exchange Charges and Etc.	1,063.66		
Employees' Moving Expenses	921.40	56,266.76	7.7
Refunds of Contributions		7,807.00	1.0
Purchases of Books for Resale		1,397.20	.2
Total Operating Expenses		$383,541.82	52.2

ACCOUNTANT'S CERTIFICATE

I have audited the books and records of the SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE for the fiscal year ended on August 31, 1963, and as a result of that audit I certify that it is my opinion that the accompanying statement of income and expenses is true and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief. Further, the statement of income and expenses was prepared in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles and audit procedures.

Respectfully submitted,

Jesse B. Blayton
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT

GA. #192

Atlanta, Georgia

September, 1963

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANT JESSE B. BLAYTON 339 AUBURN AVE., N. E., ATLANTA 3, GA.

OFFICERS

President
*Martin Luther King, Jr.
Atlanta, Ga.

First Vice-President
*C. K. Steele
Tallahassee, Fla.

Second Vice-President
*J. E. Lowery
Nashville, Tenn.

Third Vice-President
*Samuel W. Williams
Atlanta, Ga.

Fourth Vice-President
C. O. Simpkins, D.D.S.
Shreveport, La.

Secretary
*F. L. Shuttlesworth
Cincinnati, Ohio

Assistant Secretary
Erna Dungee
Montgomery, Ala.

Treasurer
*Ralph D. Abernathy
Atlanta, Ga.

Chaplain
*Kelly Miller Smith
Nashville, Tenn.

Historian
L. D. Reddick,
Baltimore, Md.

EXECUTIVE BOARD

*Henry C. Bunton
Memphis, Tenn.

R. L. Drew
Clarksdale, Miss.

*Edward T. Graham
Miami, Florida

*W. L. Hall
Valdosta, Ga.

Aaron E. Henry
Clarksdale, Miss.

Clarence Henry
New Orleans, La.

*B. L. Hooks, Esq.
Memphis, Tenn.

Esau Jenkins
Charleston, S. C.

*Major Jones
Chattanooga, Tenn.

*D. E. King
Louisville, Ky.

*M. L. King, Sr.
Atlanta, Ga.

I. S. Leevy
Columbia, S. C.

John Lewis
Troy, Ala.

*Matthew McCollum
Orangeburg, S. C.

*Milton Reid
Petersburg, Va.

*S. S. Seay, Sr.
Montgomery, Ala.

W. E. Shortridge
Birmingham, Ala.

*Nelson H. Smith
Birmingham, Ala.

*Roland Smith
Little Rock, Ark.

Daniel B. Speed
Tallahassee, Fla.

Hosea Williams
Savannah, Ga.

*R. G. Williams
Petersburg, Va.

*Virgil Wood
Lynchburg, Va.

STAFF

I. M. Augustine
General Counsel

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
334 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

*Clergy

SCLC

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Newsletter

Volume II | January, 1964 | Number 4

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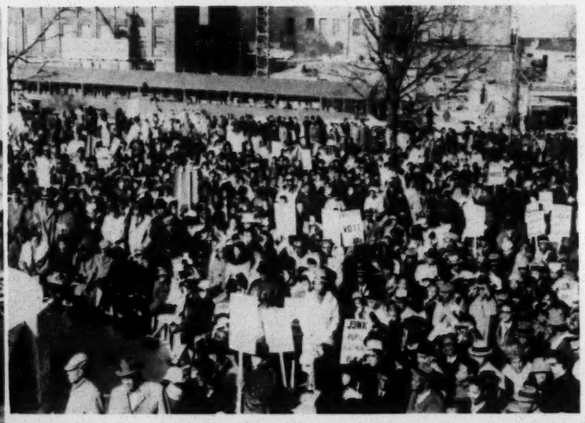
Time Magazine Names Dr. King 'Man Of Year'



PROTEST IN ATLANTA—Touching off a protest mood in Atlanta, Ga., because of the city's false image and refusal to meet desegregation demands, a crowd of some 2,500 gathered in freezing weather in Hurt Park on Dec. 16 to hear SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. (in photo at left) tell them that "Negroes are disappointed with Atlanta."

SCLC PRESIDENT FIRST NEGRO TO BE SO NAMED IN 37 YEARS

By Ed Clayton

The long distance call was from New York. It was James Keogh, one of two assistant managing editors of Time Magazine.

"Hello?"

"Yes?"

"I'm Jimmy Keogh, one of the assistant managing editors of Time magazine. We're getting ready to do a kind of end-of-the-year story on civil rights and we want to use Dr. King on the cover. The problem is that we'd like to get him to pose for one of our artists, rather than try to paint a picture from a photograph. Think it can be arranged?"

I laughed. "That's really a big order. Dr. King has such a crowded schedule and is always on the go, it's almost impossible to get him to pose for a portrait photograph to say nothing of posing for an artist's portrait. How long do you think he would have to sit?"

"Maybe two or three sittings—say two or

(Continued on Page 2)

Time Cover of 'Man of The Year'

Three SCLC Staff Members Go To Jail In Desegregation Attempt In Atlanta

As direct action against racial injustice began to mount in Atlanta—often referred to as "the model city" in race relations in the South—three staff members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference were hauled off to jail the night of Jan. 11 after requesting and being refused service in the restaurant of the Heart of Atlanta Motel.

The three were Wyatt Tee Walker, executive assistant to SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr.; Harry Boyte, special assistant to Dr. King; and John Gibson, Assistant to SCLC's Program Director Andrew Young. They were part of a group which brought a confrontation to the rigid segregationist owner of the motel, Morton Rolleston.

Charged With Trespassing

Others in the group, all arrested under Georgia's questionable anti-trespass statute passed in 1960, were: John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Leon Cox, NAACP State Secretary; Dr. Clinton Warner, prominent Atlanta physician; Rev. John Morris, Executive Director of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity; Rev. Joseph Boone, Minister of Rush Memorial Congregational Church; Miss Prathia Hall, Mrs. Brady Cooper, Miss Joyce Barrett and Albert Dunn.

As the group sought accommodations in the motel's restaurant, one of the young ladies among them was injured and required hospital treatment when she was struck by an employee of the establishment. She was taken by ambulance to segregated Georgia Baptist Hospital and was at first refused treatment. However, when Dr. Lee R. Shelton, who accompanied her in the ambulance, insisted on her admittance the emergency room clerk hurriedly telephoned the hospital administrator who rushed to the scene and decided to admit the young lady.

Under $1,000 Bond

All arrested were released Sunday morning, Jan. 12, under the uncommonly high bond of $1,000 each.

Meanwhile, the sit-in assault continued on eateries in the Dixie city with the so-called

(Continued on Page 2)

file

SCLC

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC Newsletter

Volume II February, 1964 Number 5

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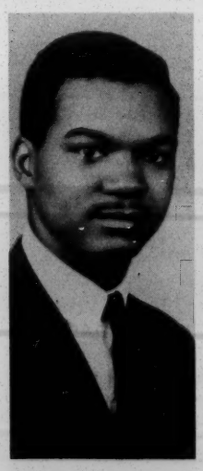
Presidential Meeting

RIGHTS LEADERS MEET WITH PRESIDENT—Summoned to the White House for a special conference with President Lyndon B. Johnson, four of the nation's top civil rights leaders conferred with the President concerning the present civil rights bill now before the Senate and his plans to cope with poverty in the nation. In the group were from left: Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP; James Farmer, national director of CORE; SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr.; and Whitney M. Young, Jr., Urban League Executive Director.

SCLC Sets Up New Washington Bureau; Names Walter E. Fauntroy As Director



Walter Fauntroy

A new SCLC bureau has been established in Washington, D. C., at 812 S St. N.W. and former Regional Representative Walter E. Fauntroy has been named as its director. In announcing the expansion move, SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. pointed out that because of the critical civil rights situation in Washington which demands constant attention, establishment of the bureau had become urgently necessary.

Fauntroy, who is 31 and has served SCLC as regional representative for the past three years in the Washington area, was handpicked by Dr. King for the new assignment. He will be assisted in the functions of the office by Atty. Belford Lawson, who will serve as legal advisor.

Dr. King's Spokesman

As new director of the SCLC bureau, Fauntroy will serve as Dr. King's spokesman on Capitol Hill, and will keep him

(Continued on Page 2)

1,435 New Voters Register In Savannah During January

The Chatham County Crusade for Voters launched a drive to register 6,000 new voters during the next four months. The drive began with the stirring oratory of SCLC's President, Martin Luther King, Jr., speaking before a capacity audience in the Savannah Municipal Auditorium, after which 1,435 new voters were added during the first month of operation.

Reach Hard Core

Hosea Williams, Special Projects Director for SCLC, stated that this was an attempt to reach the "hard core" of un-registered Negroes in the city. Savannah already boasts a Negro vote which is 30 per cent of the total electorate, and Negro voters have been the determining factor in elections for the past four years. This vote, however, is primarily a 'middle class' vote, Williams pointed out, noting that the vast resources of the Negro voting potential remains untapped.

Register Unemployed

Special teams of workers under the direction of Henry Brownlee and Joseph Hankerson have scoured the streets and alleys of Savannah attempting to register and educate the unemployed Negroes of that city and educate them to the importance of voting as a partial remedy to their problem. Last reports were that 30 to 40 persons per day were being registered in this manner and pledging themselves to work through the Crusade for Voters in an effort to meet their problems through political action.

AT WORK IN THE FIELD—Hosea Williams (ctr.), intensely at work in getting Negroes registered to vote, pauses to confer with assistants, Joseph Hankerson, of Savannah (left) and Vernon Mitchell (right) of Columbus, Ga.

file

SCLC

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC Newsletter

Volume II March, 1964 Number 6

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SCLC Maps Voter Drive, All-Out Assault On Alabama Segregation

SUPPORT FOR FREEDOM — Checks totaling $2,858 were given to Miss Carole Hoover of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference of Atlanta, Ga., following a review of the book, *Strength To Love*, by Martin Luther King, Jr., SCLC President, at Los Angeles' Victory Baptist Church. The checks represented gifts and donations in connection with a book review program, sponsored by the Los Angeles Chapter of the Western Christian Leadership Conference, led by Rev. Arthur A. Peters (l.), president and pastor of Victory Baptist Church. Others from left: Rev. J. B. Reese, Rev. E. V. Hill, Rev. T. M. Chambers, Sr., Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr., Bishop L. C. Page, and Rev. C. A. Henson.

SCLC Board Members, New York Times Win Reversal In $500,000 Libel Suit Brought By Ala. Police Official

The Supreme Court on March 9 unanimously threw out a $500,000 libel judgment awarded Montgomery, Ala., Police Commissioner L. B. Sullivan against four board members of SCLC and the New York Times in 1960. The libel suit was based on an advertisement in the New York Times of March 29, 1960, which carried a statement critical of the handling of racial demonstrations in Montgomery.

The advertisement was placed at the time by an organization called "The Committee To Defend Martin Luther King and the Struggle For Freedom In The South." It bore the names of Board Members Ralph Abernathy, SCLC treasurer; Fred L. Shuttlesworth, SCLC secretary; Joseph E. Lowery, SCLC second vice-president; and S. S. Seay, Jr., an executive board member of SCLC.

Cars Seized and Sold

When the judgment was returned against the SCLC officials and the Times in 1960, three of them had their cars seized and sold at a sheriff's sale as result of the verdict and two others had their lands seized. In winning their appeal, the board members will probably get back about $6,000 plus six per cent interest, the $6,000 being the value of their confiscated property.

The advertisement and the litigation stemmed from an appeal to solicit funds for defense of SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr., who at the time, was under charges

(*Continued on Page 2*)

Shuttlesworth Wins In Ala.

In a brief order, the Supreme Court on March 9 overturned a conviction of SCLC Secretary Fred Shuttlesworth on a charge of interfering with Birmingham police. The interference allegedly occurred on May 17, 1961, when police took into "protective custody" a group of "freedom riders" at Birmingham's Greyhound Bus station.

Shuttlesworth, sentenced to 180 days in jail and fined $100, denied any interference and said he was "convicted without evidence of guilt."

FIVE-POINT PLAN ADOPTED IN STATE-WIDE MEET OF 215

An all-out voter registration drive and assault on segregation in the state of Alabama was set in motion on March 4 by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in a state-wide meeting in Montgomery, Ala., of 215 conferees of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Alabama unit. The delegates, representing 30 counties and 24 communities, adopted a five-point plan of action aimed at breaking down discrimination barriers and securing the vote for Alabama's 481,000 Negroes of voting age, only 90,000 of whom are registered.

In addressing the group prior to adoption of the plan, Dr. King said:

"We have not lost sight of the fact that nonviolence was born in Alabama. Our meeting today brings us together in a state-wide effort in Alabama, with Montgomery as headquarters, to rid our state of its by-products of discrimination."

'Historical Moment'

"It was in Montgomery, Alabama, that the Negro made his most significant stride toward freedom, and we believe it may now be the historical moment to make this the most significant stride into freedom."

In a later press conference, Dr. King indicated that "Birmingham-type" demonstrations might take place in major cities across the state within 30 days because Birmingham has "reneged" on the desegregation agreement reached last May 10. It would, in effect, be an all-out assault on segregation and discrimination in the state, which has systematically denied Negroes the right to vote through such devices as literacy tests, poll taxes and an educational system which deprives Negroes of full political knowledge.

List Five-Point Plan

The five-point action program adopted by the SCLC State Conference is as follows:

1.) Cognizant of this critical election year, we commit ourselves to an intensification of voter registration in all of Alabama's communities.

2.) To initiate a state-wide coordination of masses in direct action to secure in fact

(*Continued on Page 2*)

bc: Mr. Jed Johnson
U.S. Youth Council
345 E. 46th Street
New York 1, New York
c/o Miss Nancy Sherwood

File -
Southern Christian
Leadership Conf.

April 13, 1964

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
330 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Martin:

You either have, or will shortly have, an invitation to keynote the World Assembly of Youth, meeting this year in the United States, at the University of Massachusetts. Your eternal problem is, I know, which to accept of the never ceasing invitations to speak. The World Assembly of Youth, and its American affiliate -- the United States Youth Council -- hardly need me to speak for them, but I would nevertheless like to add to their's my hope that you can accept. This is a good outfit.

I had a most pleasant telephone conversation recently with Coretta. It's been too long since we have had an evening together; we'll call you soon, in hopes that may be remedied.

All best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

PA
file AS - file

May 8, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Dr. King is out of the city today, but prior to his departure, he asked me to write and tell you that he has accepted the invitation to speak at the University of Massachusetts under the auspices of the World Assembly of Youth on Monday, August 10.

Sincerely yours,

Dora

(Miss) D. McDonald
Secretary

File

SCLC

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Special St. Augustine Issue

Newsletter

Volume II June, 1964 Number 7

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SCLC Scores Victory In St. Augustine Against Klan, Violence

Rebuilt Georgia Churches Dedicated

The three Negro churches which were burned two years ago in the rural area of southwest Georgia, were rededicated on Sunday, June 28, by SCLC President Martin Luther King, Jr. and others who had spearheaded a fund-raising drive to get them rebuilt.

Addressing more than 600 persons at Mt. Olive Baptist Church, Dr. King declared: "Two years ago I stood among the smoldering ruins of these churches. Those days told us of man's potential for evil. Now we see the goodness of man reflected. These new churches symbolize the quest for human dignity. You can't kill an idea. It will live on. The rebuilding of these churches symbolizes this fact."

Cost $100,000

The three churches—Mount Olive and Mount Mary in Terrell County and Shady Grove in Lee County—were rebuilt at a total cost of more than $100,000.

Former baseball star Jackie Robinson, who served as honorary chairman for the SCLC church fund, told the group: "We in the North can only hope that we can acquire the kind of courage you have in the South. With this spirit, we will be truly able

(*Continued on Page 2*)

Report 275,000 Negroes Registered In Georgia

An estimated 275,000 Negroes are now registered voters in Georgia, according to the latest figures. Negro candidates are also being encouraged to qualify for public office. The statewide, non-partisan, non-political group, sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Georgia Voters League, conducted Citizenship Clinics in eight different cities, supported by the Voter Education Project.

(*Continued on Page 2*)

Demonstrators Assaulted By Police, Ku Klux Klan

After more than a month of raging violence in St. Augustine, Florida, America's oldest city, in which more than 300 SCLC-led demonstrators were arrested and scores of others injured by Klansmen wielding tire chains, and other weapons, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was able to proclaim victory in this rock-bound bastion of segregation and discrimination.

The nonviolent forces of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, determined in its desegregation thrust in this ancient stronghold of slave trading, suffered the most violent assaults to date at the hands of Ku Klux Klansmen, openly endorsed by law enforcement officials. Yet, they continued their protest marches by night and day to the old slave market where surly gangs of Klansmen awaited them with chains, clubs

(*Continued on Page 2*)

Beginning Of St. Augustine Drama (See Pages 6 & 7)

SCLC's C. T. Vivian (r.) and Mrs. Dorothy Cotton lead one of the first prayerful marches to slave market with about 800 demonstrators.

Police with dogs soon interrupted march, snatched bull horn from C. T. Vivian as Ku Klux Klansmen (r.) moved in to intimidate marchers.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

SCLC Newsletter

Volume II July-August Number 8

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Randolph Blackwell Joins Staff Of SCLC

Mr. Blackwell

Randolph T. Blackwell, a civil rights worker for the past 13 years, has joined the staff of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in Atlanta and will serve as Program Coordinator for the organization. He formerly was associated with the Voter Education Project in Atlanta before becoming a full time staff member of SCLC.

Born in Greensboro, North Carolina, Mr. Blackwell brings to SCLC a rich and varied background in the social sciences, law and business and economics. He received a B.S. degree in Sociology from North Carolina A & T College in 1949, and was graduated from Howard University School of Law in 1953. Additionally he has studied at Syracuse and American Universities.

Authored Four Books

The 37-year-old executive formerly taught at Winston-Salem Teacher's College and at Alabama A & M College. He is credited with being

(*Continued on Page 11*)

SCLC Dispatches Anti-Riot Team North; Finds Teen-Agers Hostile To Everyone

By Andrew J. Young

"We're not here to tell you not to fight, we're here to teach you *how to fight*." This was the slogan of SCLC's team of community organizers as they moved North for the first time in an attempt to deal with Negro discontent in a hostile riot-torn Negro community.

As the National Guard pulled out of Rochester, leaders in the Negro community feared a repetition of the events of previous weeks and asked SCLC for help. A staff team, led by Andrew Young and James Bevel, moved immediately into the city and began work with the teen-age clubs which initiated violence in the city. Young and Bevel were accompanied by SCLC staffers James Orange and Richard Boone from Alabama, Willie Bolden and Lester Hankerson of Savannah, and Bernard Lafayette of the American Friends Service Committee, now working in Chicago.

Immediate Success

The team began to work in Rochester's 3rd Ward, along with 3rd Ward Supervisor Constance Mitchell, a social worker at the Montgomery Community Center, and perhaps the only person in Rochester who had established any rapport with the city's errant teen population. At noon on August 7th, SCLC's team divided into smaller groups and began to comb the streets of the Negro community. Several were dressed in bib-front overalls the *work clothes* of the Southern movement, so we were easily identified as strangers in the community. In spite of an open hostility to the idea of nonviolence, the group had amazing and almost immediate success.

Young (l.), Bevel (r.).

(*Continued on Page 2*)

Dr. King Tours Mississippi; Is Seen And Heard By 20,000 Persons

Philadelphia, Mississippi is a hot dusty town in the middle of the summer. The SCLC caravan found it's way up the red clay hills to the "community center," a small barn-like structure outfitted with a pool table, juke box and soft drink machine. When the word began to spread through the streets that Martin Luther King was in town, a beautiful, warm black crowd began to flow from the small houses and lawns toward the Center.

In a matter of minutes, more than 100 persons gathered, and Philadelphia, Mississippi began its first Freedom Rally. Dr. King began to speak in calm measured tones, but the warmth aroused the "preacher" in him and soon the spirit of freedom rang through the streets of this oppressive village.

Death And Danger

Dr. King spoke of death and danger. Rev. Ralph Abernathy led

(*Continued on Page 5*)

Dr. King on door-to-door Mississippi tour.

LWD ✓
PWL ✓
MLV
LE ✓
MJ - file

SCLC

Eighth Annual Convention

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King, Jr., *President*

Sept. 29-Oct. 2, 1964

New Directions In The Quest For Freedom
1964

Savannah, Georgia

CHATHAM COUNTY CRUSADE FOR VOTERS
Hosea Williams, President

File "Southern Christian Leadership Conf"

1964

IF NOT NOW WHEN !

An Address Delivered by the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Executive Assistant to Martin Luther King, Jr. at the Hungry Club Open Forum, Atlanta, Georgia, May 6, 1964 as a part of the Annual Observance of Alpha Phi Alpha's Education For Citizenship Week.

Dr. Newsome, Brothers in Alpha, Ladies & Gentlemen: I am appreciative of the opportunity to address what is perhaps one of the most significant luncheon forums in the nation. Let me say to my Greek brothers that I am humbled that they have chosen me to speak during the Annual Observance of Alpha Phi Alpha's Education For Citizenship Week.

There is no need for me to confess to you that I am not an educator *per se*. However, I sincerely believe that the task with which my hands have been ~~buised~~ BUSIED for the past ten years or so is helping more than anything else to draw out of and develop in the Negro his stifled and blocked native capacities

that have been literally strangled for the past one hundred years. If we deal with education from an etymological point of view, it means precisely that. The root word in the original Latin idiom is the verb duco meaning to lead. Coupled with the prefix ex, a preposition meaning from or out, it forms educo- literally to lead forth or to lead out of- from which the word education is derived. Thus in the literal sense, education does mean to lead or to draw or to develop from personality that which is already inherent. Thus the aim and end of result of education is not to put something in us but to develop that which we already possess to its ~~maximum~~ MAXIMUM.

To be sure there are different kind of education. There is in our person Biological education, In that moment when the spark of life is struck in the coniugal relationship, our being is 1/100th the size of the point of a pin. Yet at that microscopic level of development, the ear which is not yet formed is already adapted to hear and the tongue to taste and the eye to see. This is biological education. As we lay in our crib, in a few months, our eyes begin to distinguish colors we roll over, pull up on all fours, and ultimately walk. Sinew, muscle and bone strengthen and we clearly experience Physiological education. The one day, someone takes by the hand and leads us to school where we learn "reading, 'ritin, and'rithemetic" and we come to know the discipline of Mental education a as our minds are honed to sharpness. The ~~nature~~ NURTURE of our churches and the basic

morality of our heritage develops within us a sense of Religious education, that I suppose in most instances we grapple with unceasingly to respect its demands. But yet the compounded discipline of all these are not sufficient to equip us to meet life on better than even terms. I submit to you that successful living is not measured quantitatively so much as it is qualitatively. The most meaningful life is that which spills over beyond its immediate historical context. Our concern should focus on the rest of life in such manner that our passing will be more than an incidental note in the obituary column but rather, that the presence of our lives can still be recognized in some humanitarian and noble cause long after the ashes of our remains are blown to the four winds. Thus, I would suggest within our immediate frame of reference - that of being a part of the Negro community and living in Atlanta, Georgia - that we need to submit ourselves to what I call Spiritual education. I mean by this to so develop within the aura of our lives, a sensitivity to the great issues of our time; the oppression of the weak, the exploitation of the poor, the terror foisted upon the defenceless, slaying of the innocent, degradation of the human spirit the hunger of the starvin g etc. A commitment to relieve these conditions should influence the bent of our lives. All of the others educational disciplines become empty and shallow unless

unless they are undergirded by the discipline of an edueated spirit that translates into action the real meaning of life.

Thus, by this measure, how can we ignore in any degree the swirling events of sharp social transition about us which are aimed squarely at relieving many esternal and internal problems of the Negro as well as striking the shackles of prejudice and guilt from the white man as a prelude to establishing the beloved community. Against the backdrop, let us consider what is immediately before us in order that we may fix the responsibility that is ours.

No one need be sage or seer to discern clearly that 1964 will be a far more critical year in the civil rights fortunes of the Negro than was 1963. This assertion in no way is an attempt to minimize the importance of the epochal "summer of discontent." Rather it is aimed at underscoring what is to come in an awesome and devastating social context. The mood of the larger Negro community, white certainly not vengeful, bitter or violent, is distinctly one of extreme impatience with the continual denial of his basic freedoms: Behind his alleged unrealistic demand for "Freedom Now!" there stands his almost surly, "If not now, when?"

It is so very apparent that a counter-revolution at this moment is reaching its crest. The chief evidences are the "Stall-In" in the Senate on the present civil rights legislation and the polling of more than a quarter million votes by the racist George Wallace in the

Wisconsin primary. There is hardly a reasonable conjecture that the Negro is going to turn around or even delay his forward movement though the resources and determination of the opposition must not be lightly judged. The few months (?) or weeks ahead will most certainly spell the moment of truth, not only for the Negro revolution, but in a larger sense, for the nation as a whole. If the counter-revolution displays more strength and stamina than the revolution that spawned it, America and the Negro community will be in real trouble. This is not meant to be a prophecy of doom, but only a realistic appraisal that there are two possibilities existent.

Let me address myself to the other possibility - that is, the off setting of the counter-revolution by a determined thrust forward by the Negro community and its allies. First, it seems that if the counter-revolution is to be turned aside, there will be definite ear-marks by which the Negro revolution will be heightened and intensified. It will be preceded and prodded by new events and dimensions, some of which we already have seen glimpses.

The Negro revolution will begin to develop in structured form along national lines. This does not mean the cessation of local protest, but rather a consistent pattern with a high degree of uniformity evident. The basic approach of the nonviolent revolution will

not be changed. It will be marked by increasing frequency and intensity of activity. Broad goals will be sought as over against specific demands of the past. It is already evident that the South will not be the chief focus of activity. The entire nation will feel the brunt of nonviolent forces insisting "Freedom Now." The South will see most of the activity focused on public accommodations and the right to vote; . The North's activity will center chiefly on de facto school segregation and housing; both North and s South will give considerable attention to employment. In no event will any form of discrimination go unchallenged.

It has become remarkably clear in the national community that we have a problem. We thought after the civil rights bill cleared the House with flying colors, principally intact, that we were on our way to some solution. The recent events in the Senate and the advent of what has been called the "white back-lash" against civil rights, gives the general Negro community a sense of being on a treadmill. The much critized "Stall-In" in the words of Dr. King, "is symptomatic of the discontent, frustration and seething despair of the Negro" in the face of continuing and entrenched segregation across the spectrum of his experience North and South. It was above all else, a sincere attempt

to dramatize the "unfair world" at the World's Fair. Somehow, the Negro intuitively understands that the nation will only respond to his dilemma under the hammer of national crisis. He is now convinced that "nobody really gives a damn!"

The Negro community has some concrete ideas as to how he might call national attention and relief to his problem. He contemplates seriously the implementation of a national program of economic withdrawal. With nation-wide coordination, it would be aimed at a show-case, giant, consumer industry. The convening city has already been chosen and only the date and the industry are left to be named.

To quote from an earlier paper:

> "A massive refusal to buy on the part of the Negro community and others of good will would throw the business community into shock. Maybe then, and only then, will the nation's financial leaders exert some initiative in eliminating the evils of segregation and discrimination."

Money does not talk, it <u>screams!</u>

We have already had intimations of what is to come. It is very possible that in the next few months that on some appointed day, at some appointed hour, the nation will be literally immobilized by widespread acts of civil disobedience. That day may not be far off if the nation does not act swiftly on the Negro's plea for justice

and morality. Transportation centers could be strangled by the bodies of committed witnesses nonviolently insisting, "Freedom Now!" Airports, train stations, bus terminals and the traffic arteries of large cities could very well be the site of the next major battleground in civil rights.

The plight of the Negro is swiftly becoming desperate. On the one hand, he carries the social leprosy of his visible identity which has crippled him psychologically, emotionally and educationally; on the other hand, the dread onslaught of automation is grinding out his economic existence. He supposes that a nation-wide work stoppage might attract enough attention to persuade someone to do something to get this monkey of segregation off his back. And of course, there is the fast unto death. This is not as far-fetched as it seems for in an almost literal sense the Negro is economically and politically put to death by the thousands under the present system.

We may see one or all of these in the next few months ahead. Why is it that we must be concerned as to where our allegiance falls in the future? INSERT The summer of 1963 was long and hot; the summer of 1964 will be longer and hotter. The Negro, for the sake of our nation must find a definite answer to his present query, "if not now, when?"

217 W 125 Street New York 27, N.Y. 666-9510

A. Philip Randolph Institute

PW - talked with Rustin 6/9/65 - MMJ
asked pw to say that LWD out of town - he did.

A. Philip Randolph, President
Robert W. Gilmore, Treasurer
Bayard Rustin, Executive Director

Rec'd 6/8/65

June 7, 1965

PAV
PW
MJ file

File S.C.L. Conf.

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

On behalf of Dr. King, the Randolph Institute is helping to organize the orientation session for the thousand people who will be working in the South this summer. The orientation will take place from June 14th through June 19th. We would very much like for you to serve on the faculty.

It is obviously too late to clear by correspondence so will you, therefore, feel free to call, collect, either Mr. Norman Hill or me at the telephone number listed above; and we will discuss all arrangements with you.

Hoping to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Bayard Rustin

Bayard Rustin

BR:s

Read 1/21/66

Citizenship Education Program

file

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Dr. Robert L. Green, *Director*
Septima P. Clark, *Supervisor Teacher Training*
Dorothy F. Cotton, *Educational Consultant*
Annell Ponder, *Field Supervisor*
Bernice Robinson, *Field Supervisor*

Martin Luther King, Jr., *President*

January 20, 1966

MJ - file

Mr. Paul Anthony
c/o The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

At the present time there is great concern in many quarters regarding the terribly slow pace of school desegregation throughout the country. In both the North and South civil rights leaders have been able to see minimal gains in the area of school desegregation. As a matter of fact, the recent White House Conference planning session indicated that school integration in the North is being reversed, and that more than 90% of Negro and whites are attending segregated schools as of January 1966. This must not be allowed to continue if the present educational plight of Negro children is to be remediated.

In this regard, the education department of SCLC is prpposing a meeting of representatives from all civil rights organizations on January 25th in Atlanta to explain what our role should be in this area. We hope to draw up possible methods and approaches for each group represented to jointly effect the implementation of Title VI. Determined and immediate action and maximum cooperation of all civil rights organizations concerned seems strongly indicated.

We are planning to start with breakfast at 8:00 A.M. at B.B.Beamons Restaurant and concluding at 5:00 P.M. on that same day. The formal session will be held at the SCLC office at 334 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Please let me know immediately if you can attend this meeting. In addition to SRC representatives from other civil rights organizations have been invited: SNCC- CORE-NAACP- American Friends Service Committee and CCCO

334 AUBURN AVE., N.E., ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

(Al Raby)

Since most of the individuals that are being invited to attend this strategy session will be knowledgable in the area of school desegregation, there seems not to be a need to structure a rigid agenda; however, I sincerely hope that one of the many outcomes of this meeting will be some strong resolutions regarding our concern in the area of school desegregation, and proposed plans of action that the civil rights organizations can jointly take to bring about meaningful school desegregation by September 1966.

Respectfully,

Robert L.Green, Director
Citizenship Education

Gm

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
404-522-1420

SCLC

NEWS

Integroup - SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., President

FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATE -- August 7, 1967

"CRISIS IN CITIES" TO BE TOPIC

AT SCLC CONVENTION AUGUST 14-17

ATLANTA, GA. -- The crisis in America's cities will be openly discussed by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Bayard Rustin and Dr. Kenneth Clark at the first working session of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's Tenth Anniversary Convention in Atlanta, August 14-17.

The three authorities will give in-depth analyses of today's rioting, its direct and indirect causes and effects. They also will propose specific solutions and programs to meet the urban crisis. Dr. King is president of SCLC, Mr. Rustin is director of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Dr. Clark is an author and psychologist at New York University.

All working sessions will take place at convention headquarters, Ebenezer Baptist Church, where the first meetings to found SCLC were held 10 years ago. Sessions will cover such timely and provocative topics as "Civil Rights and Politics," "Approaches to Poverty," and "The Movement for World Peace."

Two thousand grass-roots delegates including members of SCLC affiliate chapters throughout the nation will meet with leading political figures, government officials, economic and other experts, civil rights leaders, and SCLC Executive Board and Staff members.

(MORE)

Actor Sidney Poitier will deliver the main address at the official opening banquet, Monday evening, August 14, at the Regency Hyatt House Hotel. Singer Aretha Franklin will offer vocal selections. Others on the banquet program include Dr. King, SCLC Vice President Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, Atlanta Mayor Ivan Allen, educator Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, and journalist Ralph McGill.

Two mass night rallies with nationally known speakers will be held, and a special program on "Negro Heritage and Culture" is scheduled.

Congressman John Conyers, Jr., of Detroit, Michigan, will receive SCLC's annual Rosa Parks Freedom Award, which is given for an outstanding contribution to the Freedom Movement.

The SCLC Affiliate of the Year Award goes to the Grenada County (Mississippi) Freedom Movement, which has conducted an all-out comprehensive rights campaign in a bastion of segregation.

Several news conferences will be held by leading participants at the convention.

Major events, sessions, meetings and speakers are as follows:

* Annual policy-making meeting of the SCLC Executive Board: Monday afternoon, August 14.

* Tenth Anniversary Banquet: Monday evening.

* "The Crisis in America's Cities": Tuesday morning.

* "Civil Rights and Politics": Tuesday afternoon. Hosea Williams, SCLC; Louis Martin, Democratic National Committee; Clarence Townes, Republican National Committee; Vernon Jordan, Southern Regional Council. William Pepper, New Politics. Summary address by Texas State Senator Barbara Jordan.

* Mass-rally: Tuesday night, Ebenezer Baptist Church: Judge Benjamin Hooks, Negro jurist and clergyman from Memphis, Tenn.; Episocopal Bishop James Pike.

* "Approaches to Poverty": Wednesday morning. Dr. Robert Theobald, economist; Dr. Maurice Dawkins, U. S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

* "Business and Economic Directions": Wednesday afternoon. Rev. Fred. C. Bennette, Jr. and Rev. Jesse Jackson, SCLC; Cirilo McSween, Chicago businessman; Randolph T. Blackwell, Southern Rural Action Project. Summary address by Dr. Vivian W. Henderson, economist and president of Clark College, Atlanta.

* "Negro Heritage and Culture": Wednesday night. Site to be announced.

* "A Look at the Movement for World Peace": Thursday morning. Rev. James Bevel and Rev. Andrew Young, SCLC. Summary address by Dr. Benjamin Spock.

* Mass meeting and convention conclusion: Thursday evening. Presentation of Rosa Parks Freedom Award by Rev. Abernathy to Congressman Conyers; major address by Dr. King; Rev. Howard Creecy, president, Atlanta SCLC (host affiliate).

The convention theme, "Where Do We Go From Here?", will serve to give all discussions a context of evaluating the last ten years of the civil rights movement and planning for the future.

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SCLC National Office: 334 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

Convention Headquarters:
Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Convention Coordinator: Miss Carole F. Hoover

Convention News Director: Mr. Thomas Offenburger

4-9-68

GENERAL INFORMATION SHEET

See SCLC

TELEPHONE CONTACTS

WEST HUNTER STREET BAPTIST CHURCH
775 Hunter Street, N.W.

PRESS & GENERAL 523-7511
HOUSING ..... 524-1594 or 524-0685
TRANSPORTATION ..... 524-0278 or 524-0237
COMMUNICATIONS ..... 524-2043 or 524-3894
ENTERTAINMENT ..... 524-3887 or 524-2679
RECEPTION ..... 524-2624 or 524-2643
HONOR GUARD 523-0477
MARCH COMMITTEE & MEMPHIS 524-2014

SCLC NATIONAL OFFICE
334 Auburan Avenue, N.E.
Phone: 522-1420

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OUR LEADER WILL LIE IN STATE:

Saturday, 3:30 PM to Monday, 4:00 PM
Sister Chapel
~~Morehouse~~ Spelman Campus

Monday, 4:00 PM until the Funeral Service
Ebenezer Baptist Church
413 Auburn Avenue, N.E.

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FUNERAL ARRANGEMENTS
TUESDAY – April 9, 1968

10:30 AM	Service, Ebenezer Baptist Church 413 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
11:00 AM	March from Ebenezer Baptist Church to Morehouse College
2:00 PM (Approximate)	Service at Morehouse College

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MEMORIAL SHOW --Tuesday Night

8:00 PM
Atlanta Stadium
Free
For information, call 522-8764

3-8-69

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SYMBOLS
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436A EST MAR 8 69 AB040
A LLY325 LLZ9 LLZ9 JT NL PDB 4 EXTRA FAX ATLANTA GA 7
PAUL ANTHONY, EXEC DIR SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
1728 MOORES MILL RD NW ATLA DLR. 75
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. WAS ASSASSINATED ON APRIL 4, 1968.
THERE WAS VIOLENT REACTION IN AT LEAST 38 OF THE MAJOR CITIES
ACROSS OUR NATION WHICH LASTED IN SOME CASES FOR FIVE DAYS.
THE WAR IN VIETNAM CONTINUES, MORE REACTIONARY PUBLIC OFFICIALS
HAVE BEEN ELECTED, MILLIONS OF AMERICANS ARE STILL STARVING,
YOUTH AND THE POOR ARE RISING UP INTERNATIONALLY AGAINST THE
FORCES OF EVIL, BLACK PEOPLE AND POOR WHITES IN ATLANTA STILL
ARE NOT FREE; YES, WE INVEST IN DEATH, BUT WE REFUSE TO BUDGET
FOR LIFE.
UPON SUCH SHORT NOTICE, WE ARE HOPING THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE
TO PARTICIPATE IN A PLANNING MEETING THIS TUESDAY, MARCH 11,
7:30 PM IN THE MATADOR ROOM, PASCHAL'S MOTOR HOTEL, FOR THE

SF1201(R2-65)

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This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
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SYMBOLS
DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

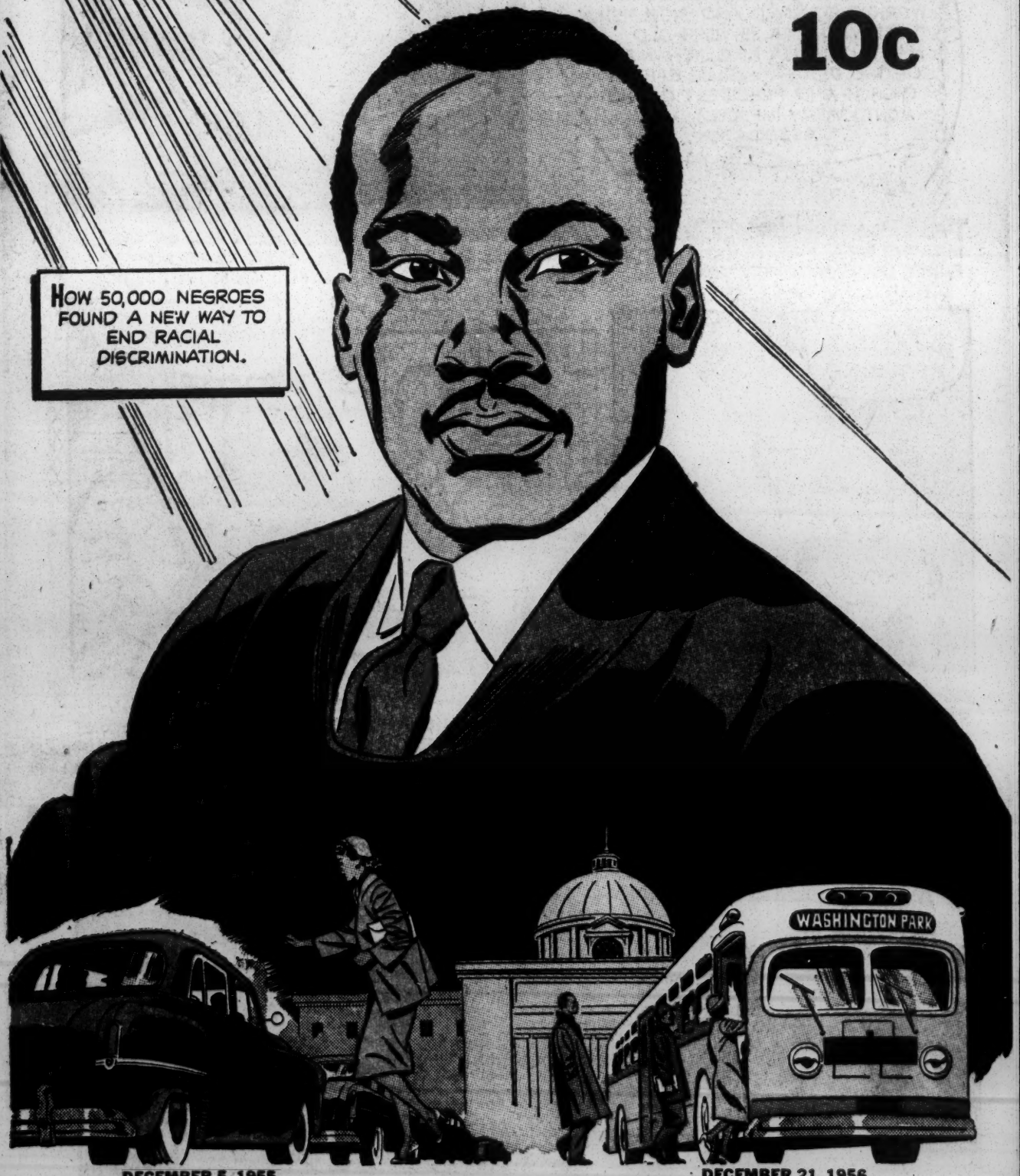
PURPOSE OF ORGANIZING ATLANTA'S OBSERVANCE OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY
OF THE ASSASSINATION OF OUR BELOVED FALLEN LEADER.
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE INVITES YOU TO
JOIN IT IN RECOMMITING ITSELF TO FINISH DR. KING'S UNFINISHED
WORKS IN REDEEMING THE SOUL OF AMERICA. ON APRIL 4TH, WE INTEND
TO LAUNCH A MASSIVE POLITICAL ACTION CAMPAIGN DEMANDING A SERIOUS
COMMITMENT. AMERICA MUST NOT FORGET A SERIOUS COMMITMENT.
YOURS TRULY.
RALPH DAVID ABERNATHY AND CORETTA SCOTT KING.

4 1968 38 11 7:30 PM 4.

SF1201(R2-65)

MARTIN LUTHER KING
AND
THE MONTGOMERY STORY

10c



DECEMBER 5, 1955
WALK TO FREEDOM

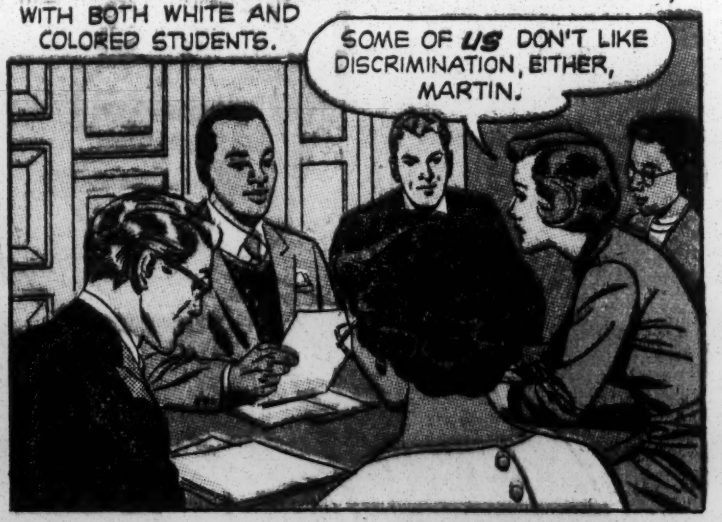
DECEMBER 21, 1956
VICTORY FOR JUSTICE

IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA, 50,000 NEGROES FOUND A NEW WAY TO WORK FOR FREEDOM, ***WITHOUT VIOLENCE AND WITHOUT HATING.*** BECAUSE THEY DID, THEY PUT NEW HOPE IN ALL MEN WHO SEEK BROTHERHOOD, AND WHO KNOW YOU DON'T BUILD IT WITH BULLETS. NO ONE PERSON MADE THE MONTGOMERY STORY, BUT ONE MAN'S NAME STOOD OUT AMONG THE HUNDREDS WHO WORKED SO HARD AND UNSELFISHLY. THAT MAN WAS 29-YEAR-OLD MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., MINISTER OF THE DEXTER AVENUE BAPTIST CHURCH AND PRESIDENT OF THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION.

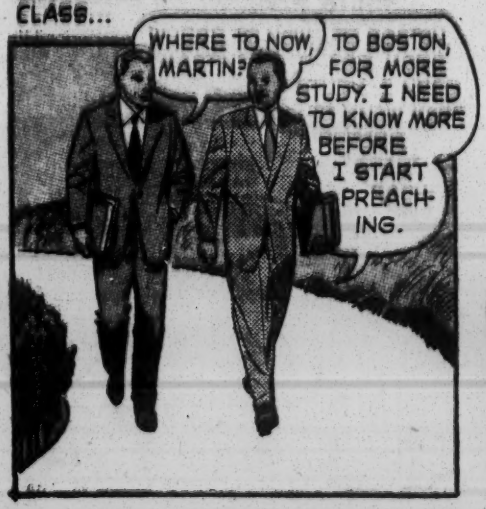
YOUNG MARTIN GREW UP IN THE SHADOW OF THE CHURCH. HIS FATHER WAS PASTOR OF ONE OF THE LARGEST BAPTIST CHURCHES IN ATLANTA, WHERE MARTIN WAS BORN.

THE BASIC BOOK IN THE KING HOUSE WAS THE BIBLE. FROM IT YOUNG MARTIN EARLY LEARNED JESUS' TEACHINGS ABOUT ***LOVE*** AND ITS POWER.

MARTIN FINISHED HIGH SCHOOL AT 15 AND ENTERED MOREHOUSE COLLEGE IN ATLANTA. THERE HE WORKED WITH THE CITY'S INTERCOLLEGIATE CHRISTIAN COUNCIL, WITH BOTH WHITE AND COLORED STUDENTS.

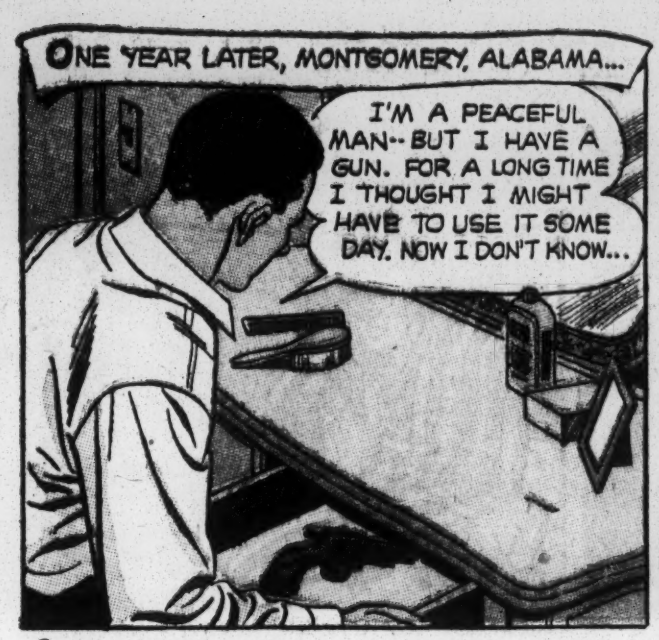


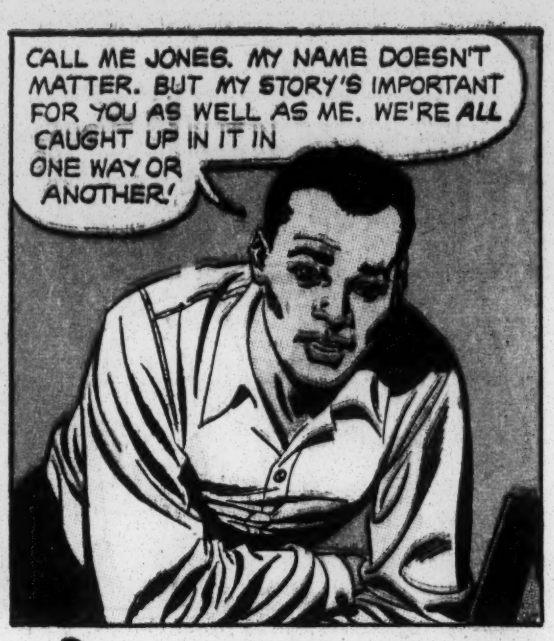
AT CROZER SEMINARY, ONE OF SIX NEGROES AMONG NEARLY 100 STUDENTS, HE WAS ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE STUDENT BODY AND GRADUATED AT THE HEAD OF HIS CLASS...



WHILE HE STUDIED FOR A PH.D. DEGREE AT BOSTON UNIVERSITY, HE MET AND MARRIED CORETTA SCOTT, A PRETTY YOUNG SINGER.

NORTHERN CHURCHES WERE OPEN TO THE YOUNG MINISTER, BUT IN 1954, MARTIN LUTHER KING AND HIS BRIDE DECIDED TO RETURN TO THE SOUTH.

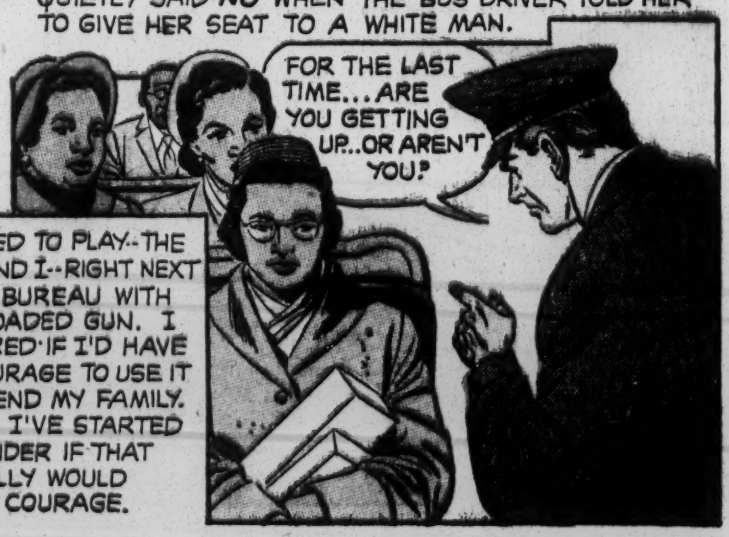




I LIVE IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA. I LOVE MONTGOMERY, BUT I'VE HATED IT, TOO. A NEGRO ANYWHERE IN THE DEEP SOUTH HAS A HARD TIME. *JIM CROW* SITS MIGHTY HEAVY ON A MAN'S SPIRIT.

PEOPLE LIVE SCARED UNDER JIM CROW. I WAS SCARED, TOO. YOU NEVER KNOW WHEN SOMETHING MIGHT BUST OUT, AND I HAVE A WIFE AND BABY.

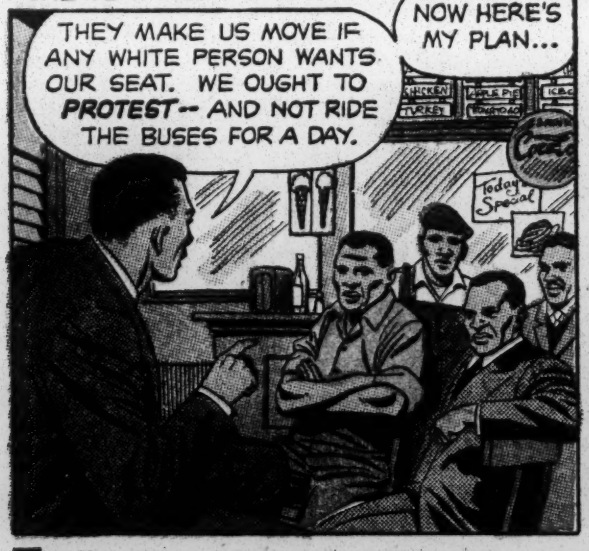
NOW TAKE ROSA PARKS. SHE *REALLY* HAD COURAGE. SAT THERE IN THE BUS THAT NIGHT AND JUST QUIETLY SAID *NO* WHEN THE BUS DRIVER TOLD HER TO GIVE HER SEAT TO A WHITE MAN.

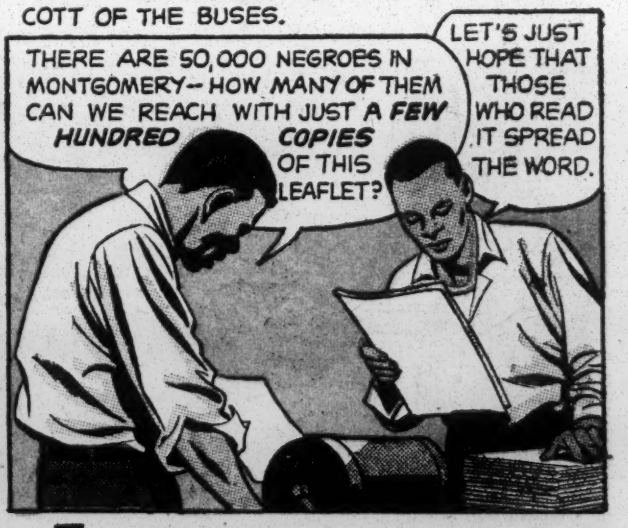


WE USED TO PLAY--THE BABY AND I--RIGHT NEXT TO THE BUREAU WITH THAT LOADED GUN. I WONDERED IF I'D HAVE THE COURAGE TO USE IT TO DEFEND MY FAMILY. LATELY I'VE STARTED TO WONDER IF THAT REALLY WOULD BE COURAGE.

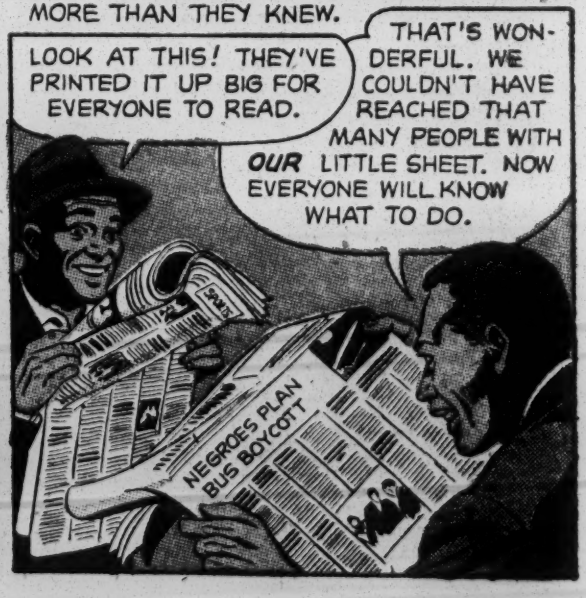
BECAUSE SHE WAS TIRED AND HER FEET ACHED, ROSA PARKS REFUSED TO GIVE UP HER SEAT IN THE BUS. ROSA PARKS WAS ARRESTED.

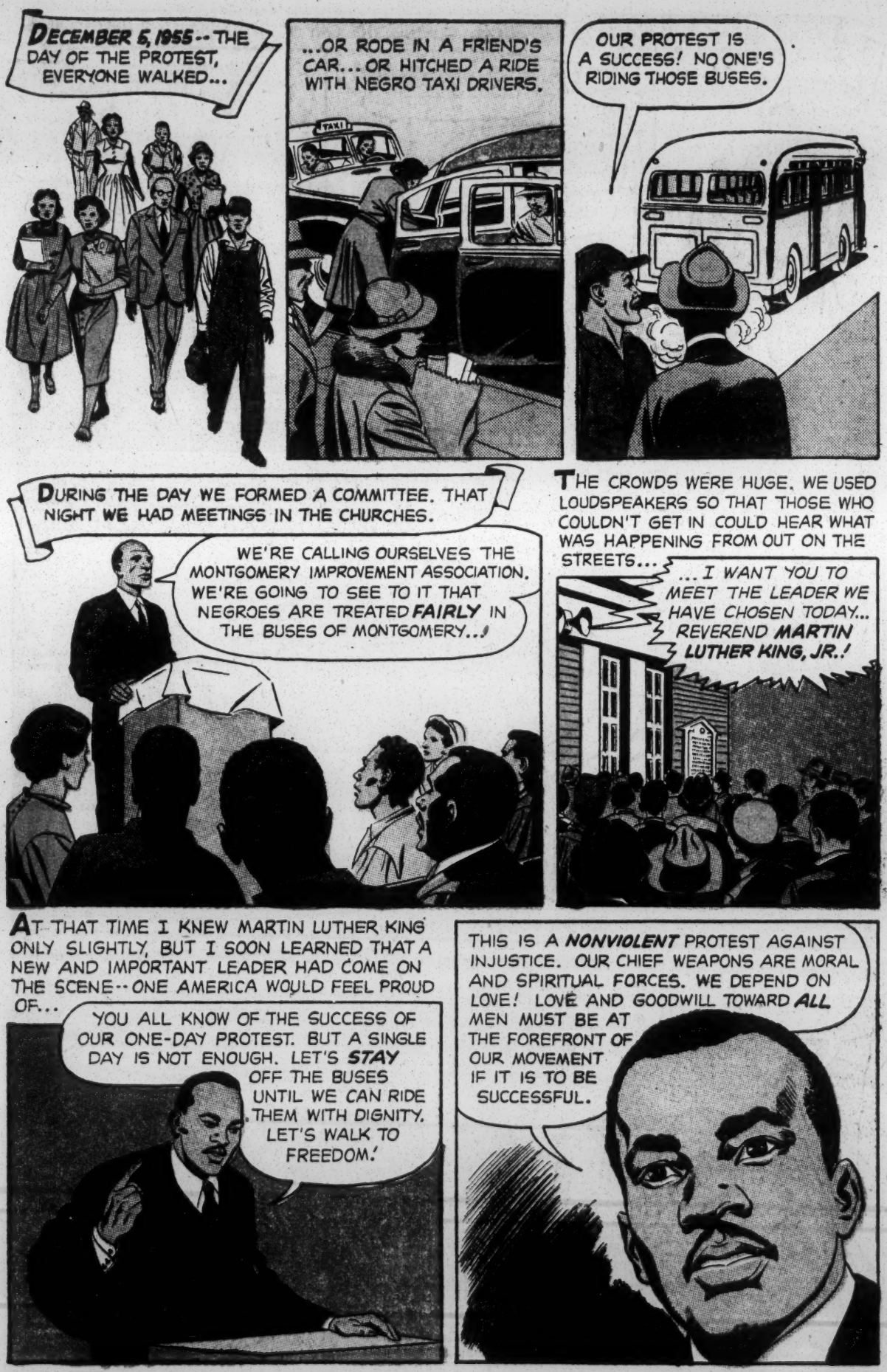
THAT NIGHT I COULDN'T SLEEP. I WAS GETTING SICK AND TIRED OF ALL THIS. I WOKE UP MY WIFE.
SOMETHING OUGHT TO BE DONE. ROSA IS A GOOD WOMAN AND NOT A TROUBLE MAKER. THEY HAD NO RIGHT ARRESTING HER!
BUT WHAT CAN WE DO?


I DECIDED TO TALK TO SOME OF MY FRIENDS. THE VERY NEXT DAY...
THEY MAKE US MOVE IF ANY WHITE PERSON WANTS OUR SEAT. WE OUGHT TO PROTEST-- AND NOT RIDE THE BUSES FOR A DAY.
NOW HERE'S MY PLAN...
Today Special


WE GOT OUT A MIMEOGRAPHED SHEET PROTESTING WHAT HAD HAPPENED TO ROSA PARKS AND CALLING FOR A ONE-DAY BOYCOTT OF THE BUSES.
THERE ARE 50,000 NEGROES IN MONTGOMERY-- HOW MANY OF THEM CAN WE REACH WITH JUST A FEW HUNDRED COPIES OF THIS LEAFLET?
LET'S JUST HOPE THAT THOSE WHO READ IT SPREAD THE WORD.

THAT NIGHT, WORD WAS FLASHED AROUND TOWN THAT THE PROTEST WAS SET FOR THE NEXT DAY.
YOU HEAR THE NEWS?
SURE DID. NOBODY'S GOING TO RIDE THE BUSES TOMORROW.


THE NEWSPAPERS OF MONTGOMERY HELPED MORE THAN THEY KNEW.
LOOK AT THIS! THEY'VE PRINTED IT UP BIG FOR EVERYONE TO READ.
THAT'S WONDERFUL. WE COULDN'T HAVE REACHED THAT MANY PEOPLE WITH OUR LITTLE SHEET. NOW EVERYONE WILL KNOW WHAT TO DO.
NEGROES PLAN BUS BOYCOTT

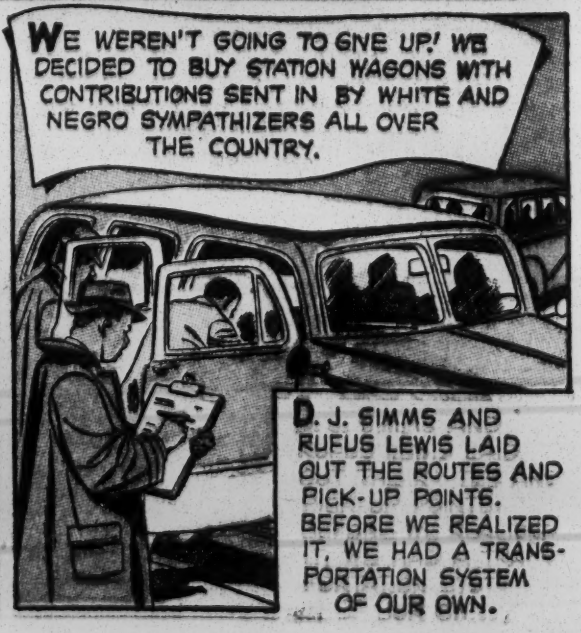

DECEMBER 5, 1955 -- THE DAY OF THE PROTEST, EVERYONE WALKED...
...OR RODE IN A FRIEND'S CAR... OR HITCHED A RIDE WITH NEGRO TAXI DRIVERS.
TAXI
OUR PROTEST IS A SUCCESS! NO ONE'S RIDING THOSE BUSES.
DURING THE DAY WE FORMED A COMMITTEE. THAT NIGHT WE HAD MEETINGS IN THE CHURCHES.
WE'RE CALLING OURSELVES THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION. WE'RE GOING TO SEE TO IT THAT NEGROES ARE TREATED FAIRLY IN THE BUSES OF MONTGOMERY..!
THE CROWDS WERE HUGE. WE USED LOUDSPEAKERS SO THAT THOSE WHO COULDN'T GET IN COULD HEAR WHAT WAS HAPPENING FROM OUT ON THE STREETS...
...I WANT YOU TO MEET THE LEADER WE HAVE CHOSEN TODAY... REVEREND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.!
AT THAT TIME I KNEW MARTIN LUTHER KING ONLY SLIGHTLY, BUT I SOON LEARNED THAT A NEW AND IMPORTANT LEADER HAD COME ON THE SCENE -- ONE AMERICA WOULD FEEL PROUD OF...
YOU ALL KNOW OF THE SUCCESS OF OUR ONE-DAY PROTEST. BUT A SINGLE DAY IS NOT ENOUGH. LET'S STAY OFF THE BUSES UNTIL WE CAN RIDE THEM WITH DIGNITY. LET'S WALK TO FREEDOM!
THIS IS A NONVIOLENT PROTEST AGAINST INJUSTICE. OUR CHIEF WEAPONS ARE MORAL AND SPIRITUAL FORCES. WE DEPEND ON LOVE! LOVE AND GOODWILL TOWARD ALL MEN MUST BE AT THE FOREFRONT OF OUR MOVEMENT IF IT IS TO BE SUCCESSFUL.

AND SO BEGAN THE *WALK TO FREEDOM.* DURING THE DAY WE WALKED... AT NIGHT WE HELD PRAYER MEETINGS.

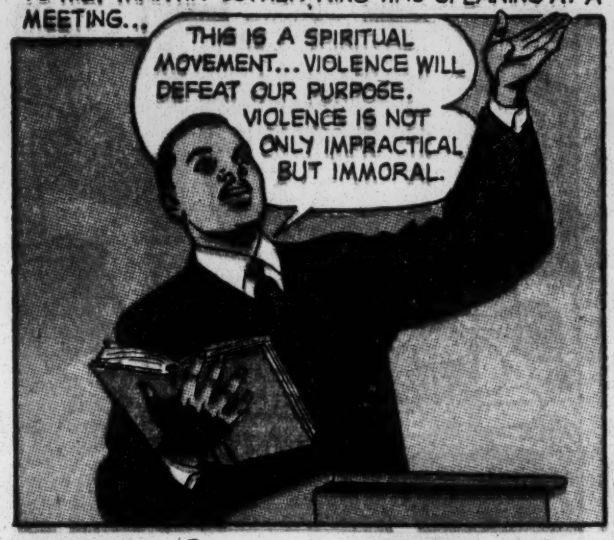
WE WALKED AND WALKED AND WALKED... AND SOMETIMES THUMBED A RIDE LIKE ANY HITCH-HIKER.

THINGS WERE GOING ALMOST TOO GOOD. THERE WAS BOUND TO BE TROUBLE.

THE POLICE OFFICERS KEPT BOTHERING US. THEY EVEN STOPPED MARTIN LUTHER KING'S CAR.

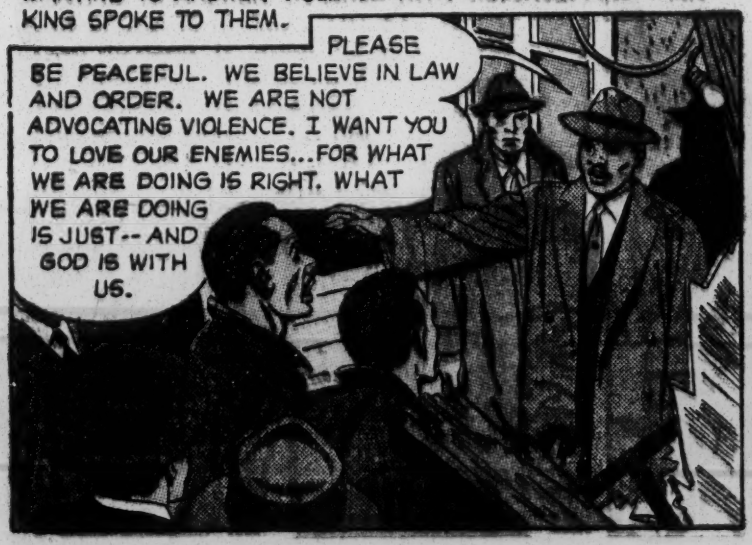


JANUARY 30, 1956. SOMETHING HAPPENED ON THAT DAY THAT TOUCHED MY HEART AND DID SOMETHING TO ME. MARTIN LUTHER KING WAS SPEAKING AT A MEETING...

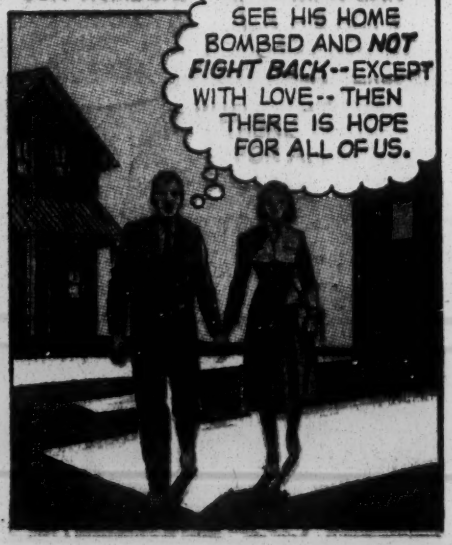


MRS. KING WAS AT HOME TALKING TO A FRIEND...

MARTIN LUTHER KING RUSHED HOME. A CROWD WAS GATHERED OUTSIDE. THEY WERE IN AN ***ANGRY*** MOOD, WANTING TO ANSWER VIOLENCE WITH VIOLENCE. AND THEN KING SPOKE TO THEM.

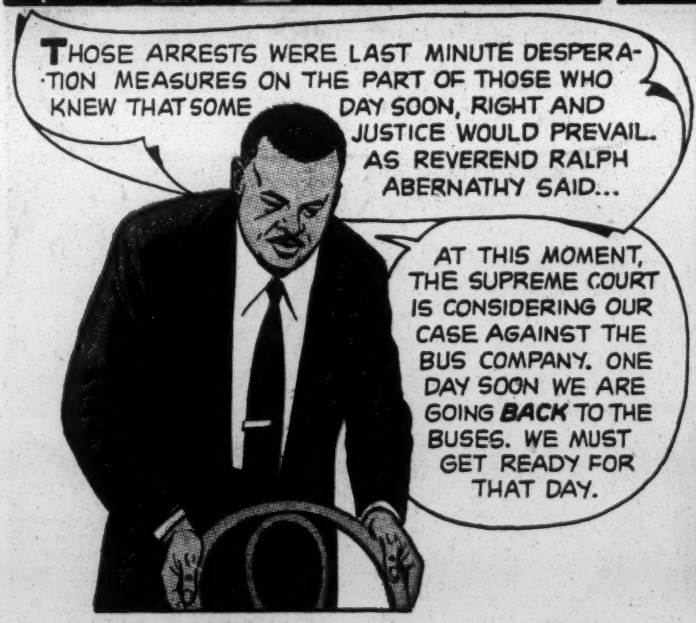


LATER, WE WALKED BACK THROUGH THE NIGHT TO OUR HOMES...

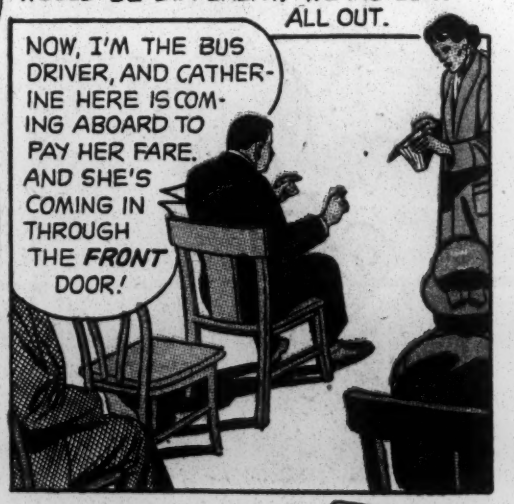


THOUGH WE TRIED TO LOVE OUR ENEMIES, THEIR HEARTS WERE NOT SOFTENED TOWARD US. IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO BREAK UP OUR BUS PROTEST, THEY INDICTED 93 OF OUR LEADERS, INCLUDING E. D. NIXON, OF THE SLEEPING CAR PORTERS UNION.

WE WERE THRILLED TO SEE MANY OF OUR LEADERS SURRENDER WITHOUT BEING HUNTED DOWN...



WE BEGAN TO MAKE PREPARATIONS FOR WHAT WE WOULD DO WHEN WE GOT BACK ON THE BUSES. THINGS WOULD BE DIFFERENT. WE ACTED IT ALL OUT.



THAT WAS HOW WE GOT READY TO GO BACK ON THE BUSES. TO MAKE SURE WE WOULD NOT BE ACCUSED OF VIOLENCE, WE DECIDED TO CLASP OUR HANDS IN OUR LAPS AND NOT USE THEM AGAINST ANYONE, NO MATTER WHAT HAPPENED.

THEN I SAW A NEWS DISPATCH THAT MADE MY HEART JUMP...
THE U.S. SUPREME COURT HAS DECLARED BUS SEGREGATION ILLEGAL IN MONTGOMERY!
DAILY COURIER
SUPREME COURT RULES BUS SEGREGATION ILLEGAL IN MONTGOMERY

ON DECEMBER 21, WE WENT BACK ON THE BUSES. SOMEONE SHOUTED VILE AND ABUSIVE WORDS AT A YOUNG FELLOW WHO WAS GETTING ON THE BUS.
ONCE I WOULD HAVE GOTTEN SORE ABOUT THAT-- AND SHOUTED DIRTY WORDS BACK--AND MAYBE HIT BACK!

BUT NOW IT WAS DIFFERENT FOR ALL OF US. WE ALL JUST SMILED. AND THAT DID SOMETHING TO THE MAN WHO SHOUTED. THE NEWSPAPER FELLOWS TOOK HIS PICTURE...
HEY! YOU'RE SMILING! I THOUGHT YOU WERE MAD AT THESE PEOPLE!
I AM! BUT IT'S PRETTY HARD TO STAY MAD WHEN THEY DON'T FIGHT BACK!

ONE BUS DRIVER MADE A WOMAN PAY HER FARE TWICE.
I'M GOING TO PRAY FOR YOU.
HERE! TAKE BACK YOUR FARE-- I DON'T WANT YOU PRAYING FOR ME!

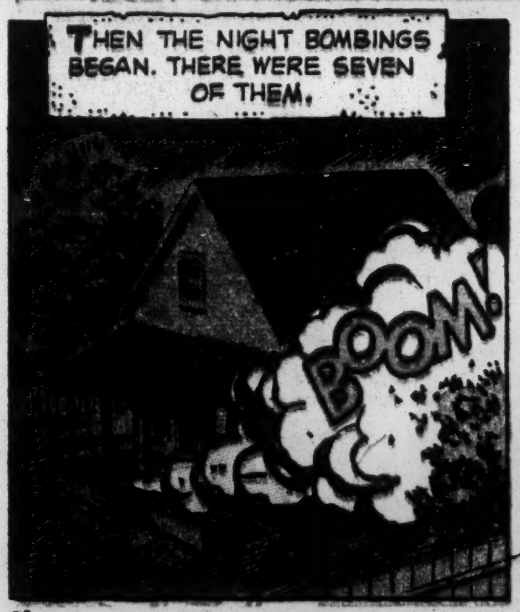
ON ANOTHER BUS, SOMEONE SLAPPED A WOMAN.
I COULD REALLY WALLOP HIM-- HE'S SMALLER THAN ME! BUT I'M GOING TO REMEMBER WHAT REVEREND KING TOLD ME ABOUT PEACE AND NON-VIOLENCE. I'LL JUST KEEP MY HANDS CLASPED THAT WAY THERE WON'T BE ANY TROUBLE.

AT FIRST, A FEW BUSES ON NIGHT RUNS WERE PEPPERED WITH SHOTGUN BLASTS.
CRASH!
THEN THINGS SEEMED TO QUIET DOWN. IT WAS A FALSE QUIET.

THE *KU KLUX KLAN* PARADED THROUGH THE STREETS...

CROSSES WERE BURNED IN THE NIGHT...

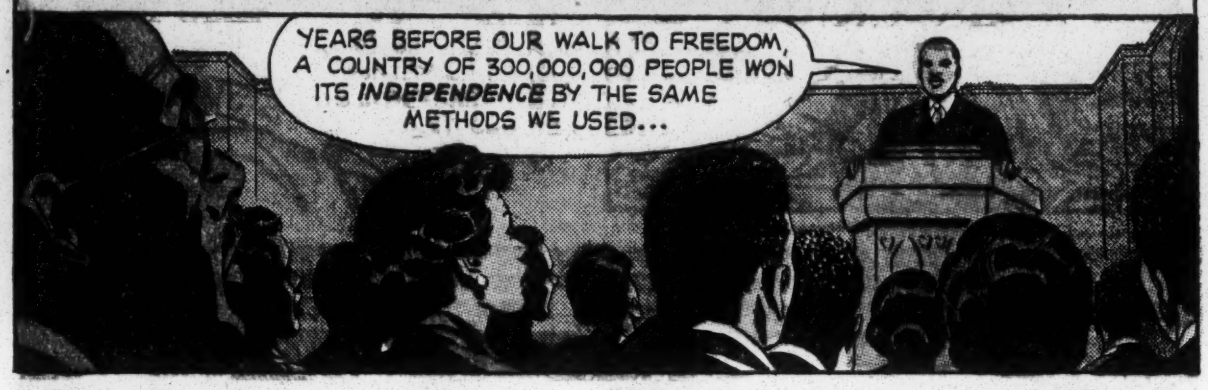
THEN THE NIGHT BOMBINGS BEGAN. THERE WERE SEVEN OF THEM.



ONE OF THE HOMES BOMBED WAS THAT OF REVEREND ROBERT GRAETZ, WHITE PASTOR OF A NEGRO LUTHERAN CHURCH, WHO HAD BEEN ONE OF US RIGHT FROM THE START.

NEGRO CHURCHES WERE BOMBED AND AN UNEXPLODED BOMB WAS FOUND ON KING'S FRONT PORCH. BUT NOW MONTGOMERY'S LAW-ABIDING WHITE CITIZENS TURNED AGAINST THE VIOLENCE.

MARTIN LUTHER KING TELLS
HOW A NATION WON ITS FREEDOM BY THE MONTGOMERY METHOD

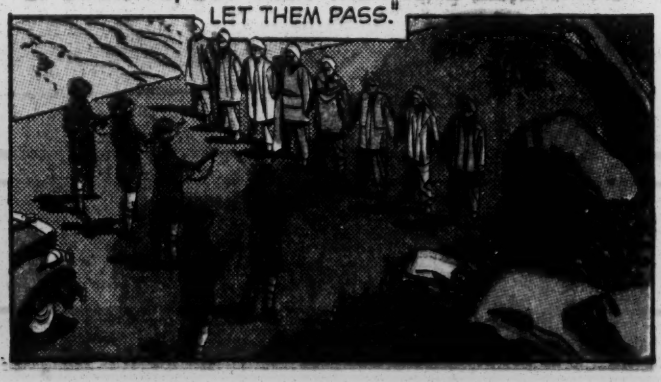


"MAHATMA GANDHI STARTED HIS CAMPAIGN FOR FREEDOM IN INDIA IN 1919. IT LOOKED HOPELESS. THE BRITISH EMPIRE WAS THE ***STRONGEST*** THE WORLD HAD EVER KNOWN. INDIA'S PEOPLE WERE POOR AND POWERLESS."

"THE NEW CAMPAIGN MEANT ***SUFFERING*** AND EVEN DEATH. WHEN GANDHI CALLED ON THE PEOPLE TO FAST AND PRAY TO PROTEST A BAD LAW, THE BRITISH SHOT DOWN HUNDREDS OF THEM AT AMRITSAR. IT RAISED HORRIFIED PROTESTS ALL OVER THE WORLD."

"AGAIN AND AGAIN THEY PUT GANDHI IN ***PRISON,*** BUT THAT DID NOT STOP HIM. HE WOULD WAIT PATIENTLY, THINKING AND PRAYING, AND AS SOON AS HE WAS OUT WOULD START AGAIN..."

"MILLIONS OF THE POORER PEOPLE IN INDIA WERE CALLED ***'UNTOUCHABLES'.*** THEY COULD NOT EVEN USE THE PUBLIC HIGHWAY. GANDHI RENAMED THEM 'HARIJAN--CHILDREN OF GOD,' AND LED THEM TO STAND IN THE FORBIDDEN ROAD. IT TOOK 16 MONTHS OF STANDING, BUT THEN THE POLICE GAVE IN AND LET THEM PASS."



"THE BRITISH PUT A TAX ON SALT, AND SAID INDIANS COULD NOT MAKE THEIR OWN SALT. GANDHI WALKED WITH HIS FOLLOWERS 200 MILES TO THE SEA TO BREAK THE LAW BY GATHERING SALT. SOON THE JAILS WERE OVERFLOWING WITH INDIANS--AND THE BRITISH DID AWAY WITH THE SALT ACT."
"IT BECAME HARDER AND HARDER FOR THE BRITISH TO KEEP CONTROL. THEIR JAILS WERE FILLED WITH INDIA'S BEST-LOVED LEADERS, INCLUDING SUCH MEN AS NEHRU, WHO LATER BECAME PRIME MINISTER."
"BESIDES, THE NEWS THAT BRITISH SOLDIERS WERE SHOOTING UNARMED MEN AND WOMEN AND PUTTING LEADERS IN JAIL, WAS TROUBLING THE BRITISH AT HOME."
THE VOTERS IN MY DISTRICT DON'T LIKE WHAT WE'RE DOING IN INDIA.
WE'LL HAVE TO GET OUT. THAT'S CLEAR.
"...FINALLY THE BRITISH GAVE IN AND GRANTED INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE. GANDHI HAD MADE A REVOLUTION WITHOUT FIRING A SHOT."
IT WASN'T EASY. IT TOOK YEARS OF NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE, MANY LONG HOURS OF PRAYER AND SUFFERING. THE INDIANS WERE SHOT AND BEATEN, BUT NEVER LICKED. THEY WON THEIR FREEDOM--AND SOMETHING ELSE, TOO. THEY WON THE FRIENDSHIP AND RESPECT OF THE BRITISH. THIS IS THE UNUSUAL THING ABOUT NONVIOLENCE--NOBODY IS DEFEATED; EVERYBODY SHARES IN THE VICTORY.

HOW THE MONTGOMERY METHOD WORKS

IN MONTGOMERY WE USED THIS NONVIOLENT CHRISTIAN ACTION TO GET JIM CROW OFF THE BUSES. IT CAN BE USED ANYWHERE, THOUGH, AGAINST ANY KIND OF EVIL. HERE IS HOW IT WORKS.

FIRST, REMEMBER THAT ***YOU*** CAN DO SOMETHING ABOUT THE SITUATION. NOT JUST THE GOVERNMENT, OR SOME BIG ORGANIZATION, BUT ***YOU.*** GOD SAYS ***YOU*** ARE IMPORTANT. HE NEEDS ***YOU*** TO CHANGE THINGS.

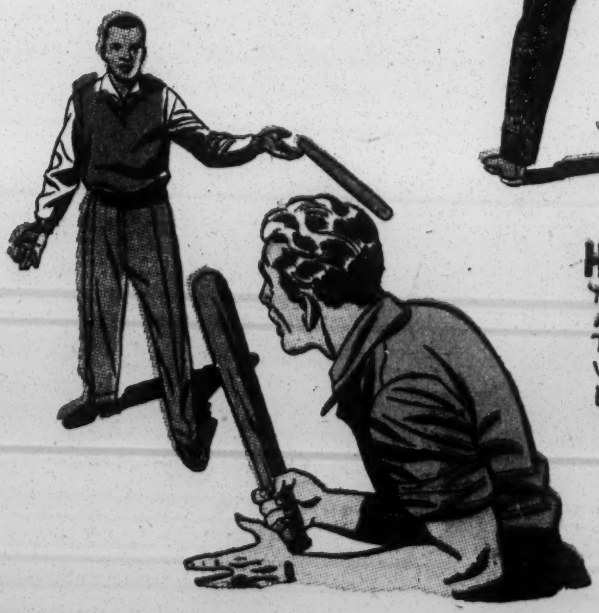
THE SECOND THING IS MUCH HARDER. GOD LOVES YOUR ***ENEMY,*** TOO, AND THAT MAKES ***HIM*** IMPORTANT TO YOU. YOU HAVE TO SEE ***HIM*** AS A HUMAN BEING, LIKE YOURSELF. YOU HAVE TO TRY TO ***UNDERSTAND*** HIM AND ***SYMPATHIZE*** WITH HIM.

TO SEE YOUR ENEMY AS A HUMAN BEING, YOU HAVE TO **STOP** SEEING HIM AS YOUR ENEMY. EVEN WHEN HE DOES CRUEL, HEARTLESS THINGS TO YOU, HE IS A CHILD OF GOD. HE IS YOUR **BROTHER,** EVEN WHEN HE HURTS YOU.

HARDEST OF ALL, YOU HAVE TO HELP YOUR ENEMY TO SEE ***YOU*** AS A HUMAN BEING. HE HAS TO SEE YOU AS A PERSON WHO WANTS THE ***SAME KIND*** OF THINGS HE WANTS: LOVE, A FAMILY, A JOB, THE RESPECT OF HIS NEIGHBORS.

IT WILL BE EASIER FOR HIM TO SEE YOU THIS WAY IF YOU ACT LIKE A BROTHER. SO, EVEN WHEN HE TRIES TO HURT YOU, YOU MUST NOT STRIKE BACK. EVEN IN YOUR THOUGHTS, YOU MUST NOT STRIKE BACK. YOU MUST GO ON ***LOVING*** HIM. LIKE THE SCHOOLGIRL IN LITTLE ROCK, YOU MUST SAY, "FATHER, FORGIVE THEM, FOR THEY KNOW NOT WHAT THEY DO."

THIS DOES NOT MEAN GIVING UP, THOUGH. IT IS ***WRONG*** FOR THIS BROTHER OF YOURS TO TREAT YOU AS THOUGH YOU WERE NOT A HUMAN BEING, AND IT WOULD BE ***WRONG*** FOR YOU TO HELP HIM TREAT YOU THIS WAY. YOU HAVE TO DO SOMETHING TO STOP HIM.

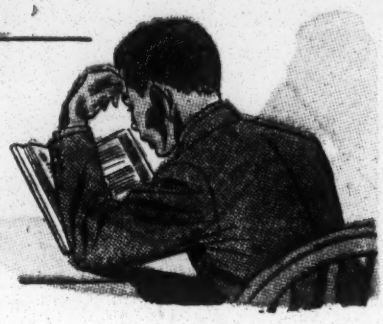


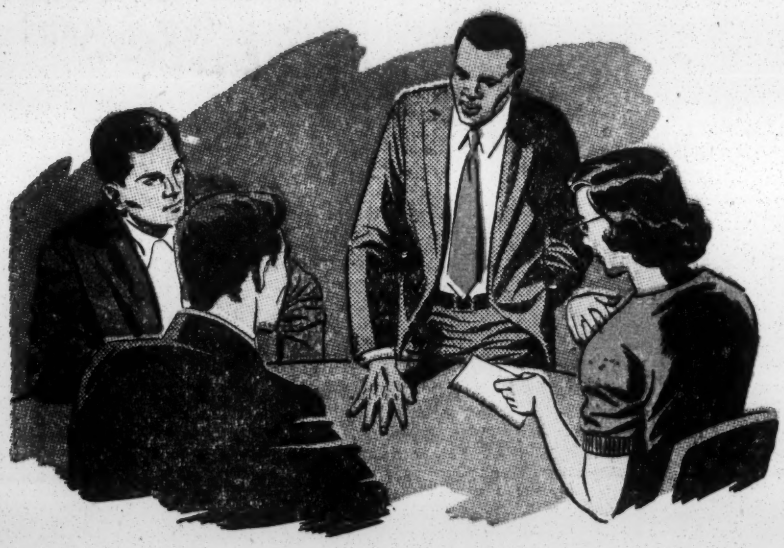
HE IS A HUMAN BEING AND SO HE CAN TREAT YOU BADLY ONLY BECAUSE, SOMEHOW, HE IS ***AFRAID*** OF YOU, OR OF WHAT YOU MIGHT DO TO HIM. IF YOU TRY TO STOP HIM BY USING VIOLENCE AND BY "GETTING EVEN", HE WILL BE SURE HE IS RIGHT IN BEING AFRAID OF YOU.

IF YOU SHOW HIM LOVE, THOUGH, YOU START TO TAKE AWAY THE REASON FOR HIS FEAR AND YOU MAKE IT ***HARDER*** FOR HIM TO GO ON HATING YOU. HERE'S HOW TO GO ABOUT IT.

FIRST, DECIDE WHAT SPECIAL THING YOU'RE GOING TO WORK ON. IN MONTGOMERY, IT WAS BUSES, SOMEWHERE ELSE IT MIGHT BE ***VOTING***, OR ***SCHOOLS***, OR ***INTEGRATED CHURCHES***. DON'T TRY TO DEAL WITH EVERYTHING WRONG AT ONCE.

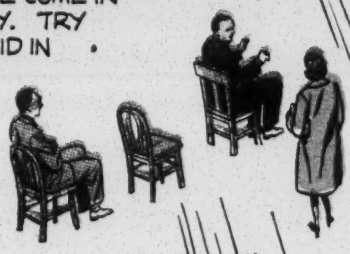
SECOND, BE SURE YOU KNOW THE FACTS ABOUT THE SITUATION. DON'T ACT ON THE BASIS OF RUMORS OR HALF-TRUTHS. FIND OUT.



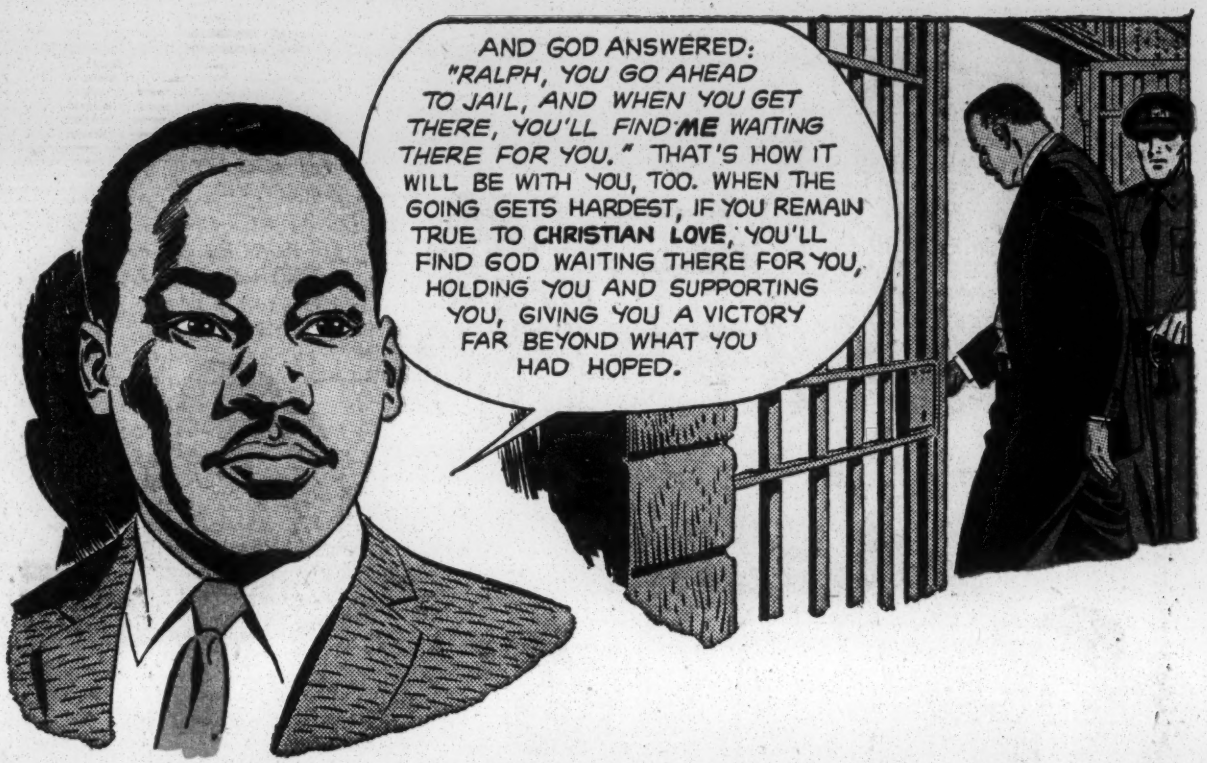


THIRD, WHERE YOU CAN, ***TALK*** TO THE PEOPLE CONCERNED. TRY TO EXPLAIN HOW YOU FEEL, AND WHY YOU FEEL AS YOU DO. ***DON'T ARGUE***--JUST TELL THEM YOUR SIDE, AND LISTEN TO THEIRS. SOMETIMES YOU'LL BE SURPRISED TO FIND ***FRIENDS*** AMONG THOSE YOU THOUGHT WERE ENEMIES.

NEXT, BE SURE YOU ARE READY. ***JOIN*** WITH OTHERS WHO FEEL THE WAY YOU DO. HAVE SOMEONE WITH EXPERIENCE COME IN TO TELL YOU HOW TO GET READY. TRY ***PRACTICE*** SITUATIONS AS WE DID IN MONTGOMERY. MAKE SURE YOU CAN FACE ANY OPPOSITION ***WITHOUT HITTING BACK, OR RUNNING AWAY, OR HATING.***



WHEN YOU ARE READY, THEN GO AHEAD, AND ***DON'T TURN BACK*** NO MATTER HOW HARD THE WAY OR HOW LONG THE STRUGGLE. WHEN MY FRIEND, THE REV. RALPH ABERNATHY, FOUND HIMSELF ABOUT TO BE PUT IN JAIL IN MONTGOMERY, HE PRAYED, "GOD, I'M ***AFRAID*** TO GO TO JAIL. I'VE NEVER BEEN IN JAIL BEFORE. IF I GO, GOD, WILL YOU GO WITH ME?"



This booklet is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, whose thousands of members throughout the world attempt to practice the things that Jesus taught about overcoming evil with good. Additional copies of "Martin Luther King and The Montgomery Story," at quantity rates, and other printed material on this subject, may be obtained by writing FOR, Box 271, Nyack, N. Y.

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National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK
DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

1716 WEST END AVENUE • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE • TELEPHONE ALpine 5-3842

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RECEIVED FEB 28 1957

Hef - this was circulated by Fred to Jc, Jga, + met. He, too, received a copy. EP

February 26, 1957

Dear Friend:

The following data is for your information.

You will recall the Southern Negro Leader's Conference (now a permanent organization known as the Southern Leaders Conference) held in Atlanta on January 10-11. Included in their "Statement to The South and Nation" was a report of a telegram to President Eisenhower asking him "to come south immediately, to make a major speech in a major city," and to "use the weight of his great office to point out to the south the moral nature of the problems posed at home and abroad by the unsolved civil rights issue."

Following this request by the Negro leaders an invitation was extended to the president by an interracial group of Southern Churchmen to address the conference announced in the enclosed "Call." The president did not find it possible to accept either the request or the specific invitation.

The enclosed telegrams are the answer to President Eisenhower's stated inability to accept the request of the Southern Negroes. They represent the basic action of the second conference held in New Orleans on February 14. The meeting was attended by 97 leaders from 35 communities in 10 southern states. I call your attention especially to the last two paragraphs of the telegram to the president.

Cordially yours,
Will D. Campbell
Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive

SOUTHERN LEADERS CONFERENCE
Meeting, February 14, 1957
New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
Now Orleans, Louisiana

Telegram sent at 3:00 P.M.
February 14, 1957
Thomasville, Georgia

Dear Mr. President:

Permit us to acknowledge receipt of the White House communication of January 18, 1957, stating your inability to schedule an address in the south to encourage the maintainence of law and order as requested by the Southern Negro Leaders Conference on January 11, 1957.

We pointed out in our letter to you that lawlessness was becoming a deeply disturbing feature of the daily life of our communities. Violence has continued to erupt by night and by day. It has grown to alarming proportions. Some of the acts of violence would be unbelievable were the grim ruins not mute testimony. Under the cover of darkness, dynamite bombs have been exploded in our churches and the homes of our ministers and citizens. We have been compelled to post unarmed guards nightly to protect our church property. We are no longer faced with sporatic violence, but with what appears to be an organized campaign of violence and terror.

Against this shocking background, we have met in New Orleans to consider your response to our request.

While we are sensitive to the burden of your responsible office, we are aware that human life and orderly, decent conduct of our communities are at stake. These imperative considerations make it difficult for us to accept as final your message that you cannot make a speech in the South at this time. It is our sincere belief that action on your part at this moment can avert tragic situations by cooling passions fostering reasonableness, and encouraging respect for law. In saying this, we are not unmindful of the immense responsibility of your office in the conduct of our national and international affairs. However, morality like charity, begins at home. Here at home, as we write, we are confronted with a breakdown of law, order, and morality. This condition is a sinister challenge and a threat to government by law. It calls for drastic and remedial action.

The flouting of the Supreme Court decisions serves not only to deprive a part of our citizenry of its rightful privileges but even more, it weakens the fabric of our democratic society for all citizens, Negro and White. The unleashing of violence against individuals who peacefully pursue justice, against Christian clergymen, and against the House of God are unspeakable crimes. They arouse the conscience of all honorable Americans to compel an end to those outrages as proof of their devotion to democratic and spiritual ideals.

To this end,

1. We implore you to re-examine your decision not to

speak out to the south on the question of law and order.

2. We further urge you to call a White House Conference on the maintainence of law and order similar to those held earlier on Education and Juvenile Delinquency. We believe such a conference can help develop in the South and in the nation an orderly growth toward Civil Rights.

We ask you to do these things because our people, though resolute and courageous, cannot be expected forever to be targets for rifles, shot-guns, and for bombs, particularly when our women and children are brought within range of those deadly weapons. We know that if a halt is not put to these terroristic practices, our appeals for non-violent Christian behavior will come into serious question by those whose frustration it has already been difficult to contain.

We believe your inability to come south is a profound disappointment to the millions of Americans of goodwill both north and south, who earnestly are looking to you for leadership and guidance in this period of inevitable social change.

Mr. President, we urge you to give democratic leadership to the confused citizens of the south and the nation in this critical hour. We implore you to enunciate whether in the North or South and Eisenhower Doctrine for Democracy at Home.

In the absence of some early and effective remedial action, we shall have no moral choice but to lead a Pilgrimage of Prayer to Washington. If you, our president cannot come south to relieve our harrassed people, we shall have to lead our people to you in the capital in order to call the nations attention to the violence and organized terror directed toward men, women and children who merely seek freedom and first class citizenship. People of goodwill from across the nation will undoubtly join in such a pilgrimage for freedom and human dignity.

Mr. President, we prayerfully urge you to give early and serious consideration to the two requests we have made in this letter, for the violence our people face by day and in the dark of each night, makes it imperative that we hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Respectfully yours;

Rev. Martin L. King, Montgomery, Ala.
Rev. C.K. Steele, Tallahassee, Fla.
Rev. A.L. Davis, Jr., New Orleans, La.
Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala.
Rev. T.J. Jemison, Baton Rouge, La.
For: The Southern Leaders Conference

SOUTHERN LEADERS CONFERENCE

February 14, 1957
New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Telegram sent at 3:P.M.
February 14, 1957

Vice-President Richard Nixon
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Nixon:

One month has passed since we urged you to make a trip into the South sinilar to the one you made in Europe on behalf of the Hungarian refugees. At that time we urged you to examine the violence directed toward Negroes in the South who merely ask for justice and freedom under law and to report your findings to the President and to the Nation.

We are sorry that you have not seen fit to answer out telegram.

Meantime, we note that you have been chosen to represent the United States government at the gold coast Independence Celebration March 6th, when that first Negro country in Africa receives its freedom from colonial domination.

We are convinced that you will better be able to represent America's defense of justice and freedom at the celebration, if prior to your leaving for Africa on March 6th, you arrange for the fact-finding trip we have proposed into the South.

In any event, we urge you to make such a trip at your earliest convenience.

May we hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Rev. M. L. King, Montgomery, Ala.

Rev. T. J. Jemison, Baton Rouge, La.

Rev. A. L. Davis, Jr., New Orleans, La.

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala.

Rev. C. K. Steele, Tallahassee, Fla.

For: Southern Leaders Conference

SOUTHERN LEADERS CONFERENCE

February 14, 1957
New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Telegram sent at 3:P.M.
February 14, 1957

Attorney General Herbert Brownell
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Brownell:

We have received your reply to our telegram of January 11, 1957, in which you state you cannot receive Southern Negro Leaders in a conference on our responsibility under law for peaceful social change. We regret your reply. The continued violence in the South over the last month leads us to feel a conference with you is now imperative.

In this connection, we were elated with your statement in Washington a few days ago to the effect that 165 years is far too long a period for Negroes to have sought justice. We were further impressed with your public support of the Civil Rights legislation now pending before Congress.

There appears to be a wide discrepancy between your public statements, and the manner in which some of the District Attorney's are inclined to act in the matter of prompt enforcement of Court decrees. (Of particular instance is your promouncement that bus segregation laws are dead letter and unenforceable in view of the Supreme Court Decision, and the lack of federal initiative and leadership in this area in the south.)

We therefore, feel that it is urgent not only to meet with you, but also to ask you to invite all Southern District Attorneys to join in this meeting. In this manner existing discrepancies can be cleared up, and a positive approach can be gained toward enforcement decrees.

Since there is every reason to believe that Federal District Courts in the South will extend integration into several areas, we believe that such a Conference should be had without further delay.

Sincerely,

Rev. M.L. King, Mongtomery, Ala.
Rev. J.T. Jemison, Baton Rouge, La.
Rev. A.L. Davis Jr., New Orleans, La.
Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala.
Rev. C.K. Steele, Tallahassee, Fla.
For: Southern Leaders Conference

SOUTHERN LERDERS CONFERENCE

February 14, 1957

New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Telegrams sent to the following:
February 14, 1957, 3:00 P.M.

1. Senator Thomas C. Hennings
Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C.

2. Congressman Emmanuel Cellers
House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

In connection with the Hearing on Civil Rights legislation, we sincerely urge that your committee immediately conduct some sessions in the South, in those communities where violence has been directed toward Negro citizens who merely seek their rights under the American Constitution.

We address this appeal to you because we believe your subcommittee can get facts in this first hand manner that will clearly indicate to congress the urgent need to enact a vigorous Civil Rights program if order is to be maintained and justice upheld for all men, regardless of color in the South.

We are certain that such hearings would be of very real importance to congress in support of legislation designed to establish constitutional rights for man in the South of both races.

May we hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,

Rev. M.L. King, Montgomery, Ala.
Rev. T.J. Jemison, Baton Rouge, La.
Rev. A.L. Davis, New Orleans, La.
Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala.
Rev. C.K. Steele, Tallahasse, Fla.

For: Southern Leaders Conference

Pa - for your information

Copy of incoming to Arnold Aronson

March 8, 1957

Mr. Will D. Campbell
National Council of the Churches of
Christ in the U.S.A.
Division of Christian Life and Work
1716 West End Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Will:

Thanks for your recent letter about the Southern Leaders Conference. I agree with you that it would be desirable to invite a representative of this group to take part in our next Southern meeting and will act accordingly.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of your letter on to Arnold Aronson, secretary of the CCD. Any decision about including the Southern Leaders Conference in that group will have to be made by him and the CCD Executive Committee, but I am sure that they would also take a favorable view.

All best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK
DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

1716 WEST END AVENUE • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE • TELEPHONE ALpine 5-3842

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REV. ROY G. ROSS
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ALFRED S. KRAMER
Associate Executive Director
WILL D. CAMPBELL
Associate Executive Director
GENEVA R. JONES
Administrative Assistant

March 1, 1957

cip

RECEIVED MAR 4 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sure that the formation of a permanent organization known as the Southern Leaders Conference has come to your attention. This resulted from the meetings in Atlanta on January 11-12 and New Orleans February 14. The temporary organization was called the Southern Negro Leaders Conference, but when it was made permanemt in New Orleans the group voted to use the new title.

I am suggesting to you the possibility of inviting them to participate in C.C.D. and in our own Southern group. I have not discussed this with Dr. M. L. King, Jr. chairman of the organization.

I am sending you the data of the last conference and will be glad to furnish other information regarding the group on the basis of my experience with them. I believe that it will be to the mutual benefit of all if this new and significant organization is included.

Cordially yours,

Will

Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive

WDC/jf

Enc:

A Call

to

A Conference

on

Christian Faith and Human Relations

Because the Christian faith testifies that God has entrusted to His people a ministry of reconciliation;
And because this ministry has peculiar urgency in these days when divisions and hostilities threaten our country and our churches --
We call this Conference on Christian Faith and Human Relations, to convene in Nashville, Tennessee, April 23-25, 1957.

This invitation goes to churchmen who are united in both a Commitment and a search.

Our commitment is to Christ, who asks our loyalty and discipleship in all the walks of life. Through twenty centuries of human life His love has won men from their prejudices and resentments, their lesser loyalties and idolatries. Again today He asks that men worship not only with their lips but also with their lives.

Our search is for the specific meaning of Christian loyalty in our common life. Like all our countrymen, we are puzzled by many problems. We need to study, to pray, and to consult with each other about the meaning of our theological beliefs for our Christian living. Although we know that Christian faith impels us, not to withdraw from life but to serve God in the midst of His world, we need illumination on our present confusions as to how we can best serve God.

We call this Conference as a common testimony of churchmen to God's Lordship over life and as a common search for greater wisdom and strength in faithful living.

The Sponsors

SOUTHERN LEADERS CONFERENCE
Meeting, February 14, 1957
New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Telegram sent at 3:00 P.M.
February 14, 1957
Thomasville, Georgia

Dear Mr. President:

Permit us to acknowledge receipt of the White House communication of January 18, 1957, stating your inability to schedule an address in the south to encourage the maintainence of law and order as requested by the Southern Negro Leaders Conference on January 11, 1957.

We pointed out in our letter to you that lawlessness was becoming a deeply disturbing feature of the daily life of our communities. Violence has continued to erupt by night and by day. It has grown to alarming proportions. Some of the acts of violence would be unbelievable were the grim ruins not mute testimony. Under the cover of darkness, dynamite bombs have been exploded in our churches and the homes of our ministers and citizens. We have been compelled to post unarmed guards nightly to protect our church property. We are no longer faced with sporatic violence, but with what appears to be an organized campaign of violence and terror.

Against this shocking background, we have met in New Orleans to consider your response to our request.

While we are sensitive to the burden of your responsible office, we are aware that human life and orderly, decent conduct of our communities are at stake. These imperative considerations make it difficult for us to accept as final your message that you cannot make a speech in the South at this time. It is our sincere belief that action on your part at this moment can avert tragic situations by cooling passions fostering reasonableness, and encouraging respect for law. In saying this, we are not unmindful of the immense responsibility of your office in the conduct of our national and international affairs. However, morality like charity, begins at home. Here at home, as we write, we are confronted with a breakdown of law, order, and morality. This condition is a sinister challenge and a threat to government by law. It calls for drastic and remedial action.

The flouting of the Supreme Court decisions serves not only to deprive a part of our citizenry of its rightful privileges but even more, it weakens the fabric of our democratic society for all citizens, Negro and White. The unleashing of violence against individuals who peacefully pursue justice, against Christian clergymen, and against the House of God are unspeakable crimes. They arouse the conscience of all honorable Americans to compel an end to those outrages as proof of their devotion to democratic and spiritual ideals.

To this end,

1. We implore you to re-examine your decision not to

speak out to the south on the question of law and order.

2. We further urge you to call a White House Conference on the maintainence of law and order similar to those held earlier on Education and Juvenile Delinquency. We believe such a conference can help develop in the South and in the nation an orderly growth toward Civil Rights.

We ask you to do these things because our people, though resolute and courageous, cannot be expected forever to be targets for rifles, shot-guns, and for bombs, particularly when our women and children are brought within range of those deadly weapons. We know that if a halt is not put to these terroristic practices, our appeals for non-violent Christian behavior will come into serious question by those whose frustration it has already been difficult to contain.

We believe your inability to come south is a profound disappointment to the millions of Americans of goodwill both north and south, who earnestly are looking to you for leadership and guidance in this period of inevitable social change.

Mr. President, we urge you to give democratic leadership to the confused citizens of the south and the nation in this critical hour. We implore you to enunciate whether in the North or South and Eisenhower Doctrine for Democracy at Home.

In the absence of some early and effective remedial action, we shall have no moral choice but to lead a Pilgrimage of Prayer to Washington. If you, our president cannot come south to relieve our harrassed people, we shall have to lead our people to you in the capital in order to call the nations attention to the violence and organized terror directed toward men, women and children who merely seek freedom and first class citizenship. People of goodwill from across the nation will undoubtly join in such a pilgrimage for freedom and human dignity.

Mr. President, we prayerfully urge you to give early and serious consideration to the two requests we have made in this letter, for the violence our people face by day and in the dark of each night, makes it imperative that we hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Respectfully yours;

Rev. Martin L. King, Montgomery, Ala.
Rev. C.K. Steele, Tallahassee, Fla.
Rev. A.L. Davis, Jr., New Orleans, La.
Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala.
Rev. T.J. Jemison, Baton Rouge, La.
For: The Southern Leaders Conference

SOUTHERN LEADERS CONFERENCE

February 14, 1957
New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Telegram sent at 3:P.M.
February 14, 1957

Vice-President Richard Nixon
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Nixon:

One month has passed since we urged you to make a trip into the South sinilar to the one you made in Europe on behalf of the Hungarian refugees. At that time we urged you to examine the violence directed toward Negroes in the South who merely ask for justice and freedom under law and to report your findings to the President and to the Nation.

We are sorry that you have not seen fit to answer out telegram.

Meantime, we note that you have been chosen to represent the United States government at the gold coast Independence Celebration March 6th, when that first Negro country in Africa receives its freedom from colonial domination.

We are convinced that you will better be able to represent America's defense of justice and freedom at the celebration, if prior to your leaving for Africa on March 6th, you arrange for the fact-finding trip we have proposed into the South.

In any event, we urge you to make such a trip at your earliest convenience.

May we hear from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Rev. M. L. King, Montgomery, Ala.

Rev. T. J. Jemison, Baton Rouge, La.

Rev. A. L. Davis, Jr., New Orleans, La.

Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala.

Rev. C. K. Steele, Tallahassee, Fla.

For: Southern Leaders Conference

SOUTHERN LEADERS CONFERENCE

February 14, 1957
New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Telegram sent at 3:P.M.
February 14, 1957

Attorney General Herbert Brownell
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Brownell:

We have received your reply to our telegram of January 11, 1957, in which you state you cannot receive Southern Negro Leaders in a conference on our responsibility under law for peaceful social change. We regret your reply. The continued violence in the South over the last month leads us to feel a conference with you is now imperative.

In this connection, we were elated with your statement in Washington a few days ago to the effect that 165 years is far too long a period for Negroes to have sought justice. We were further impressed with your public support of the Civil Rights legislation now pending before Congress.

There appears to be a wide discrepancy between your public statements, and the manner in which some of the District Attorney's are inclined to act in the matter of prompt enforcement of Court decrees. (Of particular instance is your promouncement that bus segregation laws are dead letter and unenforceable in view of the Supreme Court Decision, and the lack of federal initiative and leadership in this area in the south.)

We therefore, feel that it is urgent not only to meet with you, but also to ask you to invite all Southern District Attorneys to join in this meeting. In this manner existing discrepancies can be cleared up, and a positive approach can be gained toward enforcement decrees.

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Rev. C.K. Steele, Tallahassee, Fla.
For: Southern Leaders Conference

SOUTHERN LERDERS CONFERENCE

February 14, 1957

New Zion Baptist Church
2319 Third Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Telegrams sent to the following:
February 14, 1957, 3:00 P.M.

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Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights
Senate Office Building
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Rev. A.L. Davis, New Orleans, La.
Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham, Ala.
Rev. C.K. Steele, Tallahasse, Fla.

For: Southern Leaders Conference

June 11, 1957

The Reverend M. L. King, Jr.
Minister
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
Dexter Avenue at Decatur Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. King:

We were very sorry that circumstances prevented you and other representatives of the Southern Leadership Conference from being with us at the recent inter-agency meeting. We will be meeting again in September, and I very much hope that it will be possible for you to be with us then. Meanwhile, I will be sending you soon a report on the last meeting.

With kindest regards and best wishes for the success of your fine efforts,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Dexter Avenue Baptist Church

DEXTER AVENUE AT DECATUR STREET
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
PHONE 3-3970

MARTIN L. KING, JR., *Minister*
309 South Jackson Street

June 3, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

On returning to the office your letter of May 15, was found on my desk. I am very sorry that I got back too late to comply with your request. It would have been a real pleasure to attend the inter-agency conference and to have other representatives from the Southern Leadership Conference. I do hope that you had a most profitable meeting. Please feel free to keep me informed on future meetings and I am sure that I will be able to meet with you and have the Southern Leadership Conference send representatives.

Let me express my appreciation to you for the great work that you are doing in the area of better human relations.

Very sincerely yours,

M. L. King, Jr.

M. L. King, Jr.,
Minister

MLK:mlb

(Dictated by Rev. King, but transcribed and signed in his absence.)

October 31, 1957

Attorney Robert F. Collins
Augustine & Collins Law Firm
1470 N. Claiborne Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Collins:

In the absence of Mr. Fleming we are responding to your letter of the 28th. Mr. Via had spoken of his recent conversation with you and we are happy to send you the enclosed materials.

Enclosed you will find a copy of our charter, dated January 6, 1944, and a copy of our By-Laws with recommended changes to be acted on in November by our Board of Directors. You will note that the By-Laws allow for the affiliated Councils on Human Relations which SRC established in each of the Southern states. These state groups are now independent organizations, of of October 1, 1957. This fact accounts for the recommended changes in the By-Laws.

We have found the matter of tax exemption to be an especially difficult problem for social and educational agencies. An excellent summary of the federal laws and conditions which apply to tax-exempt or would-be tax-exempt organizations has been prepared for the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials by Jules Cohen. We are enclosing a copy of that summary delivered at the NAIRO convention on November 28, 1956.

We are, of course, interested in the progress of your organization and would like to be kept informed. In turn, if we can

supply you with further information, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf

Enclosures: BY-LAWS for SRC
CHARTER - Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Report for the Civil Rights Commission of NAIRO, Nov. 28, 1956:
"Tax Exemption and Private Intergroup Relations Agencies"
by Jules Cohen

...Show to EFV

RECEIVED OCT 30 1957
VAlley 0041

Augustine & Collins

ATTORNEYS AT LAW • NOTARY PUBLIC

1470 N. CLAIBORNE AVE.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Israel M. Augustine Jr.
Robert Collins

October 28, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

We are the attorneys for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which is headed by Rev. Martin Luther King of Montgomery, Alabama. This organization in launching a southwide voters registration campaign among Negroes. We are considering incorporating the organization but before we do so we are making a study of the structure of other organizations so that we can take advantage of their experience in protecting themselves both from unwarranted persecution and from taxation by the southern states. We would therefore appreciate it very much if you would supply us with a copy of your charter, and/or act of incorporation and any other information which might prove helpful in this regard.

Yours sincerely,

AUGUSTINE & COLLINS

By Robert F. Collins

RFC/gdl

P.S. I discussed this matter with Mr. Emory Via, Labor Consultant on your staff, on the plane as I returned from a meeting of the executive committee of my organization.

FBR
JC
EFV
HCF
MG
PA
MM file

NEWS LETTER FROM

M M I*I*I A
M*M M*M I A A
M *M* M I A*A*A
M M I A A
M M I*I*I A A

Volume One, Number Seven
Montgomery Improvement Association

M.L. King, Jr., President
Telephone Amherst 5-3364

530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

November 18, 1957

RECENT HAPPENINGS

It has been seven months since the last MIA newsletter was published, and the editorial staff is grateful for the many letters of inquiries concerning it.

The MIA has been in the process of reconstructing its program, after thirteen months of emergency operation, to one of permanence and endurance. The ten-point future program to be undertaken by the Association includes: 1. Civic education and participation on a non-partisan basis. 2. Community relationship. 3. Education for individual competence. 4. Improvement of economic status. 5. Health. 6. Recreation. 7. Law enforcement. 8. Public relations. 9. Cultural advancement. 10. Spiritual enrichment.

GENERAL OUTLOOK

Integration on city busses is working smoothly, with both races accepting the social change as law of the land. But the Association faces a dark future just now, with some conditions getting worse, with no obvious efforts on the part of proper authorities to inaugurate "the equalization plan" in their so-called separate-but-equal doctrine.

1. Practically all of the 27,000 Negroes who lived within the city limits of near-by Tuskegee have been gerrymandered out of the city limits by legislative action designed to shrink the city to an all-white population. All but ten of the Negroes have been disfranchised because of the action. The city has a white population of about 7,000. To add to this injury, the people of Alabama will go to the polls on December 17, to vote on whether the whole county- Macon- in which Tuskegee is located, will be abolished so that the possibility of Negroes ever gaining control of the ballot will be eliminated. If this move is successful, twelve other counties with dense Negro populations stand ready for similar action, thereby merging Negroes to larger numbers of whites.

2. City architects are about to begin the erection of a sparkling glass and steel combination Museum-Library for white people, which will cost the tax payers $900,000. The same architects will build for the 46% Negro population a "branch" library costing $100,000. One wonders at the consciencelessness of city planners who can take a million dollars of public funds and allocate 9/10 to 54% of the city's population and 1/10 to the remaining 46% and expect "good race relations" to exist.

3. The park situation is just as unsatisfactory to Negroes in Montgomery. Recreational facilities for white and Negroes are incomparable, the ratio between them is of such magnitude. During recent months several Negroes were arrested for "recreating" in the park. Their case was later dropped. But the most grievous incident of recent weeks was the "beating, the arrest and fine imposed upon a seventeen year old Negro boy, whose only offense was "to walk through a park for whites", as a short route to his job. The case was appealed, and just this week, dropped by the judge. But the lad got the works, both from the judge and from the private hospital where he was employed as a porter. He was fired from that job the next week following his conviction.

4. Lawyer Fred Gray was arrested for "sitting in the white section" of the Montgomery Airport. His case was dropped, but not before a citizen of these United States suffered the embarrassment of arrest in a public airport, whose improvement is being

financed by federal funds.

5. Reverend M.L. King, Jr. appeared on the National NBC Television broadcast three Sundays ago when Martin Agronsky, T.V. News Commentator, interviewed him. But some vandals, believed to be operating under the dictates of the WCC, which had attempted unsuccessfully to prevent the broadcast, sabotaged a cable and caused a blackout of the broadcast over surrounding areas. A film was made however, and the local station later shheduled a showing of the film.

6. The NAACP is still inactive in the State of Alabama as a result of the $100,000 contempt fine by a circuit court judge, for failure of the organization to produce records of memberships. The case is now pending in the U.S. Supreme Court.

7. Negroes have re-doubled their efforts to become registered voters. Stiff resistance is evidenced at the Board of Registrars, for out of the hundreds who go regularly only a few are able to qualify.

9. Many of the super markets have fired, or dismissed most or all of the Negro help. Even some of the truck drivers for leading stores have been replaced by white drivers.

Yes, the Montgomery Improvement Association has a great task ahead, but it plans to keep at the wheels of democracy until human rights are guaranteed every citizen of these United States, and until respect and dignity are accorded every man.

MONTGOMERY NEGROES TO OBSERVE SECOND MIA ANNIVERSARY

The MIA is preparing to observe its second anniversary during the first week of December (5-9), when an Education Workshop similar to the one followed last year will be conducted to help to educate the people in their continued struggle for freedom and first class citizenship.

Special seminars on Non-Violence and Social Change will be organized and developed around the theme: "Freedom Through Civic Responsibility." Among those who will take part in the Institute will be Dr. Archibald Carey, pastor of the Quinn Chapel AME Church of Chicago, and the Honorable Paul Simon of the Illinois Legislature.

The Institute will go through four days of seminars and mass meetings which will address themselves to the theme. Dr. King will be the principal speaker at the opening night mass meeting, Thursday, December 5. Two of the four seminars scheduled for the Institute will be given over to the youth of the city and surrounding areas. Contestants will vie together in the annual oratorical contest for the three scholarships that are awarded annually. After the contest, Friday night, the Institute preacher will deliver the Institute sermon at a mass meeting.

The last two seminar sessions will be conducted during Saturday, December 7. Nothing has been scheduled for Saturday night so that visitors might have free time to acquaint themselves with the citizens of Montgomery. In addition to the seminars and mass meetings will be the fireside chats. These will be held in the various homes after mass meeting each night.

The Institute will close after the huge mass meeting which is to be held on Sunday Afternoon, December 8. The speaker for this occasion will be Dr. Archibald Carey, pastor of the Quinn Chapel AME Church of Chicago. The public is invited to participate.

MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN

The membership campaign is one aspect of the anniversary celebration. It began in October and will terminate with the close of the institute on "Non-Violence and Social Change,", December 9.

The membership classifications are as follow: Youth $.50; adults $2.00, $5.00 and $10.00. The membership classifications are significant only in the light of the evaluation the purchaser places upon the work of the MIA; the future program of the movement and the economic circumstances of a person who desires to be a part of the struggle for freedom, justice and universal human rights.

The slogan for the membership drive is "WE HAVE COME TOO FAR TO TURN BACK". A membership from every interested person or organization, local and otherwise, will strengthen us in our struggle forward.

The individual that has the spirit and the means is asked to get a gold membership card for ten dollars. There are those who have the loyalty in spirit but they do not have the means. These are asked to do what they can.

Those institutions that feel like contributing fifty dollars will be given a white-and-gold certificate. Churches, social and civic clubs as well as other organizations too numerous to be mentioned in this letter, are in this classification. Individuals and groups that send contributions will be sent one of the MIA booklets. Those booklets embody the Ten Point Program of the organization.

INSTITUTE PARTICIPANTS LISTED

The full list of institute participants, not available before, follows: Honorable Paul Simon, Illinois Legislature; Atty. Harris Wofford, Washington, D.C.; Reverend Marshall Sheppard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Dr. Archibald Carey, Quinn Chapel A.M.E. Church, Chicago.

FLASH!

Dr. M.L. King, Jr. became the proud father of an eight pound, seven ounce boy on October 25. He was named Martin Luther King, III.

Reverend Ralph D. Abernathy is the happy father of a second daughter, born August 5, to be called Donza Leigh.

Reverend B.D. Lambert has his first daughter among two boys, born October 28. All three of these are labeled "Protest" babies.

Hollywood plans to film "The Montgomery Story" next spring, with Harry Belafonte playing the role of Reverend King. Jeffrey Hayden is to direct the show and John Killens of New York is writing the story. When Director Hayden visited Montgomery to get permission to do the story and to gather data, he informed us that he was successful in getting consent of city officials to cooperate in the filming of the story in Montgomery. Since then, however, Commissioner Sellers, one of the city officials, has notified the producer that he has withdrawn his promise to cooperate, and he plans to "fight against it being filmed here or elsewhere," because it will "further glorify and praise M.L. King."

MIA EXECUTIVE BOARD SPEAKS

THE MEMBERS OF THE MIA EXECUTIVE BOARD, ALONG WITH THE ENTIRE ASSOCIATION, WISH TO EXPRESS THANKS TO ALL THE WELL-WISHERS OF THE MONTGOMERY MOVEMENT: THOSE WHO HAVE MADE CONTRIBUTIONS AND OFFERED PRAYERS FOR SUCCESS. AN INVITATION IS EXTENDED TO ANY AND ALL WHO MAY DESIRE TO ATTEND THE EDUCATION INSTITUTE. PROVISIONS WILL BE MADE UPON REQUEST FOR LIVING QUARTERS.

The Editorial Staff, J.R. Editing

Reverend Mose Pleasure, Jr. Ex. Sec

November 18, 1957

Mr. Robert F. Collins
Attorney-At-Law
Augustine and Collins Law Firm
1470 N. Clairborne Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Collins:

Enclosed you will find page 14 of the tax exemption information which was omitted in our last letter.

We of the staff look forward to meeting you on your next trip to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

VAlley 0041

Augustine & Collins

ATTORNEYS AT LAW • NOTARY PUBLIC

1470 N. CLAIBORNE AVE.
NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Israel M. Augustine Jr.
Robert Collins

November 15, 1957

Mr. Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., NE.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We received your letter of October 31, 1957 with the enclosed material. We wish to express our sincere appreciation. The material you sent will prove invaluable to us. The material entitled "Tax exemption and Private Intergroup Relations Agencies" by Mr. Jules Cohen will be especially helpful, however, in reading over this material we note that page 14 was omitted. We would appreciate it if you would be so kind as to supply us with this missing page.

It is our intention to be in Atlanta in the not too distant future, and we would welcome the opportunity to confer with you and other members of your staff.

Yours sincerely,

AUGUSTINE & COLLINS

By Robert F. Collins

RFC/gdl

February 13, 1958

Mr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
Southern Leadership Conference
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. King:

Your recent article, "Out of the Long Night of Segregation," strikes me as something our readers would be interested in and so I would like permission to reprint the article in NEW SOUTH. I have written Mr. Brown of the Presbyterian Outlook for the magazine's permission.

Any consideration in this matter will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Martin Luther King, Jr.
309 South Jackson Street
Montgomery, Alabama

Minister
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church
454 Dexter Avenue

February 24, 1958

Dear Mr. Constable:

This is just a note to acknowledge receipt of your letter of February 13, addressed to Dr. King.

At the present Dr. King is out of the city attempting to complete the writing of a book to be submitted to the publisher very soon. I have talked with him on the telephone regarding your letter and he asked me to say that he will be very happy to give permission to use his article OUT OF THE LONG NIGHT OF SEGREGATION to be reprinted in NEW SOUTH.

Yours very truly,

Maude L. Ballou
Maude L. Ballou
Secretary to Dr. King

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

July 2, 1958

To: Rev. Martin L. King, Jr.
Southern Leadership Conference

From: Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

Enclosed are some materials which may be of value to you. We are not including any information on tax exemption, since we assume this is not within the scope of your current meeting.

Earlier, we sent Attorney Robert F. Collins, of New Orleans, some rather detailed information on tax exemption. If you have need of this, we will be glad to pull it together for you.

File

COMBINED EMERGENCY APPEAL OF THE

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN THE SOUTH

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE STUDENT DEFENSE FUND

312 WEST 125TH STREET • NEW YORK 27, N. Y. • UNIVERSITY 6-1700

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Rev. Gardner Taylor
Nat King Cole
Harry Belafonte
Sidney Poitier
Father George B. Ford
Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.
Rabbi Edward E. Klein
Morris Iushewitz
Bernard Lee

Bayard Rustin
Executive Director

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SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

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Montgomery, Ala.

Chaplain
Rev. Kelley M. Smith
Nashville, Tenn.

Historian
Dr. L. D. Reddick
Montgomery, Ala.

April, 1960

Dear Friend,

In recent weeks, three developments have combined to create a civil rights crisis of historic depth and magnitude:

First, Southern Negro students launched a mass offensive that is cracking the walls of segregation. Their courageous and non-violent spirit has awed millions and given a new dignity to the cause of freedom. In retaliation, the Southern racists have expelled them from schools, arrested and jailed them, denied them bail, and visited violence upon them.

Second, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is spearheading a crusade to bring over a million new Negro voters into the 1960 Presidential elections, threatening the political power of the Dixiecrats.

Third, as the student sit-ins and voting crusade struggled on with grim determination, a vicious attack was directed at Martin Luther King, Jr. With calculation, the State of Alabama indicted the leader of the historic Montgomery Bus Protest on obviously false charges of perjury.

What is the purpose of this sinister indictment? It seeks to destroy leaders indigenous to the South to whom the students are looking for support and guidance, and to cripple the voting crusade now under way. Because of Dr. King's importance to these struggles, and because of his organizational drive

and influence as president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Dixiecrats are determined to jail him.

To defend themselves and to continue their assault on Jim Crow, Southern Negroes—especially the students—cry out for moral and material support. They face a fanatical and unscrupulous adversary. Your help is urgently needed now. This Combined Appeal gives you the opportunity to support both needs—the Student Defense Fund and the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, Jr. It also makes your contribution most effective by minimizing expenses and simplifying your response.

We appeal to you to come to the defense of those who are daily risking their careers and facing jail terms and even death in their struggle to make our nation truly democratic.

Please send your generous contribution today. Funds are needed desperately.

Sincerely,

Ralph D. Abernathy
REV. RALPH D. ABERNATHY, Treasurer
Voting and Registration Crusade

Harry Belafonte
HARRY BELAFONTE, Chairman
Cultural Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, Jr.

Bernard B. Lee
BERNARD LEE, President
Montgomery Student Protest Committee

A. Philip Randolph
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, Chairman
Committee to Defend Martin Luther King, Jr.

Nat King Cole
NAT KING COLE, Treasurer

Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth
REV. FRED L. SHUTTLESWORTH, Secretary
Southern Christian Leadership Conference

P.S. Please make checks payable to Nat King Cole, Treasurer.

Crusade For Citizenship

TO DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF QUALIFIED NEGRO VOTERS IN THE SOUTH

SPONSORED BY

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Inc.

208 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
Room 203 — Telephone: JAckson 5-1763

PA
PRV

8/26/60

JULY 18, 1960

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DEAR FRIEND OF FREEDOM:

THIS IS A FORM LETTER. BUT, I WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT IT IS AS PERSONAL AND SERIOUS AS ANYTHING I HAVE EVER WRITTEN. IT IS AN APPEAL FOR YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE SOUTHERN FREEDOM STRUGGLE. THEREFORE, I HOPE YOU WILL READ EVERY WORD OF THIS LETTER WITH DEEP AND SYMPATHETIC CONCERN.

IN RECENT MONTHS, SEVERAL DEVELOPMENTS HAVE COMBINED TO CREATE A "CIVIL RIGHTS CRISIS" OF HISTORIC DEPTH AND MAGNITUDE:

FIRST, SOUTHERN NEGRO STUDENTS LAUNCHED A MASS OFFENSIVE THAT IS CRACKING THE WALLS OF SEGREGATION. THEIR COURAGEOUS AND NON-VIOLENT SPIRIT HAS AWED MILLIONS AND GIVEN A NEW DIGNITY TO THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM. IN RETALIATION, THE SOUTHERN RACISTS HAVE EXPELLED THEM FROM SCHOOLS, ARRESTED AND JAILED THEM, DENIED THEM BAIL, AND VISITED VIOLENCE UPON THEM.

SECOND, THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE IS SPEARHEADING A CRUSADE TO BRING HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF NEW NEGRO VOTES INTO THE 1960 ELECTION. THE SUCCESS OF THIS CAMPAIGN WOULD, WE ARE CONVINCED, BE ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT STEPS TOWARD WINNING THE NEGRO'S EQUAL RIGHTS IN AMERICA.

THIRD, AS THE STUDENT SIT-INS AND VOTING CRUSADE STRUGGLED ON WITH GRIM DETERMINATION, A VICIOUS ATTACK WAS DIRECTED AGAINST ME BY THE STATE OF ALABAMA. WITH CALCULATION, THE STATE INDICTED ME ON OBVIOUSLY FALSE CHARGES OF PERJURY. WHEN THEY MOVED TO AID ME, FOUR OF MY CLOSE ASSOCIATES WERE ALSO STRUCK BY THE STATE. HAVING ENDORSED AN ADVERTISMENT IN THE NEW YORK TIMES APPEALING FOR FUNDS ON MY BEHALF AND THE STUDENTS, FOUR SCLC BOARD MEMBERS, REVERENDS RALPH D. ABERNATHY, J. E. LOWERY, FRED SHUTTLESWORTH, AND S. S. SEAY, ARE BEING SUED BY THE CITY COMMISSIONERS OF MONTGOMERY AND THE GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA FOR TWO AND ONE HALF MILLION DOLLARS FOR LIBEL.

IT IS CLEAR WHAT THE SEGREGATIONISTS ARE ATTEMPTING TO DO. FACED WITH THE ENDING OF THEIR OLD ORDER THEY WOULD DELAY THEIR DEMISE BY DESTROYING THE HEROIC MASS STUDENT MOVEMENT, BY DESTROYING UNCOMPROMISING NEGRO LEADERSHIP, AND BY DEMOLISHING OUR ORGANIZATIONS OF STRUGGLE AND PROTEST.

THE FRANCHISE IS A CITIZEN'S RIGHT . . . NOT A PRIVILEGE

YOU CAN PREVENT THIS BY GIVING YOUR MORAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT. EACH OF THE AFOREMENTIONED DEVELOPMENTS HAS GIVEN TO THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE NEW AND HEAVY RESPONSIBILITIES. FUNDS ARE DESPARATELY NEEDED NOW FOR LEGAL DEFENSE; FOR THE STUDENT MOVEMENT WHICH CONSTANTLY CALLS ON OUR ORGANIZATION FOR AID AND GUIDANCE; FOR CARRYING OUR MESSAGE OF NON-VIOLENCE ACROSS THE SOUTH THRU INSTITUTES AND WORKSHOPS; AND FOR CONTINUING OUR VOTING CRUSADE. WE NEED TO EXPAND OUR STAFF AND TO PUT EXPERIENCED STUDENTS AND ADULTS ON THE FIELD TO PROPAGATE AN UNDERSTANDING OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE. PLEASE HELP US MAKE THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE STRONG FOR OUR BATTLE.

I APPEAL TO YOU TO HLEP US MAKE THE MOST OF THE HISTORIC OPPORTUNITIES BEFORE US. PLEASE SEND WHATEVER CONTRIBUTION YOU CAN AFFORD TODAY. SPEED YOUR GIFT NOW IN THE ENCLOSED ENVELOPE. NO POSTAGE IS NECESSARY. IN ADDITION TO YOUR IMMEDIATE CONTRIBUTION, I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO URGE YOU TO MAKE AN ANNUAL PLEDGE TO OUR ORGANIZATION. ALSO, HAVE YOUR CHURCH, CLUB, OR OTHER ORGANIZATION TO DO LIKEWISE. THIS WILL KEEP OUR WORK GOING ON A SUBSTANTIAL BASIS. THE PLEDGE CARD IS ENCLOSED - PLEASE RETURN IT TODAY WITH YOUR CONTRIBUTION. AS YOU WRITE YOUR CHECK THINK OF A FEW OF OUR HEROIC BOARD MEMBERS SUCH AS DAISY BATES, FRED SHUTTLESWORTH, C. K. STEELE, RALPH D. ABERNATHY, ONLY TO MENTION A FEW, AND THE HEROIC STUDENTS OF THE SOUTH. IF THEY CAN FACE JEERING AND HOSTILE MOBS AND SUFFER BRUTAL AND NIGHTMARISH BOMBINGS TO ADVANCE JUSTICE, HOW CAN YOU AND I BE LESS GENEROUS IN OUR SUPPORT?

YOURS FOR THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM,

Martin Luther King Jr.

MARTIN LUTHER ~~KING, JR.~~
PRESIDENT

ATTEST: RALPH D. ABERNATHY
FINANCIAL SECRETARY-TREASURER

MLK:LMH
ENCLOSURES:2

P. S. IF YOU RECEIVE MORE THAN ONE OF THESE LETTERS, THEN PLEASE PASS IT ON TO A FRIEND.

August 17, 1960

Reverend M. L. King, Jr.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. King:

The attached letter was sent to Mr. Fleming today from the Circle Camp in New York requesting that we contact you relative to participating in their summer camp in Hopewell, New York. The letter is being passed on to you for your reply. I have, in the meantime, written Mr. Gorelik telling him that he will hear from you direct.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Mildred Flowers
Secretary to Mr. Fleming

MF
Enclosure - 1.

via air mail

January 16, 1961

Mr. Milton A. Reid, President
Virginia Christian Leadership Conference
236 Harrison Street
Petersburg, Virginia

Dear Mr. Reid:

Thank you for your letter of January 10 and the invitation it extends. We are, of course, deeply concerned with the plight of the children of Prince Edward County and are appreciative of the leadership offered by your organization.

Thus I regret all the more the Southern Regional Council's inability to serve as sponsor of the proposed pilgrimage. The Council's charter and policies prevent its serving as sponsor or participant in this type of demonstration, sympathetic though we are with its aims and sponsorship.

As you may know, however, our associated group in Virginia -- the Virginia Council on Human Relations -- has been closely in touch with, and active in, the Prince Edward situation. We have cooperated closely with the Virginia Council and its director, Mr. Daniel Bowers, in these efforts. You may wish to consider inviting the Virginia Council, as a directly involved group, to cooperate in the proposed Washington pilgrimage.

Please be assured of our good wishes for you and the Virginia Christian Leadership Conference, and for your efforts to relieve the tragic situation of the school children in Prince Edward County.

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

BC: Dan Bowers, VCHR

236 Harrison Street
Petersburg, Virginia
REgent 2-5641
REgent 2-2841

Virginia Christian Leadership Conference

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VIRGIL WOOD
Western District

January 10, 1961

Mr. Harold Flemmings
Southern Regional Council
1201 - 5 Forsyhe Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemmings:

As per our recent conference, the Virginia Christian Leadership Conference is sponsoring a pilgrimage for free public school education in our nation's capital on or about March 7, 1961. The date to this point is tentative and a permanent date will be set by January 31. The pilgrimage which will be called possibly a "school-in", will be held in Washington, D. C. on behalf of 4,000 disposed black and white boys and girls in Prince Edward County, Virginia. The closing of schools to avoid integration is without question an open defiance of law and order, and is to date unprecedented in the history of our nation.

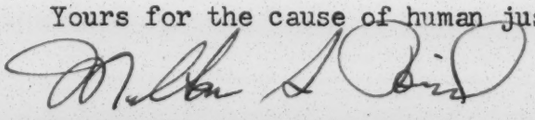
The Virginia Conference plans to bring to the silent lawmakers of the land not less than 500 white and Negro students in Prince Edward. We want them to see and hear the voices of youth crying in this American wilderness. Plans are underway to make an appeal to the Honorable John F. Kennedy. We hope to have a mass demonstration of concern by having students from across the state to participate in a parade with high school and possibly college bands. After the parade, we plan a mass assembly in Washington at which time we trust that our president will personally address himself to this situation. We recognize the fact that Mr. Kennedy will be new in his office, but the school closing is old in Prince Edward County.

We ask of you your sponsorship for this pilgrimage, as we wish to make this effort a nation-wide affair. I have made contact with organized groups in the

civil rights struggle, such as The American Friends, The Congress of Racial Equality, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The National Council of Negro Women, The National Beauticians Association, The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and with Mr. A. Phillip Randolph, Vice-president C.I.O.-A.F. of L. Sponsorship will mean a representative from your office as a member of the sponsorship committee, that will make detailed program planning; to give financial assistance (approximately $500); and a mailing to members of your organization announcing the "school-in".

Please let me know by return mail or as soon as possible whether or not you will be an endorser and a sponsor. The greater portion of the expenses involved will be used for the transportation of Prince Edward County students, and to give them the evening meal before returning to Prince Edward. We do not plan to keep them overnight. They will eat breakfast at home and will bring a lunch. The first meeting of the sponsorship committee will be held in Washington on January 31. Time and place will be forwarded to you immediately upon your reply.

Yours for the cause of human justice,



Milton A. Reid, President

MAR:jb

February 17, 1961

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Martin:

Thanks so much for your letter of February 13, and for your thoughtfulness in sending me a reprint of your Nation article. It is a clear and forceful statement and couldn't be more timely. Needless to say, we are gratified that Dan Pollitt's study has proved so useful.

Between your whirlwind schedule and my own complications, I despair of the prospect of our seeing one another as often as I should like. But I do hope we will manage it soon.

Meanwhile, all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. ("The Federal Executive...")

P. S. -- To my unpleasant surprise, I can find no record here of our having sent you the final version of our report on "The Federal Executive and Civil Rights." I am enclosing a copy.

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Ebenezer Baptist Church
407 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

~~Murray 8-7263~~

JAckson 2-4395

February 13, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr. Fleming~~ Harold:

Enclosed is a re-print of the article which I wrote over the Christmas holidays. I thought you may be interested in reading it. I was amazed to discover, after careful research, the powerful things that the President can do in the area of civil rights through Executive Orders. I hope that through the necessary pressure and persuasion we will be able to bring many of these possibilities into full realization under the new administration. I tried to bring some of these things out in the article.

Incidently, most of my information concerning Executive Orders came from the study made by Dan Pollit which your secretary was gracious enough to mail to me. Thank you very much for providing me with this valuable material.

Sincerely yours,

Martin

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Km

P.S. I was so happy to read the article in the New York Times concerning you a few days ago. It was an excellent piece and you justly deserved every word of it

Reprinted from

THE NATION

68

FEBRUARY 4, 1961 . . 25c

THE PRESIDENT HAS THE POWER

EQUALITY NOW . . *by Martin Luther King, Jr.*

THE NEW Administration has the opportunity to be the first in one hundred years of American history to adopt a radically new approach to the question of civil rights. It must begin, however, with the firm conviction that the principle is no longer in doubt. The day is past for tolerating vicious and inhuman opposition on a subject which determines the lives of 20,000,000 Americans. We are no longer discussing the wisdom of democracy over monarchism—and we would not permit hoodlum royalists to terrorize the streets of our major cities or the legislative halls of our states. We must decide that in a new era, there must be new thinking. If we fail to make this positive decision, an awakening world will conclude that we have become a fossil nation, morally and politically; and no floods of refrigerators, automobiles or color TV sets will rejuvenate our image.

The second element in a new approach is the recognition by the federal government that it has sufficient power at its disposal to guide us through the changes ahead. The intolerably slow pace of civil rights is due at least as much to the limits which the federal government has imposed on its own actions as it is to the actions of the segregationist opposition.

If we examine the total of all judicial, executive and legislative acts of the past three decades and balance them against the sum needed to achieve fundamental change, two startling conclusions are inescapable. The first is the hopeless inadequacy of measures adopted—pitifully insufficient in scope and limited in conception. The second conclusion is even more disturbing. Federal action has been not only inadequate; viewed as a whole, it has also been self-nullifying. In 1954, the Supreme Court declared school segregation to be unconstitutional. Yet, since then federal executive agencies and vast federal legislative programs have given millions of dollars yearly to educational institutions which continue to violate the Supreme Court decision.

FURTHER, the federal government collects taxes from all citizens, Negro and white, which it is Constitutionally obligated to use for the benefit of all; yet, billions of these tax dollars have gone to support housing programs and hospital and airport construction in which discrimination is an open and notorious practice. Private firms which either totally exclude Negroes from the work force, or place them in discriminatory status, receive billions of dollars annually in government contracts. The federal government permits elections and seats representatives in its legislative chambers in disregard of the fact that millions of Negro citizens have no vote. It directly employs millions in its various agencies and departments; yet its employment practices, especially in Southern states, are rife with discrimination.

These illustrations can be multiplied many times. The shocking fact is that while the government moves sluggishly, and in patchwork fashion, to achieve equal rights for all citizens, in the daily conduct of its own massive economic and social activities it participates directly and indirectly in the denial of these rights. We must face the tragic fact that the federal government is the nation's highest investor in segregation.

Therefore, a primary goal of a well-meaning Administration should be a thorough examination of its own operations and the development of a rigorous program to wipe out immediately every vestige of federal support and sponsorship of discrimination. Such a program would serve not only to attack the problem centrally, where results can be produced, but collaterally to educate and influence the whole American populace, especially in the Deep South of massive resistance. It would also be the first step in the evolution of federal leadership to guide the entire nation to its new democratic goals.

THERE is impressive precedent in recent history for massive govern-

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MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr., civil-rights leader, is president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and was the chief figure in the Montgomery bus boycott. The Rev. Dr. King is the author of Stride Toward Freedom *(Harper) and* The Measure of a Man *(Christian Education Press).*

mental mobilization to create new conditions. As a consequence of economic crisis in the early thirties, the federal government, under the leadership of President Kennedy's party, undertook to change fundamental economic relationships. Every person in the nation was affected. In a bewilderingly brief period, wages were regulated at new levels, unemployment insurance created, relief agencies set up, public works planned and executed. Regulatory legislation covering banking, the stock market and money market was immediately enacted. Laws protecting trade-union organization were brought into being and administrative agencies to interpret and enforce the labor laws were created. Along with this broad assault on the depression went an educational campaign to facilitate the changes in public psychology requisite to the acceptance of such formidable alternatives to old thought patterns. The nation which five years earlier viewed federal intervention on any level as collectivism or socialism, in amazingly swift transition, supported the new role of government as appropriate and justified.

These breathtaking, fundamental changes took place because a leadership emerged that was both determined and bold, that rejected inhibitions imposed by old traditions and habits. It utilized all agencies and organs of government in a massive drive to change a situation which imperiled the very existence of our society.

Viewed in this light, an Administration with good will, sincerely desirous of eliminating discrimination from American life, could accomplish its goal by mobilizing the immense resources of the organs of government and throwing them into every area where the problem appears. There are at least three vital areas in which the President can work to bring about effective solutions.

First, there is the legislative area. The President could take the offensive, despite Southern opposition, by fighting for a really far-reaching legislative program. With resolute Presidential leadership, a majority in both houses could be persuaded to pass meaningful laws. A determined majority-party leadership possesses the means to carry the reluctant along —and to hasten the end of the political careers, or the privileges, of those who prove unyielding. The influence the President can exert upon Congress when, with crusading zeal, he summons support from the nation has been demonstrated more than once in the past.

AN EXAMPLE of an area in which a vigorous President could significantly influence Congress is that of voter registration. The Civil Rights Commission has revealed that "many Negro American citizens find it difficult, and often impossible, to vote." It went on to assert that these voting denials are accomplished through the creation of legal impediments, administrative obstacles and the fear of economic reprisal and physical harm. A truly decisive President would work passionately and unrelentingly to change these shameful conditions. He would take such a creative general proposal as that made by the Civil Rights Commission of 1959 on Federal Registrars to insure the right to vote, and would campaign "on the Hill" and across the nation until Congress acted. He would also have the courage to insist that, in compliance with the Fourteenth Amendment, a state's representation in Congress be reduced in proportion to the number of citizens denied the right to vote because of race [see "Forgotten Remedy for the Voteless Negro," by Thomas I. Emerson and Arthur E. Bonfield, *The Nation,* January 21].

This approach would help us eliminate the defeatist psychology engendered by the alliance of Dixiecrats and Northern reactionaries in Congress. The same alliance, existing in even greater strength, failed in the past to stop legislation that altered patterns just as deeply imbedded in American mores as racial discrimination. It is leadership and determination that counts—and these have been lacking of recent years.

A SECOND area in which the President can make a significant contribution toward the elimination of racial discrimination is that of moral persuasion. The President is the embodiment of the democratic personality of the nation, both domestically and internationally. His own personal conduct influences and educates. If he were to make it known that he would not participate in any activities in which segregation exists, he would set a clear example for Americans everywhere, of every age, on a simple, easily understood level.

The calling of White House conferences of Negro and white leaders could be extremely useful. The President could serve the great purpose of opening the channels of communication between the races. Many white Southerners who, for various reasons, fear to meet with Negro leaders in their own communities would participate unhesitatingly in a biracial conference called by the President.

It is appropriate to note here that, even in the hard core South, a small but growing number of whites are breaking with the old order. These people believe in the morality as well as the Constitutionality of integration. Their still, small voices often go unheard amid the louder shouts of defiance, but they are active in the field. They often face problems of ostracism and isolation as a result of their stand. Their isolation and difficulties would be lessened if they were among the invitees to the White House to participate in a conference on desegregation.

No effort to list the President's opportunities to use the prestige of his office to further civil rights could be adequate; from fireside chats to appearances at major events, the list is endless. All that is needed at the outset is a firm resolve to make the Presidency a weapon for this democratic objective; the opportunities would then arise by themselves.

BUT BEYOND the legislative area and the employment of Presidential prestige, a weapon of overwhelming significance lies in the Executive itself. It is no exaggeration to say that the President could give segregation its death blow through a stroke of the pen. The power inherent in Executive orders has never been exploited; its use in recent years has been microscopic in scope and timid in conception.

Historically, the Executive has promulgated orders of extraordinary range and significance. The Emancipation Proclamation was an Executive order. The integration of the Armed Forces grew out of President

Truman's Executive Order 8891. Executive orders could require the immediate end to all discrimination in any housing accommodations financed with federal aid. Executive orders could prohibit any contractor dealing with any federal agency from practicing discrimination in employment by requiring (a) cancellation of existing contracts, (b) and/or barring violators from bidding, (c) and/or calling in of government loans of federal funds extended to violators, (d) and/or requiring renegotiation of payment to exact financial penalties where violations appear after performance of a contract. With such effective penalties, enforcement of fair employment practices would become self-imposed by those enjoying billions of dollars in contracts with federal agencies.

An Executive order could also bring an immediate end to the discriminatory employment policies of federal agencies and departments. It is no secret that, despite statutes to the contrary, Negroes are almost totally excluded from skilled, clerical and supervisory jobs in the federal government. A recent report of the President's Committee on Government Employment states: "That there is discrimination in federal employment is unquestionably true." A basic reason for this is that there have never been any sanctions imposed for violations of the law. In a real sense, a President can eliminate discrimination in federal employment, just as it was eliminated in the military services, by setting up adequately staffed committees with authority to punish those who violate official government policy from the inside.

We can easily see how an end to discriminatory practices in federal agencies would have tremendous value in changing attitudes and behavior patterns. If, for instance, the law-enforcement personnel in the FBI were integrated, many persons who now defy federal law might come under restraints from which they are presently free. If other law-enforcement agencies under the Treasury Department, such as the Internal Revenue Service, the Bureau of Narcotics, the Alcohol Tax Unit, the Secret Service and Customs had an adequate number of field agents, investigators and administrators who were Negro, there would be a greater respect for Negroes as well as the assurance that prejudicial behavior in these agencies toward citizens would cease.

ANOTHER area in which an Executive order can bring an end to a considerable amount of discrimination is that of health and hospitalization. Under the Hill-Burton Act, the federal government grants funds to the states for the construction of hospitals. Since this program began in 1948, more than $100 million a year has gone to the states in direct aid. The government also makes grants to the states for mental health, maternal and child-care services, and for programs designed to control tuberculosis, cancer and heart disease. In spite of this sizable federal support, it is a known fact that most of the federally financed and approved health and hospitalization programs in the South are operated on a segregated basis. In many instances, the Southern Negroes are denied access to them altogether.

The President could wipe out these shameful conditions almost overnight by simply ordering his Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare not to approve grants to states whose plans authorize segregation or denial of service on the basis of race. This type of sanction would bring even the most recalcitrant Southerners into line.

There is hardly any area in which Executive leadership is needed more than in housing. Here the Negro confronts the most tragic expression of discrimination; he is consigned to ghettos and overcrowded conditions. And here the North is as guilty as the South.

Unfortunately, the federal government has participated directly and indirectly in the perpetuation of housing discrimination. Through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), the Public Housing Administration (PHA), Urban Renewal Administration (URA), and the Veterans Administration Loan Program, the federal government makes possible most of the building programs in the United States. Since its creation in 1934, the FHA alone has insured more than $33 billion in mortgages involving millions of homes. As a result of PHA programs, more than two million people presently live in more than 2,000 low-rent housing projects in forty-four states and the District of Columbia. The URA, which was established in 1954 to help cities eliminate slum and blighted areas, has approved projects in more than 877 localities. The GI Bill of Rights authorizes the Veterans Administration to make loans outright to veterans for the construction of homes. This program has become so extensive that there have been years in which 30 per cent of all new urban dwelling units were built with the help of VA loan guarantees.

WHILE most of these housing programs have anti-discrimination clauses, they have done little to end segregated housing. It is a known fact that FHA continues to finance private developers who openly proclaim that none of their homes will be sold to Negroes. The Urban Renewal program has, in many instances, served to accentuate, even to initiate, segregated neighborhoods. (Since a large percentage of the people to be relocated are Negroes, they are more than likely to be relocated in segregated areas.)

A President seriously concerned about this problem could direct the Housing Administrator to require all participants in federal housing programs to agree to a policy of "open occupancy." Such a policy could be enforced by (a) making it mandatory for all violators to be excluded from future participation in federally financed housing programs and (b) by including a provision in each contract giving the government the right to declare the entire mortgage debt due and payable upon breach of the agreement.

These are merely illustrations of acts possible of multiplication in many other fields.

EXECUTIVE policy could reshape the practices and programs of other agencies and departments whose activities affect the welfare of millions. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare could be directed to coordinate its resources to give special aid in those areas of the country where assistance might change local attitudes. The department could give valuable assistance to local

school boards without any additional legislative enactments.

The Department of Agriculture—which doubtless considers civil-rights issues as remote from its purview—could fruitfully reappraise its present operations with a view to taking certain steps that require no new legislative powers. The department could be of tremendous assistance to Negro farmers who are now denied credit simply because of their desire to exercise their citizenship rights. To wipe out this kind of discrimination would be to transform the lives of hundreds of thousands of Negroes on the land. A department zealous to implement democratic ideals might become a source of security and help to struggling farmers rather than a symbol of hostility and discrimination on the federal level.

A Justice Department that is imbued with a will to create justice has vast potential. The employment of powerful court orders, enforced by sizable numbers of federal marshals, would restrain lawless elements now operating with inexcusable license. It should be remembered that in early American history it was the federal marshal who restored law in frontier communities when local authority broke down.

In the opinion of many authorities Executive power, operating through the Attorney General, opens many hitherto untried avenues for Executive action in the field of school desegregation. There are existing laws under which the Attorney General could go into court and become a force in the current school struggles. Atrophy is not alone a medical phenomenon; it has its counterpart in social and political life. Long years of ignoring this area of law and Executive power have led, indeed, to atrophy; nothing is done, nothing is studied, though new situations arise constantly where existing laws could reasonably be utilized.

SPACE WILL NOT permit a spelling out of all the measures by which every federal body could contribute to the enforcement of civil rights. This is the task of a master plan. Nor is it necessary to detail a legislative program, nor to list still unused powers inherent in the Judiciary. Justices J. Skelley Wright and W. A. Bootle in Louisiana and Georgia respectively have given examples of the ability of a single Federal District Judge to handle the unconstitutional maneuverings of state legislatures.

The purpose of this review is to emphasize that a recognition of the potentials of federal power is a primary necessity if the fight for full racial equality is to be won. With it, however, must go another indispensable factor—the recognition by the government of its moral obligation to solve the problem.

A recent visit to India revealed to me the vast opportunities open to a government determined to end discrimination. When it confronted the problem of centuries-old discrimination against the "untouchables," India began its thinking at a point that we have not yet reached. Probing its moral responsibilities, it concluded that the country must atone for the immense injustices imposed upon the untouchables. It therefore made provision not alone for equality, but for special treatment to enable the victims of discrimination to leap the gap from backwardness to competence. Thus, millions of rupees are set aside each year to provide scholarships, financial grants and special employment opportunities for the untouchables. To the argument that this is a new form of discrimination inflicted upon the majority population, the Indian people respond by saying that this is their way of atoning for the injustices and indignities heaped in the past upon their 70 million untouchable brothers.

Although discrimination has not yet been eliminated in India, the atmosphere there differs sharply from that in our country. In India, it is a crime punishable by imprisonment to practice discrimination against an untouchable. But even without this coercion, so successfully has the government made the issue a matter of moral and ethical responsibility that no government figure or political leader on any level would dare defend discriminatory practices. One could wish that we here in the United States had reached this level of morality.

TO COORDINATE the widespread activities on the civil rights front, the President should appoint a Secretary of Integration. The appointee should be of the highest qualifications, free from partisan political obligations, imbued with the conviction that the government of the most powerful nation on earth cannot lack the capacity to accomplish the rapid and complete solution to the problem of racial equality.

These proposals for federal action do not obviate the necessity for the people themselves to act, of course. An Administration of good faith can be strengthened immeasurably by determined popular action. This is the great value of the non-violent direct-action movement that has engulfed the South. On the one hand, it gives large numbers of people a method of securing moral ends through moral means. On the other hand, it gives support and stimulation to all those agencies which have the power to bring about meaningful change. Thousands of courageous students, sitting peacefully at lunch counters, can do more to arouse the Administration to positive action than all of the verbal and written commentaries on governmental laxity put together.

WHEN our government determines to ally itself with those of its citizens who are crusading for their freedom within our borders, and lends the might of its resources creatively and unhesitatingly to the struggle, the blight of discrimination will begin rapidly to fade.

History has thrust upon the present Administration an indescribably important destiny—to complete a process of democratization which our nation has taken far too long to develop, but which is our most powerful weapon for earning world respect and emulation. How we deal with this crucial problem of racial discrimination will determine our moral health as individuals, our political health as a nation, our prestige as a leader of the free world. I can think of few better words for the guidance of the new Administration than those which concluded the 1946 report of the President's Commission on Civil Rights: "The United States is not so strong, the final triumph of the democratic ideal not so inevitable that we can ignore what the world thinks of us or our record." These words are even more apt today than on the day they were written.

July 20, 1961

Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr.
Methodist Episcopal Hospital
Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Dear Dr. King:

We were deeply sorry to hear of your accident, but I have heard today of your fine recovery. This is cheering news.

Best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/sm

PRV

File
Southern Christian
Leadership Conf.

Report of Nominating Committee
S C L C

September 29, 1961

Officers:

President	Martin Luther King, Jr., Atlanta
First Vice President	C. K. Steele, Tallahassee
Second Vice President	J. E. Lowery, Nashville
Third Vice President	Samuel W. Williams, Atlanta
Fourth Vice President	C. O. Simpkins, Shreveport
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Asst. Secretary	Mrs. Erna Dungee, Montgomery
Financial Secretary-Treasurer	Ralph D. Abernathy, Atlanta
Chaplain	Kelly Miller Smith, Nashville
Historian	L. D. Reddick, Baltimore

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Class of 1964 (eleven)

Ralph D. Abernathy
Atlanta

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Columbia, S. C.

C. K. Steele
Tallahassee, Fla.

Walter L. Hamilton
Norfolk, Va.

Edward T. Graham
Miami, Florida

Aaron E. Henry
Clarksdale, Miss.

S. S. Seay, Sr.
Montgomery, Ala.

C. O. Simpkins
Shreveport, La.

Respectfully submitted

Nelson Smith
D. E. King
A. Alexander
Milton Reid
Erna Dungee
Myrtis Dowdell
J. E. Lowery

(Three additional members to be elected by the Board of Directors
(Constitution - Bylaws Pages 12 and 13)

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
TREASURER'S REPORT

Fiscal Year: September 1, 1960 - August 31, 1961

INCOME			
Home Office			
SCLC Direct Mail Appeal		59,941.40	
Voluntary Gifts & Refunds		6,315.15	
Affiliates		3,875.00	
Annual Convention & Board Meetings		2,914.71	
Church Sponsored Freedom Rallies		59,078.70	
Labor Unions		4,747.38	
Emergency Defense Fund*		12,094.29	
Colleges and Univ rsities		5,836.68	
Special Projects		1,616.10	
Recordings, Books, Etc.		744.50	
Special Gifts-Voter Registration		2,000.00	
TOTAL			159,163.91
New York Office			
Carnegie Hall Benefit (53,110.78 less 30,533.31 expense)		22,777.47	
Fund-Raising Dinner et al		11,586.99	
TOTAL			34,364.46
GRAND TOTAL			193,528.37
EXPENDITURES			
Home Office			
Salaries		33,952.52	
Payroll Taxes		2,011.57	
Travel		18,560.92	
Aid to Affiliates-Voter Registration		8,951.44	
Fund Raising		14,706.28	
Student Movement			
Scholarship Aid	3,688.39		
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee	2,000.00		
Voter Registration Project	1,000.00	6,688.39	
Freedom Ride			
Appeal Bonds	8,545.22		
Legal Defense	6,835.83		
Travel And Aid to Freedom Riders	14,318.46	29,699.51	
Legal Defense and Aid to Libel Suit Victims		9,915.26	
Rent		2,005.00	
Telephone and Telegraph		10,957.09	
Postage and Supplies		8,436.82	
Equipment		1,852.82	
Miscellaneous		894.54	
TOTAL			148,632.16

*SPECIAL FUND FOR DEFENSE AND RESTORATION OF LOSSES -- ALABAMA LIBEL SUITS.

New York Office			
Salaries, Rent et al		3,839.40	
Legal Defense (Libel Cases)		26,974.32	
TOTAL			30,813.72
GRAND TOTAL			179,445.88

BANK BALANCES

Home Office As Of September 1, 1960			
Citizens Trust Bank			
General Fund		14,021.72	
Scholarship Fund		3,000.00	
TOTAL			17,021.72
Home Office as of August 31, 1961			
Citizens Trust Bank			
General Fund	9,620.61		
Scholarship Fund	250.09		
Crusade for Citizenship	994.80		
Emergency Defense Fund	71.24		
TOTAL		10,936.74	
Mutual Federal (Reserve)		15,000.00	
Citizens & Southern Bank		1,116.73	
Western Union		500.00	
TOTAL			27,553.47
New York Office			3,350.74
GRAND TOTAL			30,904.21
INCREASE IN BALANCE			13,882.49

Respectfully Submitted,

Ralph D. Abernathy, Treasurer

October 4, 1961

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Martin:

The enclosed copy was sent by a friend abroad. I thought you might like to have it for your scrapbook.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
Enc.

October 4, 1961

Mr. Wyatt Tee Walker
Executive Director
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Geogia

Dear Wyatt:

It was good of you to take time to write me a personal note on the Nashville meeting. I wish I could have been there. It was Paul Rilling or me and, as usual, he got the trip. I did, however, follow your press coverage and you seemed to have had a most successful conference.

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

SCLC

WYATT TEE WALKER
Atlanta, Georgia

September 18, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie,

Just this personal note to be sure you are aware of our Annual Convention in Nashville, Tennessee, September 27-29. The enclosed flier gives some indication of the kind of program we have arranged. Martin and I certainly hope that it will be convenient for you to attend. We would like very much to have you share with us.

Nonviolently,

Wyatt Tee Walker

wyatt tee walker

wtw:rd

Enclosure

EVERYBODY'S COMING TO NASHVILLE!

ARE YOU?

A FEW CONFERENCE HIGHLIGHTS:

THEME: "THE DEEP SOUTH IN SOCIAL REVOLUTION"

WEDNESDAY

1:00 P. M. BOARD MEETING

8:00 P. M. BENEFIT CONCERT - HARRY BELAFONTE AND HIS FOLK SINGERS

"TRIBUTE TO FREEDOM RIDERS"

THURSDAY

12:00 NOON - KEYNOTE ADDRESS: THE REVEREND JAMES M. LAWSON

2:30 P.M. - JAMES FARMER: "NON VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION"

8:00 P.M. - DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.!!!

FRIDAY

10:30 A.M. WILLIAM KUNSTLER: "LEGAL SIGNIFICANCE OF FREEDOM RIDE TRIALS IN INTERSTATE COMMERCE".

SPECIAL WORKSHOPS

LAWYER'S FORUM AND WORKSHOP
NON VIOLENT PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL REVOLUTION
POWER OF THE BALLOT IN SOCIAL REVOLUTION
ROLE OF ADULTS AND YOUTH IN SOCIAL REVOLUTION
CHANGING RURAL VALUES IN SOCIAL REVOLUTION

AND OTHERS !!!!!

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
208 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,
PRESIDENT
WYATT TEE WALKER,
DIRECTOR

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
407 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 12, GEORGIA

[redacted]

JAckson 2-4395

October 13, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Dr. King asked that I write and thank you for the newspaper clipping which was sent by a friend abroad. We are always happy to have clippings such as this for Dr. King's personal scrapbook. He appreciates your thoughtfulness in sending it to him.

Sincerely yours,

D. McDonald

(Miss) D. McDonald
Secretary

Maggie –
pg 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity

5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JBM

THE REV. JOHN B. MORRIS
Executive Director

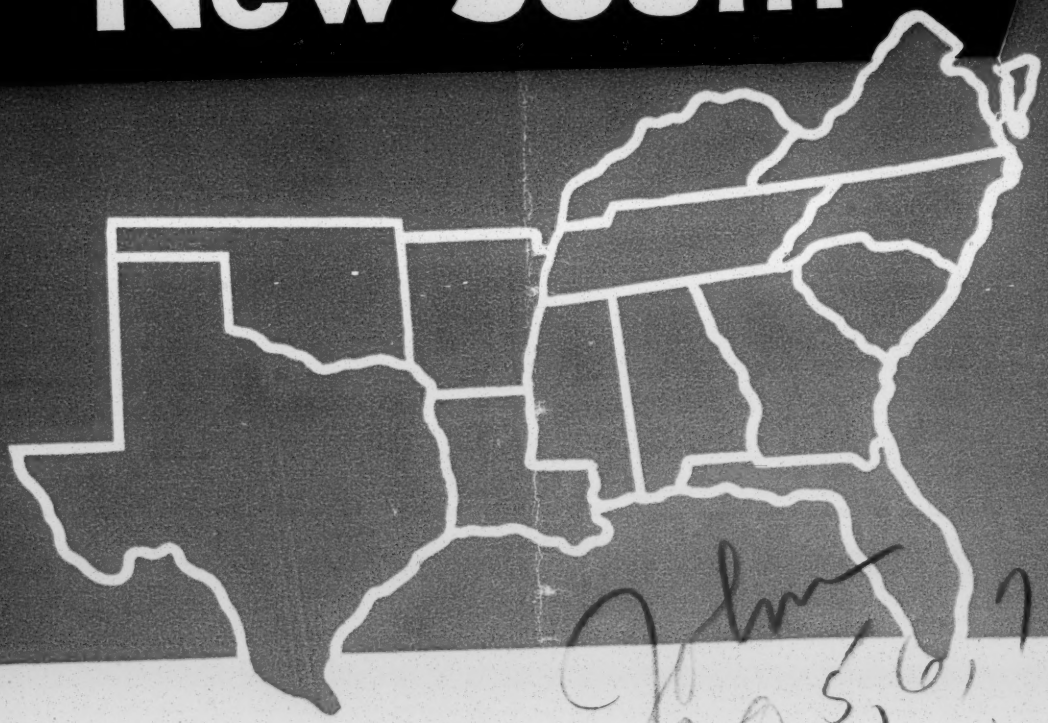
JAckson 5-7975

Let's have lunch!

Behold,
how good and joyful
a thing it is
for brethren
to dwell together
in unity!

File ML King

New South



MARTIN LUTHER KING
on
Love, Law and Civil Disobedience

BENJAMIN MUSE
on
Putnam's Anthropology

pg 5, 6, 7
8, 9, 11

DECEMBER / 1961

Strictly Subjective

By MARGARET LONG

New South

Published by
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
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Volume 16 December 1961 Number 11

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Margaret Long . . . . . Editor

New South is published 11 times a year. Subscription cost is $2 a year. Single copies are 20 cents each, or less in quantity.

WE ALL SHARED in the surge of pride which coursed from Albany, Ga., to the Justice Department in Washington when that rich and pleasant little city weathered demonstrations and arrests of more than 700 Negroes with impeccable policing and no blood in the streets.

Here was the first Negro uprising, an unique one of resolute Negroes of all ages and classes welcoming jail by the hundreds, in the dread deeps of South Georgia. The week-long demonstrations were appeased and halted without mob violence, police brutality or the long-predicted flow of blood in the streets. Indeed, the spacious and sunny streets of Albany, festooned with silver for Christmas business, remained quite unspattered by gore and unlittered with dead bodies. The proud relief of one and all over this happy circumstance moved Robert Kennedy to congratulate the Mayor of Albany and inspired the able young Police Chief Laurie Pritchett to observe that while his roots are deep in the South, he knows that times are changing and he proposes to meet them with law and order.

Only one white drunk raised a hostile fist over kneeling Negroes around the city hall, sang Dixie and was promptly popped into the pokey for exercising this ancient right of a Dixie drunk. One city jail guard hit a Negro prisoner and was immediately fired.

Still, as happy as we all are that Albany refrained from drawing blood, I think perhaps our pride may be excessive. I suggest that the Attorney-General nearly insults South Georgia with his congratulations to the city and disregard of appeals from jailed Negroes of the Albany movement.

I think we can expect better of

(Continued on Page 11)

Love, Law and Civil Disobedience

By Martin Luther King, Jr.

(A transcript of Dr. King's address to the annual meeting of the Fellowship of the Concerned, November 16 in Atlanta.)

MEMBERS of the Fellowship of the Concerned, of the Southern Regional Council, I need not pause to say how very delighted I am to be here today, and to have the opportunity of being a little part of this very significant gathering. I certainly want to express my personal appreciation to Mrs. Tilly and the members of the Committee, for giving me this opportunity. I would also like to express just a personal word of thanks and appreciation for your vital witness in this period of transition which we are facing in our Southland, and in the nation, and I am sure that as a result of this genuine concern, and your significant work in communities all across the South, we have a better South today and I am sure will have a better South tomorrow with your continued endeavor and I do want to express my personal gratitude and appreciation to you of the Fellowship of the Concerned for your significant work and for your forthright witness.

Now, I have been asked to talk about the philosophy behind the student movement. There can be no gainsaying of the fact that we confront a crisis in race relations in the United States. This crisis has been precipitated on the one hand by the determined resistance of reactionary forces in the South to the Supreme Court's decision in 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools. And we know that at times this resistance has risen to ominous proportions. At times we find the legislative halls of the South ringing loud with such words as interposition and nullification. And all of these forces have developed into massive resistance. But we must also say that the crisis has been precipitated on the other hand by the determination of hundreds and thousands and millions of Negro people to achieve freedom and human dignity. If the Negro stayed in his place and accepted discrimination and segregation, there would be no crisis. But the Negro has a new sense of dignity, a new self respect, and new determination. He has re-evaluated his own intrinsic worth. Now this new sense of dignity on the part of the Negro grows out of the same longing for freedom and human dignity on the part of the oppressed people all over the world; for we see it in Africa, we see it in Asia, and we see it all over the world. Now we must say that this struggle for freedom will not come to an automatic halt, for history reveals to us that once oppressed people rise up against that oppression, there is no stopping point short of full freedom. On the other hand, history reveals to us that those who oppose the movement for freedom are those who are in privileged positions who very seldom give up their privileges without strong resistance. And they very seldom do it voluntarily. So the sense of struggle

will continue. The question is how will the struggle be waged.

Now there are three ways that oppressed people have generally dealt with their oppression. One way is the method of acquiescence, the method of surrender; that is, the individuals will somehow adjust themselves to oppression, they adjust themselves to discrimination or to segregation or colonialism or what have you. The other method that has been used in history is that of rising up against the oppressor with corroding hatred and physical violence. Now of course we know about this method in western civilization, because in a sense it has been the hallmark of its grandeur, and the inseparable twin of western materialism. But there is a weakness in this method because it ends up creating many more social problems than it solves. And I am convinced that if the Negro succumbs to the temptation of using violence in his struggle for freedom and justice, unborn generations will be the recipients of a long and desolate night of bitterness. And our chief legacy to the future will be an endless reign of meaningless chaos.

But there is another way, namely the way of non-violent resistance. This method was popularized in our generation by a little man from India, whose name was Mohandas K. Gandhi. He used this method in a magnificent way to free his people from the economic exploitation and the political domination inflicted upon them by a foreign power.

This has been the method used by the student movement in the South and all over the United States. And naturally whenever I talk about the student movement I cannot be totally objective. I have to be somewhat subjective because of my great admiration for what the students have done. For in a real sense they have taken our deep groans and passionate yearnings for freedom, and filtered them in their own tender souls, and fashioned them into a creative protest which is an epic known all over our nation. As a result of their disciplined, non-violent, yet courageous struggle, they have been able to do wonders in the South, and in our nation. But this movement does have an underlying philosophy, it has certain ideas that are attached to it, it has certain philosophical precepts. These are the things that I would like to discuss for the few moments left.

I would say that the first point or the first principle in the movement is the idea that means must be as pure as the end. This movement is based on the philosophy that ends and means must cohere. Now this has been one of the long struggles in history, the whole idea of means and ends. Great philosophers have grappled with it, and sometimes they have emerged with the idea, from Machiavelli on down, that the end justifies the means. There is a great system of thought in our world today, known as Communism. And I think that with all of the weaknesses and tragedies of Communism, we find its greatest tragedy right here, that it goes under the philosophy that the end justifies the means that are used in the process. So we can read or we can hear the Lenins say that lying, deceit, or violence, that many of these things justify the ends of the classless society.

This is where the student movement and the non-violent movement that is taking place in our nation would break with Communism and any other system that would argue that the end justifies the means. For in the long run, we must see that the end represents the means in process and the ideal in the making. In other words, we cannot believe, or we cannot go with the idea

that the end justifies the means because the end is pre-existent in the means. So the idea of non-violent resistance, the philosophy of non-violent resistance, is the philosophy which says that the means must be as pure as the end, that in the long run of history, immoral destructive means cannot bring about moral and constructive ends.

There is another thing about this philosophy, this method of non-violence which is followed by the student movement. It says that those who adhere to or follow this philosophy must follow a consistent principle of non-injury. They must consistently refuse to inflict injury upon another. Sometimes you will read the literature of the student movement and see that, as they are getting ready for the sit-in or stand-in, they will read something like this, "if you are hit do not hit back, if you are cursed do not curse back." This is the whole idea, that the individual who is engaged in a non-violent struggle must never inflict injury upon another. Now this has an external aspect and it has an internal one. From the external point of view it means that the individuals involved must avoid external physical violence. So they don't have guns, they don't retaliate with physical violence. If they are hit in the process, they avoid external physical violence at every point. But it also means that they avoid internal violence of spirit. This is why the love ethic stands so high in the student movement. We have a great deal of talk about love and non-violence in this whole thrust.

Now when the students talk about love, certainly they are not talking about emotional bosh, they are not talking about merely a sentimental outpouring; they're talking something much deeper, and I always have to stop and try to define the meaning of love in this context. The Greek language comes to our aid in trying to deal with this. There are three words in the Greek language for love, one is the word Eros. This is a beautiful type of love, it is an aesthetic love. Plato talks about it a great deal in his dialogue, the yearning of the soul for the realm of the divine. It has come to us to be a sort of romantic love, and so in a sense we have read about it and experienced it. We've read about it in all the beauties of literature. I guess in a sense Edgar Allan Poe was talking about Eros when he talked about his beautiful Annabelle Lee, with the love surrounded by the halo of eternity. In a sense Shakespeare was talking about Eros when he said "Love is not love which alters when alteration finds, or bends with the remover to remove; O, no! it is an ever fixed mark that looks on tempest and is never shaken, it is the star to every wandering bark." (You know, I remember that because I used to quote it to this little lady when we were courting; that's Eros.) The Greek language talks about Philia which was another level of love. It is an intimate affection between personal friends, it is a reciprocal love. On this level you love because you are loved. It is friendship.

Then the Greek language comes out with another word which is called the Agape. Agape is more than romantic love, agape is more than friendship. Agape is understanding, creative, redemptive, good will to all men. It is an overflowing love which seeks nothing in return. Theologians would say that it is the love of God operating in the human heart. So that when one rises to love on this level, he loves men not because he likes them, not because their ways appeal to him, but he loves every man because God loves him. And he rises to the point of loving the person

Nothing here

Re Xty

who does an evil deed while hating the deed that the person does. I think this is what Jesus meant when he said "love your enemies." I'm very happy that he didn't say like your enemies, because it is pretty difficult to like some people. Like is sentimental, and it is pretty difficult to like someone bombing your home; it is pretty difficult to like somebody threatening your children; it is difficult to like congressmen who spend all of their time trying to defeat civil rights. But Jesus says love them, and love is greater than like. Love is understanding, redemptive, creative, good will for all men. And it is this idea, it is this whole ethic of love which is the idea standing at the basis of the student movement.

There is something else: that one seeks to defeat the unjust system, rather than individuals who are caught in that system. And that one goes on believing that somehow this is the important thing, to get rid of the evil system and not the individual who happens to be misguided, who happens to be misled, who was taught wrong. The thing to do is to get rid of the system and thereby create a moral balance within society.

Another thing that stands at the center of this movement is another idea: that suffering can be a most creative and powerful social force. Suffering has certain moral attributes involved, but it can be a powerful and creative social force. Now, it is very interesting at this point to notice that both violence and non-violence agree that suffering can be a very powerful social force. But there is this difference: violence says that suffering can be a powerful social force by inflicting the suffering on somebody else; so this is what we do in war, this is what we do in the whole violent thrust of the violent movement. It believes that you achieve some end by inflicting suffering on another. The non-violent say that suffering becomes a powerful social force when you willingly accept that violence on yourself, so that self-suffering stands at the center of the non-violent movement and the individuals involved are able to suffer in a creative manner, feeling that unearned suffering is redemptive, and that suffering may serve to transform the social situation.

Another thing in this movement is the idea that there is within human nature an amazing potential for goodness. There is within human nature something that can respond to goodness. I know somebody's liable to say that this is an unrealistic movement if it goes on believing that all people are good. Well, I didn't say that. I think the students are realistic enough to believe that there is a strange dichotomy of disturbing dualism within human nature. Many of the great philosophers and thinkers through the ages have seen this. It caused Ovid the Latin poet to say, "I see and approve the better things of life, but the evil things I do." It caused even St. Augustine to say "Lord, make me pure, but not yet." So that that is in human nature. Plato, centuries ago said that the human personality is like a charioteer with two headstrong horses, each wanting to go in different directions, so that within our own individual lives we see this conflict and certainly when we come to the collective life of man, we see a strange badness. But in spite of this there is something in human nature that can respond to goodness. So that man is neither innately good nor is he innately bad; he has potentialities for both. So in this sense, Carlyle was right when he said, that "there are depths in man which go down to the lowest hell, and heights which reach the highest heaven, for are not both

Jesus was a good man. Gandhi was a good man. There are lots of good men!

heaven and hell made out of him, everlasting miracle and mystery that he is?" Man has the capacity to be good, man has the capacity to be evil.

And so the non-violent resister never lets this idea go, that there is something within human nature that can respond to goodness. So that a Jesus of Nazareth or a Mohandas Ghandi, can appeal to human beings and appeal to that element of goodness within them, and a Hitler can appeal to the element of evil within them. But we must never forget that there is something within human nature that can respond to goodness, that man is not totally depraved, to put it in theological terms, the image of God is never totally gone. And so the individuals who believe in this movement and who believe in non-violence and our struggle in the South, somehow believe that even the worst segregationist can become an integrationist. Now sometimes it is hard to believe that this is what this movement says, and it believes it firmly, that there is something within human nature that can be changed, and this stands at the top of the whole philosophy of the student movement and the philosophy of non-violence.

good theos

It says something else. It says that it is as much a moral obligation to refuse to cooperate with evil as it is to cooperate with good. Non-cooperation with evil is as much a moral obligation as the cooperation with good. So that the student movement is willing to stand up courageously on the idea of civil disobedience. Now I think this is the part of the student movement that is probably misunderstood more than anything else. And it is a difficult aspect, because on the one hand the students would say, and I would say, and all the people who believe in civil rights would say, obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 and at the same time, we would disobey certain laws that exist on the statutes of the South today.

This brings in the whole question of how can you be logically consistent when you advocate obeying some laws and disobeying other laws. Well, I think one would have to see the whole meaning of this movement at this point by seeing that the students recognize that there are two types of laws. There are just laws and there are unjust laws. And they would be the first to say obey the just laws, they would be the first to say that men and women have a moral obligation to obey just and right laws. And they would go on to say that we must see that there are unjust laws. Now the question comes into being, what is the difference, and who determines the difference, what is the difference between a just and an unjust law?

Well, a just law is a law that squares with a moral law. It is a law that squares with that which is right, so that any law that uplifts human personality is a just law. Whereas that law which is out of harmony with the moral is a law which does not square with the moral law of the universe. It does not square with the law of God, so for that reason it is unjust and any law that degrades the human personality is an unjust law.

Of course. Trust all Jews agree too

Well, somebody says that that does not mean anything to me; first, I don't believe in these abstract things called moral laws and I'm not too religious, so I don't believe in the law of God; you have to get a little more concrete, and more practical. What do you mean when you say that a law is unjust, and a law is just? Well, I would go on to say in more concrete terms that an unjust law is a code that the majority inflicts on the minority that is not

binding on itself. So that this becomes difference made legal. Another thing that we can say is that an unjust law is a code which the majority inflicts upon the minority, which that minority had no part in enacting or creating, because that minority had no right to vote in many instances, so that the legislative bodies that made these laws were not democratically elected. Who could ever say that the legislative body of Mississippi was democratically elected, or the legislative body of Alabama was democratically elected, or the legislative body even of Georgia has been democratically elected, when there are people in Terrell County and in other counties because of the color of their skin who cannot vote? They confront reprisals and threats and all of that; so that an unjust law is a law that individuals did not have a part in creating or enacting because they were denied the right to vote.

Now the same token of just law would be just the opposite. A just law becomes saneness made legal. It is a code that the majority, who happen to believe in that code, compel the minority, who don't believe in it, to follow, because they are willing to follow it themselves, so it is saneness made legal. Therefore the individuals who stand up on the basis of civil disobedience realize that they are following something that says that there are just laws and there are unjust laws. Now, they are not anarchists. They believe that there are laws which must be followed; they do not seek to defy the law, they do not seek to evade the law. For many individuals who would call themselves segregationists and who would hold on to segregation at any cost seek to defy the law, they seek to evade the law, and their process can lead on into anarchy. They seek in the final analysis to follow a way of uncivil disobedience, not civil disobedience. And I submit that the individual who disobeys the law, whose conscience tells him it is unjust and who is willing to accept the penalty by staying in jail until that law is altered, is expressing at the moment the very highest respect for law.

This is what the students have followed in their movement. Of course there is nothing new about this, they feel that they are in good company and rightly so. We go back and read the Apology and the Crito, and you see Socrates practicing civil disobedience. And to a degree academic freedom is a reality today because Socrates practiced civil disobedience. The early Christians practiced civil disobedience in a superb manner, to a point where they were willing to be thrown to the lions. They were willing to face all kinds of suffering in order to stand up for what they knew was right even though they knew it was against the laws of the Roman Empire.

We could come up to our own day and we see it in many instances. We must never forget that everything that Hitler did in Germany was "legal." It was illegal to aid and comfort a Jew, in the days of Hitler's Germany. But I believe that if I had the same attitude then as I have now I would publicly aid and comfort my Jewish brothers in Germany if Hitler were alive today calling this an illegal process. If I lived in South Africa today in the midst of the white supremacy law in South Africa, I would join Chief Luthuli and others in saying break these unjust laws. And even let us come up to America. Our nation in a sense came into being through a massive act of civil disobedience, for the Boston Tea Party was nothing but a massive act of civil disobedience. Those who stood up against the slave laws, the abolitionists, by

and large practiced civil disobedience. So I think these students are in good company, and they feel that by practicing civil disobedience they are in line with men and women through the ages who have stood up for something that is morally right.

Now there are one or two other things that I want to say about this student movement, moving out of the philosophy of non-violence, something about what it is a revolt against. On the one hand it is a revolt against the negative peace that has encompassed the South for many years. I remember when I was in Montgomery, Ala., one of the white citizens came to me one day and said—and I think he was very sincere about this—that in Montgomery for all of these years we have been such a peaceful community, we have had so much harmony in race relations and then you people have started this movement and boycott, and it has done so much to disturb race relations, and we just don't love the Negro like we used to love them, because you have destroyed the harmony and the peace that we once had in race relations. And I said to him, in the best way I could say and I tried to say it in non-violent terms, we have never had peace in Montgomery, Ala., we have never had peace in the South. We have had a negative peace, which is merely the absence of tension; we've had a negative peace in which the Negro patiently accepted his situation and his plight, but we've never had true peace, we've never had positive peace, and what we're seeking now is to develop this positive peace. For we must come to see that peace is not merely the absence of some negative force, it is the presence of a positive force. True peace is not merely the absence of tension, but it is the presence of justice and brotherhood. I think this is what Jesus meant when he said, I come not to bring peace but a sword. Now Jesus didn't mean he came to start war, to bring a physical sword, and he didn't mean, I come not to bring positive peace. But I think what Jesus was saying in substance was this, that I come not to bring an old negative peace, which makes for stagnant passivity and deadening complacency, I come to bring something different, and whenever I come, a conflict is precipitated, between the old and the new, whenever I come a struggle takes place between justice and injustice, between the forces of light and the forces of darkness. I come not to bring a negative peace, but a positive peace, which is brotherhood, which is justice, which is the Kingdom of God. Utopian without Xp.

And I think this is what we are seeking to do today, and this movement is a revolt against a negative peace and a struggle to bring into being a positive peace, which makes for true brotherhood, true integration, true person-to-person relationships. This movement is also revolt against what is often called tokenism. Here again many people do not understand this, they feel that in this struggle the Negro will be satisfied with tokens of integration, just a few students and a few schools here and there and a few doors open here and there. But this isn't the meaning of the movement and I think that honesty impels me to admit it everywhere I have an opportunity, that the Negro's aim is to bring about complete integration in American life. And he has come to see that token integration is little more than token democracy, which ends up with many new evasive schemes and it ends up with new discrimination, covered up with such niceties of complexity. It is very interesting to discover that the movement has thrived in many communities

Steady references to ethical teachings of Jesus is not presence of X+y — which begins with Crucifixion, resurrection + a church. Then & now. Good ethics here but no Cross!

that had token integration. So this reveals that the movement is based on a principle that integration must become real and complete, not just token integration.

It is also a revolt against what I often call the myth of time. We hear this quite often, that only time can solve this problem. That if we will only be patient, and only pray—which we must do, we must be patient and we must pray—but there are those who say just do these things and wait for time, and time will solve this problem. Well, the people who argue this do not themselves realize that time is neutral, that it can be used constructively or destructively. At points the people of ill will, the segregationists, have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. So individuals in the struggle must come to realize that it is necessary to aid time, that without this kind of aid, time itself will become an ally of the insurgent and primitive forces of social stagnation. Therefore, this movement is a revolt against the myth of time.

There is a final thing that I would like to say to you, this movement is a movement based on faith in the future. It is a movement based on a philosophy, the possibility of the future bringing into being something real and meaningful. It is a movement based on hope. I think this is very important. The students have developed a theme song for their movement, maybe you've heard it. It goes something like this, "we shall overcome, deep in my heart, I do believe, we shall overcome," and then they go on to say another verse, "we are not afraid, we are not afraid today, deep in my heart I do believe, we shall overcome." So it is out of this deep faith in the future that they are able to move out and adjourn the councils of despair, and to bring new light in the dark chambers of pessimism. I can remember the times that we've been together, I remember that night in Montgomery, Ala., when we had stayed up all night, discussing the Freedom Rides, and that morning came to see that it was necessary to go on with the Freedom Rides, that we would not in all good conscience call an end to the Freedom Rides at that point. And I remember the first group got ready to leave, to take a bus for Jackson, Miss., we all joined hands and started singing together. "We shall overcome, we shall overcome." And something within me said, now how is it that these students can sing this, they are going down to Mississippi, they are going to face hostile and jeering mobs, and yet they could sing," We shall overcome." They may even face physical death, and yet they could sing, "We shall overcome." Most of them realized that they would be thrown into jail, and yet they could sing, "We shall overcome, we are not afraid." Then something caused me to see at that moment the real meaning of the movement. That students had faith in the future. That the movement was based on hope, that this movement had something within it that says somehow even though the arc of the moral universe is long, it bends toward justice. And I think this should be a challenge to all others who are struggling to transform the dangling discords of our Southland into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. There is something in this student movement which says to us, that we shall overcome. Before the victory is won some may have to get scarred up, but we shall overcome. Before the victory of brotherhood is achieved, some will maybe face physical death, but we shall overcome. Before the victory is won, some will lose jobs, some will be

called Communists, and reds, merely because they believe in brotherhood, some will be dismissed as dangerous rabblerousers and agitators merely because they're standing up for what is right, but we shall overcome. That is the basis of this movement, and as I like to say, there is something in this universe that justifies Carlyle in saying no lie can live forever. We shall overcome because there is something in this universe which justifies William Cullen Bryant in saying truth crushed to earth shall rise again. We shall overcome because there is something in this universe that justifies James Russell Lowell in saying, truth forever on the scaffold, wrong forever on the throne. Yet that scaffold sways the future, and behind the dim unknown standeth God within the shadows, keeping watch above His own. With this faith in the future, with this determined struggle, we will be able to emerge from the bleak and desolate midnight of man's inhumanity to man, into the bright and glittering daybreak of freedom and justice. Thank you.

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from Page 2)

South Georgia, which is, to be sure, burdened with many deprived and ignorant Negroes and many deprived, ignorant and race-proud whites. But in every community there are ministers preaching that all humans are equal children of God, business men jealous of their prosperity, literally Christian churchwomen, lonely thinkers on the rights of man and plain people pondering the revolution which occupies us.

Albany is the very gem of Southwest Georgia, a city so handsome, prosperous and progressive with industry and military payrolls, surrounding rich farms and retail and wholesale trade, and the rationality and humanity which attends these blessings, that on reflection it seems the city failed rather than triumphed in its lawful and unjust punishment of its gently demanding and self-sacrificing Negroes.

Can we really cherish pride that 737 Negroes, representing what they say is 90 per cent of their people and 43 per cent of Albany's citizenry, were jailed for peaceably, mildly and prayerfully walking their own streets to protest arrest of Freedom Riders testing a "desegregated" railroad waiting room, and refusal of their elected officials to hear them?

Albany has the prettiest and widest streets in South Georgia, maybe in the United States, ample to accommodate a march of Negroes, two by two, or hundreds kneeling or singing before the city hall. Is there not room here for such assembly to remain peaceful, with careful policing? Isn't there room for citizens to walk on such streets without civic and business paralysis? Apparently white bystanders of Albany and from long-dreaded nearby counties—the so-called "violent" element which has intimidated the decent South—apparently these allegedly brutal racists thought there was room. At least they were not moved by the "explosive" spectacles to race rioting.

So, it seems that Albany maintained the peace at needless expense to brave and respectable men, women and children clapped into jail for free assembly, peaceful demonstration and natural demands on arrogant, if law-abiding, white officials.

I think Albany, and its neighboring counties, can do better than the leadership of its cynical newspaper, *The*

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A Virginia View of "Race and Reason"

By Benjamin Muse

SOME OF THE misinformation and scientific error which we have to combat in Virginia and the South I find gathered together in handy form in a book which descended upon us last summer entitled *Race and Reason.* This book is written in a scholarly style; it is redolent with erudition and crowded with impressive allusions. But in substance it is like the exhortation of a Ku Klux Kleagle who has exchanged his bed sheet for an academic cap and gown. If the reader has abundant patience and a strong stomach, it can serve a useful purpose as a compendium of current misinformation on the subject of race.

A casual reader who is new to the subject, or whose reading has been confined to the Citizens Council type of commentary, might guess from the text that the author had devoted a long career to scientific studies related to the races of man. But the author is Mr. Carleton Putnam, a former airlines executive, who retired six years ago and turned first to writing biography — a biography of Theodore Roosevelt. His career as an anthropologist started three years ago, and that more or less by accident.

Mr. Putnam is a Northerner, a "Yankee,' as the cover of his book proclaims—which lends a flavor of generous comradeship and dramatic emphasis to his message. He was seized with a feeling that the segregationists of the South were getting the runaround in the national controversy, and he resolved to bring his superior talents to their rescue. "I could not but believe," he explained in his book, "that so far as it lay within my powers my purpose should be to embolden their anthropologists and relieve their consciences."

It was an article by our own Virginius Dabney and an editorial rebuttal, which appeared in *Life Magazine* in September, 1958, which kindled the flame in Mr. Putnam's bosom. He rallied to the segregationist cause in a letter to *Life,* then a longer one to President Eisenhower and one to Attorney General Rogers. The first two of these letters received only perfunctory acknowledgment and the third was not acknowledged. But copies of the so-called "Putnam letters" were widely circulated and published in the South. A committee in Birmingham, Alabama, raised upwards of $40,000 and had the letter to the President reprinted as advertising in various Northern newspapers. Though the letters and their author were thunderously ignored in the rest of the nation, Carleton Putnam was hailed in the South as a "Daniel come to judgment." He was "overwhelmed," to use his own words, "with courtly expressions of gratitude."

The demand for a more extensive expression of Mr. Putnam's views was obvious; hence *Race and Reason.* The author worked with a celerity which

(Author, journalist, politician and traveler, Mr. Muse is now director of SRC's Southern Leadership Project)

was remarkable. By the following August the book was practically written; on August 3 he addressed a manuscript to various persons, among whom I had the honor of being included, for possible comment. Where lesser men had spent a lifetime in laborious pursuit of anthropological truth, Mr. Putnam in ten months had exhausted the accumulation of pertinent scientific knowledge and found the answers. He came down from the mountain with the final peremptory truth locked in his handsome brief case.

I met the author at a dinner while the book was incubating, and let me say that Mr. Putnam is a gentleman of distinguished presence and impeccable courtesy. He is sincere, I think, in his belief that he has uncovered a transcendental truth that others who have dabbled in anthropology have been unable to grasp. I was surprised, however, when he asked me to recommend some books on the race problem, as he hadn't read much in this field.

In our brief conversation, Mr. Putnam was obsessed with what he calls "equalitarianism." He argued from the unshakable premise that the opponents of segregation are trying to make all men equal.

In a brief correspondence which we had, I wrote to Mr. Putnam:

"I might go farther than you in advocating discrimination, in the sense of selectivity, in education. I submit that your basic error lies in using race as a criterion."

It seems as simple as that. But the "equalitarianism" confusion runs all the way through *Race and Reason,* and its segregationist readers are given a long new word to apply to their opponents. "Equalitarians" are denounced with monotonous redundancy.

I don't know any equalitarians; none of us seeks to make all men equal in personal attainment, or imagines that such a thing would be possible. But, though "equalitarianism" may be a new word to some, the idea which it vaguely suggests is familiar to all of us, and it is one of the major stumbling blocks on the road to interracial understanding. Mr. Putnam's confusion is the confusion of thousands of even well-meaning Southerners. Integration is envisioned as a process of bringing poor, ignorant and uncouth Negroes in to have dinner with educated white people, or into the Country Club. Many a white person is afraid that his expensive restaurant will be invaded by Negro janitors; it never seems to occur to him that white share-croppers never visit his restaurant.

All of us believe in deference to intellect and ability. No one wants to see an unskilled laborer, whether white or colored, accorded the same respect, rewards and privileges as the president of Harvard University, for instance — or the president of Howard University. The monstrous error lies, of course, in judging any individual by his race.

Mr. Putnam is apparently prepared to stand or fall on the proposition that Negroes are inferior in innate ability to whites, but he has gathered together in *Race and Reason* a few odds and ends not directly related to his anthropological thesis. He doesn't raise this unpleasant subject himself, but when a correspondent asks the question, he says: "The Communists have made the integration movement a part of their conspiracy."

We have heard that smear *ad nauseum,* and we have found that those who throw it around are rarely capable of rational cogitation. But one comment occurs to me in passing. The Communists *do* pose as enemies of race discrimination, and, by the apparent rule-of-thumb, we should be against

anything the Communists are for and for anything the Communists are against. Now I read that the Communists are taking measures against alcoholism and that they are sternly in favor of sexual morality. It seems obvious that those who are completely hostile to Communism should go on an alcoholic binge. And, if sexual morality is a part of the Communist conspiracy, where does that leave the red-blooded superpatriot?

Another one of the simple-minded people who provided Mr. Putnam with questions asked:

"It makes my blood boil every time I see a Southerner bully, humiliate or exploit a Negro. How can anyone take sides with such people?"

The thought doesn't make Mr. Putnam's blood boil. His answer:

"Two wrongs don't make a right. The fact that it is wrong to bully, humiliate or exploit a Negro does not make it right to integrate him. . . ."

It is obvious that the white man who bullies a Negro is not on the point of integrating him, and we are left with the essential answer: "Two wrongs don't make a right."

That would not be the Ku Klux Klan answer; it is a cut above that. The Klansman views bullying Negroes as a wholly righteous exercise and, if the Negro doesn't resist, he sees no wrong on either side. The two-wrongs comment is an apt illustration of the attitude of the more decorous Citizens Councils and of a shockingly large element of the white public. It is evidenced in the common practice of arresting Negro victims and allowing white bullies to go free. After interracial violence, however orderly and passive and irreproachable the behavior of the Negro victims may have been in the face of white aggression, we hear the unctuous comment: "There are two sides to the question." — or: "Both sides were at fault."

When a white man bullies a Negro, it is not one wrong but two. The Negro is also wrong. He is wrong just by being a Negro, and, when he is unhappy with segregation his sin is compounded.

Mr. Putnam probably didn't mean to be as blunt as that. A strain of lofty benevolence runs through most of his book. Following a familiar practice of racist propagandists, he calls great and good men to the witness stand however remote in time or place their range of vision may have been from the situation to which his argument is addressed. The author quotes voluminously from Lincoln's reflections on the situation which he observed over a century ago, and to be perfectly fair he quotes also from Lincoln's debating contemporary, Stephen A. Douglas; he cites the comment of Lord Bryce on conditions existing in 1880; he brings in observations of the saintly Albert Schweitzer on the savages of Lambaréné as if that great humanitarian were talking about the Negro American; he even invokes the noble eloquence of William Ewart Gladstone. The English statesman made no reference whatever to the subject of race, but it was nice to have him associated with Mr. Putnam and his book.

At the same time other famous names are withered with the Putnam frown. Arnold Toynbee is demolished with a wisecrack. Franz Boas is browbeaten without mercy; the world had a high opinion of Boas as an authority on the races of man, but the retired airlines executive met him in his own field and laid him low.

The thesis which Mr. Putnam pursues with such devastating vigor is the notion, once widely held among schol-

ars; that the Negro is limited by his racial origin and is innately inferior to the white man. That notion is still widely held, admittedly or subconsciously, by an enormous element of the white public. It is the very essence of race prejudice in so far as race prejudice has a rational basis. In recent years that theory has been blasted in many quarters by the sheer demonstration of Negro capability, and I think in not many more years the weight of such evidence against the theory of Negro inferiority will be overwhelming. As educational and employment opportunities are opened to him, the Negro American is rushing forward in intellectual, cultural and economic achievement.

In the entire 19th Century fewer than 2,500 Negroes graduated from college in the United States. In 1930, 27,141 Negro Americans were in college, and in 1956, 196,000. With increasing integration, accurate estimates are no longer available but the number must now have gone over 200,000. The image of the Negro American is changing all the time and it will change mightily with each new class of Negro college graduates which enters the stream of our national life.

Scientists have long since repudiated the theory of innate inferiority. Dr. Oscar Handlin, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian and Harvard professor, who traced the rise and collapse of the racist theory in his *Race and Nationality in American Life,* said: "By 1940 it was difficult to find a serious, reputable exponent of the racist views once so widely held."

That, of course, was written in 1957, before Mr. Putnam turned his attention to anthropology. Other reputable exponents seem to have come forward. Dr. Wesley Critz George, a retired professor of zoology, anatomy, etc. at the University of North Carolina, 73 years of age, spent last summer in a study of "what science has revealed with regard to racial differences," and will shortly publish his report. What science revealed to Dr. George has not been publicly stated, but, as he was paid $3,000 for the undertaking from the emergency fund of Governor John Patterson of Alabama, there is little doubt as to the kind of revelations which were ordered.

Mr. Putnam recommended a reading of an article by Dr. Frank C. J. McGurk, which appeared in *United States News and World Report* in 1956. But he neglected to recommend the reading of a public statement from eighteen of the nation's leading anthropologists and psychologists which followed the McGurk article. In the latter statement it was noted that the American Anthropological Association and the division of the American Psychological Association concerned with social issues, among others, had placed themselves on record as opposed to the conclusion that race was a determiner of innate psychological characteristics. Then these 18 scientists from the nation's leading universities stated flatly that "any decision to use differences in the average achievement of the two racial groups as a basis for classifying in advance any individual child, Negro or white, is scientifically unjustified."

Mr. Putnam states that Southerners "talk of states' rights when they should be talking anthropology." Perhaps he is right. Ten days ago the anthropologists of the United States issued a resounding statement. It is pertinent to note that this was not the expression of a few eccentrics, of a "leftist" faction, or any faction. The resolution was adopted by the American Anthropolog-

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New South

Strictly Subjective

(Continued from Page 11)

Herald, its arrogant mayor and city commission and its lawfully unimpeachable police chief suggests.

Surely when the "truce" is over, these people will see, talk to, understand and deal with the just demands of Negroes in a more civilized, South Georgia and American manner.

A Virginia View

(Continued from Page 15)

ical Association by a vote of 192 to 0, and it read:

"The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States.

"The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

Bearing witness to the truth is basic to all that we do in the movement for equality of all Southerners and Americans. All that we do to eliminate discrimination in its practical manifestations is an expression of the truth, a reconciliation of the American ideal with truth, in the matter of race. And just as widespread error has clouded the controversy and produced a degree of intellectual debasement in many quarters, it is the truth which ultimately will make us free.

file

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 4-1378

January 24, 1962

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

This is just a note to thank you for such an enjoyable evening on Saturday. The fellowship was rich indeed, and the discussion was most stimulating. Be sure to tell Dan Pollitt that we were not offended in the least by his role of devil's advocate. We enjoyed the prodding.

I will look forward to hearing from you on developments on the Voter Registration situation.

Please give our best regards to your charming wife.

Sincerely yours,

Martin

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Km

41 Exchange Pl., S. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.
Telephone 524-1378

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

L.D.
WB -
what's this?
I don't know - I received one too
file

April 20, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

You are cordially invited to attend the SCLC quarterly Voter Registration Staff meeting, May 9 and 10, 1962, Waluhaje Apartments, (Bamboo Room). The meetings will begin promptly at 9:30 A. M.

Sincerely,

Barbara Reeves

(Mrs.) Barbara Reeves
Secretary, Voter Registration

BR/jt

August 2, 1962

Mr. Wyatt T. Walker
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wyatt:

Dr. Frank Graham was in the office today and left with me the enclosed check which he asked me to forward to you.

I am sure you will remember Dr. Frank as the noted former president of the University of North Carolina, U. S. Senator from 1949-51, now a member of the staff of the United Nations. His address, in case you would like to acknowledge this, is The United Nations, New York, New York.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check; $50.00)

August 22, 1962

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Martin:

I understand that you have received a speaking invitation from the student chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. I know that you are overwhelmed by requests and cannot possibly accept many of them, but I do wish to recommend this one to you if you can possibly make it.

About two years ago some students at the University of Virginia formed the first and still the only student chapter of a human relations council anywhere in the South. After a year or more hard fighting they received a charter from the University and are now an officially recognized campus group. I met with them once and they are a fine group of young people. I am sure that if you could accept this invitation they would bring out a large crowd and I think it would be tremendously good for the University of Virginia to have you as a speaker on its campus.

Martin, I have deeply admired the way you have carried on the Albany leadership. I don't know what tangible gains may be won in the immediate future but whether they are great or small they will not affect the quality of the challenge which you, Ralph, and others have put forward there.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

LWD:bp

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

CORCORAN DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
553 CABELL HALL

Fairhope, Alabama
August 20, 1962

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

I have just received the letter that Sam Garrison, president of our student chapter of the VCHR, has written to Martin King, inviting him to speak at the University in December. I am sending it to Dr. King in this mail, along with a letter from me.

I want to take you up on your offer to put in a good word for us. We'll be ever so grateful if you will give him a ring or drop him a note, urging him to accept our invitation.

I've brought my family down here to my parents' home on Mobile Bay for a week of sunshine and sailing and I haven't brought your full address along with me, but I expect this will get to you.

Many thanks for your help; and best regards, as always,

Sincerely,

Paul

Paul M. Gaston

JPR
JB

One filed in Research

November 1, 1962

MEMO

TO:

John Feild, Director, President's Committee on Equal Employment
Hunts Food Industries, Blue Plate Division
Lyndon B. Johnson, Vice-President of the United States
National Human Relations Agencies

FROM: SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

I. MEMO HISTORY

On October 29th, fifteen employees of Hunts Food Industries, Blue Plate Division, Atlanta, Georgia, met with Wyatt Tee Walker, executive assistant to Dr. King. This meeting was arranged following the lodging of several complaints via telephone that had been prompted by a similar action instituted by this office against Kraft Foods and reported in the public press. It has been established that Hunts Food Industries holds government contracts. The following catalogue of complaints evidences violation of the non-discrimination clauses.

II. SPECIFIC COMPLAINTS

1. Separate facilities exists for Negro personnel for the following and is most instances are so marked, "White" and "Colored".

   a. Rest rooms
   b. Dining room
   c. Time clocks

2. Job advancement for non-white workers beyond the maxium wage scale of the "General Labor Group" (the not-so-subtle grouping of all Negro personnel) is virtually impossible.

   a. Application for job advancement into "Maintenance" and "Operating" labor groups (white personnel only) which embrace the higher paying jobs, have been flatly denied. Application forms cannot even be secured.

   b. Job sections that become vacant outside

the "General Labor" group are posted only on the "white" Dining Room bulletin board.

c. Job classification for non-white personnel is so restrictive that im many instances a Negro can work for as long as five years and still be receiving the maximum pay for one year's tenure. Meanwhile, employees of considerably less tenure move up the wage scale at an accelerated pace after one year because so many more variegated job classifications are available.

3. Job descriptions are vague or meaningless.

a. In one instance a worker whose job category is obstenbily a "stacker", also serves as a part-time janitor.

b. A woman whose job description is "maid" keeps records of absenteeism, fills in all records of physical exams, issues uniforms and administers first-aid in addition to making coffee, sterilizing equipment and keeping the dining rooms clean.

c. Glaring discrepancies exist as far as job assignment. Though a Negro is automatically included as a member of the "General Labor" group, his records may be carried in "Maintenance" or "Operating". Through his immediate supervisor of department heads, his time is authenticated and the O.K. for payment of wages is made. This is aimed obviously at convincing the California headquaters that racial discrimination is at an end while actually, it is as entrenched as ever.

4. Almost any device is used to degrade the non-white worker.

a. Explicit instructions have been given to Negro personnel that they <u>must not</u> use water fountain in Production Department.

b. When coffee is served, white workers draw coffee directly from urn while Negro workers must accept their coffee from a pitcher that is drawn previously from the urn.

c. Soft drink machines, pastry venders and the public telephone are in the "white" dining room ONLY! If Negro workers are not to enter, they are then deprived of 'break' privileges.

III. SUMMARY

There are 30 Negro and 88 white workers at Blue Plate. In all fairness, it must be said that this seems to be in balance, numerically. Generally, the wages are good for the jobs describes and an acceptable union contract is presently in force (AFL-CIO). However, there is a great evidence here of gross injustice in job discrimination that directly affects the total life of the non-white worker at Hunts Food Industries, Blue Plate Division.

334 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
TELEPHONE 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Director*

November 7, 1962

PR-
SB
MA-file

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Dr. King asked me to send you the enclosed copy of a letter which we have just sent to Mr. Garrison.

Cordially yours,

D McDonald

(Miss) D. McDonald
Secretary

November 7, 1962

Mr. Sam Garrison, President
Virginia Council on Human Relations
Box 62
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Dear Mr. Garrison:

I have just had an opportunity to discuss with Dr. King your recent telephone conversation. After checking his cal endar, Dr. King finds that it may be possible for him to speak for you on March 25 or March 26, 1963. Please let us know which one of these dates is satisfactory to you.

If I can be of further service to you in any way, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) D. McDonald
Secretary

PR MS

Special Message From Mr. Jackie Robinson
Executive Vice-President, Chock Full-O Nuts
National Chairman, SCLC Church Rebuilding
Fund, Received via Wire February 2, 1963

Dear Friends:

Today is an historic occasion. I am personally grateful that I have had the privilege to participate in some useful way. My chief regret is that I am unable to be with you and that there is not more to show for my efforts. You people assembled here today are the "salt of the earth" and are the major investors in the American experiment of democracy. Many of us will someday be the chief benefactors because of your faith, determination and patience.

What we do here today is significant because it serves notice on the forces that oppose us in our quest for full citizenship, that nothing can stop us, church burnings or anything else. We were born to be free and free we shall be.

I wish to say publicly that no venture in my life, not even breaking the color barrier in the major leagues, has given me the sense of fulfillment and satisfaction that has come serving as SCLC's Fund Chairman for rebuilding these churches' I shall be eternally grateful to the many friends across the nation who have made their concern known tangibly and especially the newspapers in many of our cities who have given such great support. This has been a team job, not yet fully accomplished. I pledge to you my re-commitment today to see this project through to its completion.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely
JACKIE ROBINSON

GROUND-BREAKING SERVICES

Shady Grove Baptist Church
Lee County, Georgia
J. D. Ousley, Minister

Mount Olive Baptist Church
Sasser, Terrell County, Georgia
F. S. Swaggott, Minister

Mount Mary Baptist Church
Sasser, Terrell County
William Boyd, Minister

February 3, 1963
4:00 P. M., 5:00 P. M., 5:30 P. M.

(Services will be identical at each church site commencing at Shady Grove, thence to Mount Olive and concluding at Mount Mary.)

PRESIDING	Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, Exec. Ass't. to Dr. King		
INVOCATION	Rev. Benjamin Gay Bethel A. M. E.	A	(Shady Grove)
	Rev. E. James Grant Mt. Zion Baptist	B	(Mount Olive)
	Rev. Samuel Welles Putney Baptist	C	(Mount Mary)
CONGREGATIONAL HYMN	"Jacob's Ladder"		
SCRIPTURE LESSON	Mrs. Vincent Harding Mennonite Central Committee	122 & 124th Psalms	(A)
	Rev. Ed. Driskill Georgia Council of Churches	125 & 127th "	(B)
	Rev. Oliver Holmes Georgia Council on Human Relations	130 & 133rd "	(C)
STATEMENT:			
	Dr. Martin L. King	SCLC	(A)
	SNCC Representative		(B)
	Dr. W. G. Anderson	Albany Movement	(C)
RESPONSE	Rev. J. D. Ousley, Minister		(A)
	Rev. F. S. Swaggott		(B)
	Rev. William Boyd, Minister		(C)
GROUND-BREAKING	(Led by Ministers)		

"We Shall Overcome"

BENEDICTION

Mr. Jackie Robinson is hospitalized in Mount Vernon, New York and will not be able to attend,

"JACOB'S LADDER"

Chorus: We are climbing Jacob's ladder,
We are climbing Jacob's ladder,
We are climbing Jacob's ladder,
Soldier of the Cross.

1. E'vry round goes higher, higher, etc.

2. Do you think I'd make a soldier, etc,

3. Sinner, do you love my Jesus? etc.

4. If you love him, why not serve Him? etc.

(Repeat chorus, softly)

"WE SHALL OVERCOME!" *

Chorus: We shall overcome,
We shall overcome,
We shall overcome, someday
(O-O-Oh)
Deep in my heart(I know that)
I do believe,
We shall overcome someday.

1. The Lord will see us through etc.

2. We'll walk hand in hand etc.

3. We are not afraid etc.

(Repeat chorus)

* The Benediction will be pronounced as worshippers join hands and hum hymn tune softly after final chorus has been sung.

NOTE: The pastors and congregations extend their sincere thanks and appreciation to all who have made this a reality.

CONFIDENTIAL

January 5, 1964

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Martin:

As you know, there has been a vacancy on the U. S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit for about nine months, since the death of Judge Cameron of Mississippi. A second vacancy has recently been created by the retirement of Judge Hutcheson of Texas. To these existing vacancies, four more are in prospect, because the Judicial Conference has recommended four additional judgeships for the Fifth. I need not remind you how crucial these appointments will be.

I am enclosing some documents which show action SRC has been taking. It would be most helpful, I think, if you could find an early opportunity to say, even more emphatically than does John Wheeler in his letter to the President, that no segregationist should be appointed or promoted to any vacancy. With a probable six places to fill, I think the pressure on President Johnson to give one to a designee of Senator Eastland and Stennis will increase, and should be strongly counteracted.

All good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:slw
Enclosures - 4.
cc: John H. Wheeler
bcc: Wiley Branton + Frank Smith

April 22, 1964

MEMORANDUM

TO: DR. KING

FROM: HARRY BOYTE

SUBJECT: PROPOSED REVIEW OF ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND BUDGET CONTROL

In this memorandum, I am submitting specific recommendations which I believe will enable us to move constructively toward correcting a number of problems about which you have recently expressed deep concern.

This seems to be an especially appropriate time to undertake the proposed review; we face the necessity of establishing new methods of handling incoming mail with the installing of a new and enlarged telephone service, and also in view of the changes which will occur following Mr. Walker's departure.

Currently, we are experiencing increasing difficulty in keeping abreast of the work now being channeled through the Finance Office.

DEPARTMENTAL FUNCTIONS

1. I recommend that a thorough and intensive examination of every phase of our activities be undertaken in depth, with recommendations forthcoming from such a study to be submitted to the President.

2. Following this survey, which would include job descriptions for all staff personnel, an organizational chart should be prepared and submitted to the President for his disposition.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

FISCAL CONTROL

1. A detailed, approved budget with rigid control should be maintained for each department. This budget should be proposed and prepared by each department head and submitted through channels established by the President for final determination. After the budget is approved, I recommend that a policy be established which will prevent excess expenditures unless some emergent event occurs and prior approval is obtained by procedures determined by the President.

2. A monthly budget control report to be prepared by the Finance office for each department. Such a report would provide a detailed breakdown of expenditures for each department, relating such expenditures to the budget approved for the month. The monthly report would also include the cumulative expenditures for the year compared with the cumulative budget for the same period, and the balance budgeted for the remainder of the year.

3. A monthly budget control report consolidated for all departments, with the consolidated information containing the same cumulative information as outlined Paragraph 2 for each department.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO XERO

4. I consider it essential for the opening of Appeal letters and the receipt of contributions to be separated from the Finance office where funds are disbursed. Recommendations designed to accomplish this should be developed following the overall survey.

GENERAL SUMMARY

I think it should be recognized that the SCLC is blazing a new trail in administrative experience. An entirely new approach must be followed in administering such an organization, with flexibility needed to meet shifting needs and emergent and unanticipated events; yet it is essential that control be exercised in numerous areas, such as meticulous attention to the expenditure of funds.

In my opinion, such a proposed study would reveal ways in which we possibly could reduce staff needs somewhat, and save funds in some other areas.

To carry out such a study, it will be essential that each staff member understand that it is being undertaken at the specific request of the President, and that it has his intense personal interest. Time of the various staff members will be required for the necessary interviews in determining the various job functions and responsibilities.

Although I feel that I am qualified by training and experience to undertake such an assignment, I recognize that you may choose to have some one else carry this out. I assure you that whatever your decision may be, I will be happy to cooperate in any manner you designate.

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

consultant on accounting

I have discussed at length the planned budget control and reports which I have in mind with Mr. Francis Covington and he has advised me that he is in complete accord with the recommendations I have tentatively drawn up for the Finance office and for the monthly reports.

---

334 AUBURN AVE., N. E.
ATLANTA, GA. 30303
TELEPHONE 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Harry Boyte
Special Assistant to the President

April 27, 1964

SCLC file

Dear Les:

Attached you will find a copy of our new Personnel Policies Manual, which I worked up and which has been adopted, and also a copy of a memorandum to Dr. King which is self-explanatory.

In view of the misunderstandings which sometimes occur through lack of information, I thought these ducuments would be of interest to you. Please keep these confidential for your own personal information.

I miss the opportunity of seeing you more often and obtaining your view of events.

Best regards,

Harry

Harry Boyte

also enclosed is our new Alabama "Handbook" which is being distributed there beginning this week — H.

File: Southern Christian Leadership Conf.

May 8, 1964

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

File in Research Dept.

Dear Martin:

Thank you so much for your letter of May 1, enclosing a copy of The SCLC Story. It is a beautifully done publication, and Mr. Clayton should be complimented.

But in presenting the SCLC story, he had a rich subject to work with!

I have the feeling that the story is, however, only in its early chapters. We have the tense months of 1964 ahead of us, and after that the immense needs and challenges of the next decades.

As your Alabama campaign and other events move along, I do hope that you will be mindful of yourself and your health. We cannot spare you.

All here at the Council join me in sending best wishes to you and your co-workers.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 524-1378

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Wyatt Tee Walker, *Executive Assistant*

May 1, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

Enclosed you will find a copy of a recent journal which seeks to give a brief sketch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference in pictures and words. In addition to a statement on the history of SCLC, this booklet gives an account of our work in voter registration, citizenship education, direct action etc. It was prepared by our director of public relations, Ed Clayton. I wanted you to have a complimentary copy.

Sincerely yours,

Martin

Martin Luther King, Jr.

K/g

Enclosure

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

637P EST JUN 26 64 AH478

A LLM204 PD ATLANTA GA 26 604P EST

VERNON JORDAN, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH ST ATLA

HOPE THAT YOU HAVE BEEN KEPT AWARE THAT BURNED CHURCHES WILL BE DEDICATED ON SUNDAY JUNE 28TH 330 PM AT MOUNT OLIVER CHURCH IN SASSER GEORGIA PLEASE ADVISE SCLC OF OFFICIAL REPRESENTATIVE ATTENDING. SINCERELY

WYATT T WALKER CO ORDINATOR

(17).

LWD

File: Southern Christian Leadership Conf.

file: SCLC: Southern Christian Leadership Conf.

Martin Luther King, Jr.
332 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA, GA.

July, 1964

Dear Friend:

Each year as Negroes pursue their goal of first class citizenship, new barbarities are devised to block their efforts with raw terror. The bombings and electric cattle prods of last year are still widely employed, but in St. Augustine, pistols spraying acid have been added, while in Mississippi, violence and lawless attempts at intimidation have reached new levels of depravity.

It takes heroism to endure and persist against such terrifying odds. Yet brave Negro and White allies are not faltering. They gain some of their strength from the knowledge that they are revealing to America the reality of segregation and discrimination; they are showing why the Negro must move forward to change - why America must move forward to change.

They also know that in the past year approximately one-half million Negroes were registered to vote. The savagery of the Southern segregationist is his desperate answer to the effective drive of Negroes to gain their rightful citizenship.

Our organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, out of experience gained in Birmingham is currently directing the struggle in St. Augustine; is a participant in Mississippi and is about to embark on widespread action in Alabama to test the Civil Rights Law.

At the same time, we are occupied seven days a week carrying on vitally important activities not reflected in headlines. Our salaried staff people are in over twenty Southern cities. We service hundreds of communities from Atlanta. We conduct hundreds of permanently established citizenship training classes to remedy the faulty education Negroes have received and provide literacy education for the wholly uneducated - penetrating the deepest backwaters of the South with a type of Negro self-help unique in our movement.

The heroic people doing this work are committing their lives. We ask you to be a part of this moral crusade by expressing your deeply felt sympathy in the most meaningful way possible - help towards insuring the continuation and enlargement of all the projects to dimensions which will blunt and nullify all forms of terror.

You can invest in a democratic America by contributing to this vital work. In so doing you are aiding a struggling people and a democratic ideal. You will aid one part of the population and yet all of the nation.

With warmest good wishes,

Martin Luther King Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Please make your check payable to SCLC.

150

October 21, 1964

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
330 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Martin:

From Montgomery to Oslo is a long way, and the miracle you have brought about is that you made the journey so rapidly.

We are all so awkward and reserved in the way that we speak to each other, and so sometimes it happens that strangers from abroad have to say what your friends don't say or don't know how to say. You so graciously insisted that the Nobel Peace Prize came to you only because you represented many other good people and an idea of goodness. This is, of course, true, but the people and the idea would have been lost and stumbling without you.

All good wishes, and I am sure that all members of the Southern Regional Council and all of its staff join me in sending you heartfelt

thanks for the leadership you have given our minds and spirits, and our country.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Bc: John Wheeler
Ray Wheeler

October 21, 1964

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr.
563 Johnson Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Coretta:

Just a note to say to you how proud we are of Martin -- and of you for what you have added to him.

Peggy joins me in sending our congratulations, and all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Bc: John Wheeler
Ray "

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

Recd 11/6/64

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

November 4, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Les:

May I express my deep and sincere gratitude to you for your very warm message on the announcement of my being chosen as the recipient of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize. Your encouraging words and your genuine expressions of confidence give me new determination to carry on the struggle to make the brotherhood of man a reality. Certainly I was moved, honored and gratified to learn of my being chosen for such a significant honor. But as I said on receiving word of the Nobel Peace Prize, I cannot accept this as an honor to me personally; it is rather a tribute to the discipline, dignity, courage and calm reasonableness with which Negro and white persons of good will have struggled to establish a reign of justice and a rule of love across this nation of ours. In short, the Nobel Peace Prize of 1964 is an award to the whole civil rights movement and its dedicated leaders. It is for this reason that I have decided to give every dollar accompanying the award to the civil rights movement.

This award should inspire all of us to work a little harder and with more determination to make the American Dream a reality. It should also challenge us to work passionately and unrelentingly to discover the international implications of nonviolence; for in a real sense, there can be no justice without peace and there can be no peace without justice. If mankind is survive, we must come to see that war is obsolete and must be cast into unending limbo.

Thank you again for your kind expressions. May God continue to bless you and yours as we work for a better distribution of wealth, for a warless world and for a brotherhood that transcends race or color.

Yours for the cause of peace and brotherhood,

Martin Luther King Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Kg

You are cordially invited

to attend a dinner honoring the

1964 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNER

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

AN ATLANTA CITIZEN

on

Wednesday, January 27, 1965

Seven o'clock in the evening

at the

DINKLER PLAZA HOTEL • ATLANTA, GEORGIA

(Please see inside)

R.S.V.P.

Send check to:
Nobel Peace Prize Dinner
1009 First Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia
Tickets: $6.50 each

In order to assure your attendance, an early reservation is requested. Reservations are limited to 1,000 and will be filled in the order in which they are received.

SPONSORS

Harry C. Adley
Cecil Alexander
Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr.
Dr. Wallace M. Alston
Dr. Sanford Atwood
Dr. Paul Beall
H. I. Bearden
J. B. Blayton, Sr.
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Dr. James P. Brawley
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Dr. Frank Cunningham
Rev. E. H. Dorsey
Rev. Edward A. Driscoll
Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Mrs. Mary Kate Duskin
C. O. Emmerich
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Bishop E. L. Hickman
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(continued over)

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Senator Horace T. Ward
Dr. Clinton Warner
Milton N. Weinstein
Rev. Allison Williams
Q. V. Williamson
Charles Wittenstein
Clayton R. Yates
John Yungblut

file

April 30, 1965

Dr. Martin L. King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership
Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Martin:

I am pleased to submit to you a copy of our audit for 1964; also a copy of my annual report for the same year. You will find pertinent information on the Voter Education Project throughout the audit, but particularly in Schedules 3 and 4; VEP is discussed in the early pages of my program report.

We are at the point of concluding a contract with one of the leading publishers to bring out the book planned for under VEP, dealing with Negro voting and its growth during these last few years.

I know that I speak for all the officers and members of the Council in saying that VEP has been, in our estimation, a fine success and that much of this success is owed to SCLC.

I am sure that you know that Wiley has been appointed Executive Secretary to the President's Council on Equal Opportunity. We

have all had great service from him as director of the Voter Education Project, and it is good to know that a man of his ability and strength will be in this new and key job.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/js
Enclosures - 2.

SEA FOAM BOND

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

J Smith

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

November 12, 1965

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Will you please send me three (3) copies of your booklet, "The Migrant Farmer," published in September of this year.

The information contained in it will be invaulable in research I am at present engaged in. I am requesting three copies so that I will have one for my dept. head, and his staff director.

My thanks in advance for your prompt attention in handling my request. If I can be of assistance to you at any time, please don't hesitate in calling upon me. I am,

Yours sincerely,

Leonard R. Mitchell

(Rev.) Leonard R. Mitchell
Department of Economic Affairs

February 25, 1966

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
President
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
330 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

As you can see from the enclosed complimentary copy, NEW SOUTH has recently changed format and focus, hoping to capture a broader base of Southern thought and opinion. The piece on page 27 by Vincent Harding about non-violence and redemptive love will, I think, be of particular interest to you. Accordingly, I would like to invite you to write an article for our Spring issue on what you feel is the future of non-violence in the Movement. This could run as much as 2,500-4,000 words. We would like very much to have your views represented, Dr. King, and hope that your time and workload will permit you to undertake this.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enc.

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With best wishes,

for P.H. Signature

Enc. cc Winter Issue of New South

Sou. Christian Leadership Conference, Pres

330 Auburn Ave N.E.

Atl Ga.

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

Recd 3/25/66

March 24, 1966

SA MJ-file

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta
Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your letter of recent date inviting me to write an article for NEW SOUTH sometime in the near future.

First, let me say how deeply grateful I am to you for asking me to write an article for this very significant publication. Unfortunately, however, because of my commitment in Chicago for the next few months, and our intensive work in getting ready for the primary in the South, every minute of my time is already allocated for the next three or four months. But for this I would be more than happy to write an article for you. I do hope that my schedule will soon ease up so that I can do some writing for NEW SOUTH. Please do not hesitate to call on me.

Sincerely yours,

Martin L. King Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Km
Dictated by Dr. King, but signed in his absence.

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
Telephone 522-1420

SCLC

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President* Ralph Abernathy, *Treasurer* Andrew J. Young, *Executive Director*

12/9/66

File SCLC

December 5, 1966

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I have chosen your name along with 199 others as the 200 persons most genuinely concerned about human rights.

In any revolution, communication has proven to be a primary factor. Due to the fact that none of the news medias are able to carry the day-by-day account of this struggle for human dignity at the grass roots level, I am taking upon myself as an official of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a two hundred piece bi-monthly mailing of information.

This is not a fund raising effort, but due to the grave financial problems of the civil rights movement, we would appreciate any help--even stamps or stamped envelopes. We also welcome your criticisms and comments of the material you receive on the activities we are carrying on.

Enclosed you will find our first mailing.

If we have your address incorrect, please notify us.

In God we trust,

Hosea L. Williams

Hosea L. Williams, Director
Southern Field Program

HLW/tlr
Enclosure

Reprinted by Permission of SUPERMARKET NEWS, October 17, 1966

'Property Pride' Need Spurs Drive for Negro-Owned Stores

By SARAH DUNBAR

ATLANTA.—To instill in Negroes the pride, appreciation and value of property ownership has been the driving force back of Hosea Williams, Southern director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. It led him to the idea of opening Negro-owned supermarkets designed to put money back into the Negro's pocket.

"The Negro had gained the right to vote . . . the Negro people have privileges of public accommodations . . . We had accomplished much, but we still had not found a way to get money into our people's pockets . . . that is, until I stumbled on the idea of a grocery business . . . here we think we have found success," declared Mr. Williams.

The "grocery business" has great promise, but is still having growing pains. Today there is a successful 1-year old store in Selma, Ala., two under construction in Mississippi, a not-too-successful store in Birmingham, and a small one in Marion, Ala., not far from Selma.

The SCLC does not own, nor does it finance the supermarkets. Financing comes from the pockets of the Negro people . . . "We try to organize the business and professional people in various communities to raise enough money to build and equip a store, or enough finance to get the supermarket on the road, then supplement the sum with a loan, either through the Small Business Administration, or an authorized lending agency," related Mr. Williams.

The stores are kept a local

major supermarkets both in merchandising and labels. We are not going to hire all Negroes . . . we will have integrated help," said Mr. Williams.

"The white supermarket refuses to employ Negroes on equal basis with whites — thus we came up with this idea," he added.

In a movement now going on in Grenada, Miss., some $54,000 has been raised by surrounding counties to construct a supermarket.

"Each store has absolutely no relation to the other. Each store is an individual corporation, formed, owned and designed to benefit the Negro," continued Mr. Williams.

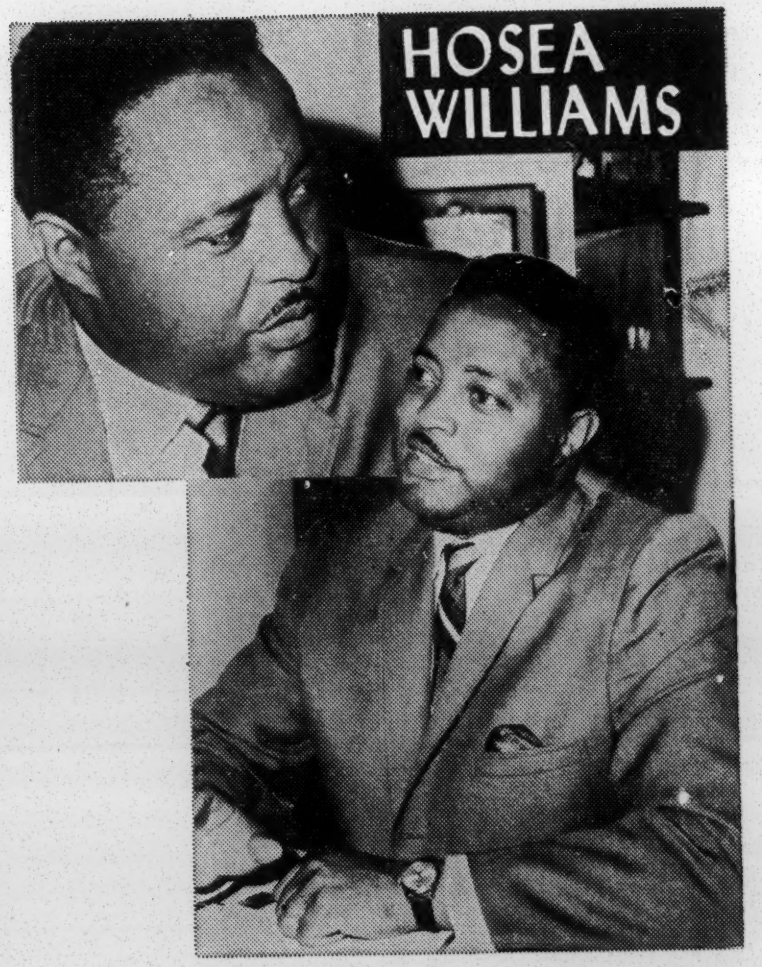
Plans include supermarkets in North Carolina, South Carolina and Alabama. Mr. Williams pointed out that the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. had become extremely interested in the progress and growth of such stores, and it is expected that in the future many will be opened.

While SCLC has majored in helping get supermarkets started, SCLC has also helped open a silk screen plant in Crawfordsville, Ga. in Telfair County, Fairchild News Service® was told.

"We frown on and refuse the money when some donor wants to contribute large sums of money. This gives him the controlling interest, and we do not want that," said Mr. Williams. "We are trying to find the means of developing our people economically, and not have the operation dominated by one or a few persons."

The SCLC role in opening supermarkets is to "guide them until the cutting of the ribbon. Our job is the mobilization and organization in different communities and providing them with the professional help they need."

Mr. Williams is an enthusiastic advocate of the drive for economic development. He is a graduate of Morris Brown College, and by profession is a research chemist. He has long fought for the Negroes' rights and has been a leading organizer of civil rights efforts of SCLC in Georgia.



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The stores are kept a local matter so the people in any given community can own it and benefit from it.

"SCLC takes the responsibility of organizing and mobilizing the Negro people to support our movement. We point out the potential sources to find loans, the architects to advise on planning a structure, contractors to advise on construction, lawyers to advise on the legality of a corporation operating a business, accountants on how the books should be set up and how money should be handled.

Each supermarket is a corporation made up of a number of Negro stockholders. No one person has controlling interest.

In the Selma, Ala., store there was an initial investment of $150,000 — this sum built the building, equipped the store, stocked it and bought the land.

The Selma unit was set up a year ago with a prospective gross of $17,000 per week, soon it is expected to gross about $30,000 per week. It is not located in an all-Negro district, but in an area which can serve both races, although it is predominantly patronized by the Negroes.

The Selma store has 6,000 square feet of space with four checkouts. No private labels are carried — mostly national brands, said Mark Thomas, the manager. The total sales area has about 5,000 square feet of space. Parking area can accommodate between 50 and 60 cars. The store is known as B&P Supermarket.

Staples are bought from a local food jobber; vegetables are bought from wholesalers and local truckers.

The successful unit in Selma employs some 23 workers, 17 of whom are regular employes. Only Negroes work there, 'although we would hire white and colored," related the manager.

"Out of 11 supermarkets in Selma, last year B&P Supermarket ranked third in sales," Mr. Thomas declared.

"We want to compete with major supermarkets both in merchandising and labels. We are not going to hire all Negroes . . . we will have integrated help," said Mr. Williams.

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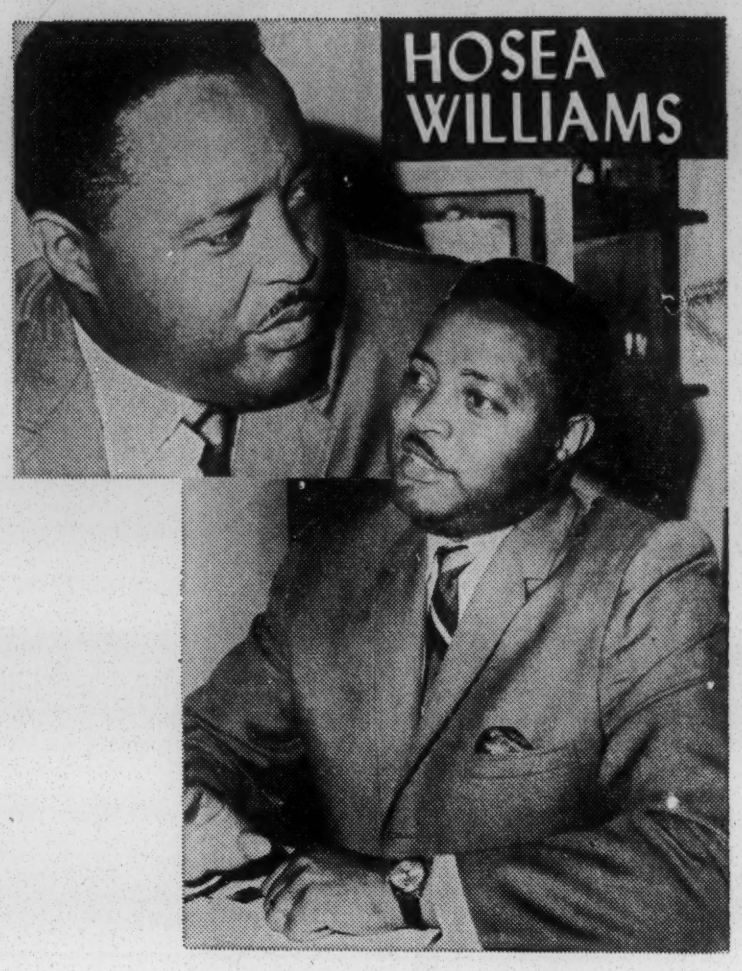

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4-10-68

file Dr. M. L. King

From the desk of

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M.D.

Paul -

Thought you be interested to know that we managed to get the statement in the Observer

Raymond

They also ran a U.P.I. story about it.

Charlotte Observer
4/10/68

THE OBSERVER FORUM

Our Reaction Points Nation's Future

The writer is chairman of the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council.

On Saturday, the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council, meeting in Atlanta, adopted the following resolution which should have great meaning for every American.

RESOLUTION

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. once again reveals the psychosis of violence and the cancer of racism in American society. Once again, America is stained with the blood of a courageous and noble leader, with the tragedy of a husband and father senselessly destroyed. His murder violates the ideals for which he stood, ideals which express the great tradition of America.

This is not the time for bitter and and unrestrained recriminations against the society which killed Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., but rather the time for all of us to pay heed at least to all that has already been said to the conscience of the nation in the grim, ghastly past—at the murders of John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, the four little children in a Birmingham Sunday school, and so many others.

THIS IS THE TIME for white America to forego lecturing black Americans against violating the nonviolent philosophy to which Dr. King's life will stand as a memorial for all time. Let white America for once concede to black America strength and dignity sufficient to make that decision without advice or admonishment. Let white America acknowledge that black Americans, as Dr. King has proved, have equal moral personality as human beings and have the qualities of leadership and courage and dignity which all Americans need.

The life of Dr. King transcends the violence done through his career to the American ideals for which he stood and the final obscene violence to him. His leadership during his life and the pangs of conscience white America feels in his death give all Americans the chance — perhaps the last chance—to make the choice between the kind of society for which Dr. King lived and died, and the kind of society which denies equal opportunity and relies on force above justice and equity. If America cannot produce leadership toward the society that Dr. King saw in his dream for America, then America is finished.

Let white America look into its own heart.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, M. D.
Charlotte

Letters to The Forum should be brief, legible and written on one side of the paper. Each letter must include the writer's signature and full address. Names will be withheld only when the editors judge the reason to be sufficient. All letters are subject to condensation.

Visit Other Churches

At memorial services last weekend, there was a real sense of fellowship between members of white and black races. Perhaps by worshipping together more often, people can come to understand and appreciate each other better.

Therefore, I suggest that on this Easter Sunday all white people who wish to do so visit a black church anl all black people who wish to do so visit a white church and that all who remain in their own churches extend the hand of welcome to their visitors.

MARY WALSH
Charlotte

Offers Sympathy

To the family of Martin Luther King, Jr. I offer my sympathy for the grief of a broken family circle. May God strengthen you in this time of need.

To the man who fired the gun that took Dr. King's life, may I suggest you read Matthew 7:1, "Judge not, that ye be not judged."

To the President of the United States (and all other government officials) I

file SCLC

A STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

Issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, April 6, 1968

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., once again reveals the psychosis of violence and the cancer of racism in American society. Once again, America is stained with the blood of a courageous and noble leader, with the tragedy of a husband and father senselessly destroyed. His murder violates the ideals for which he stood, ideals which express the great tradition of America.

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Members of the Council

(*denotes Executive Committee)

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Equal Employment Commission
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Research Professor of Sociology and Anthropology
University of North Carolina
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American Friends Service Committee
Jackson, Mississippi
Dr. B. R. Brazeal
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St. Paul's Episcopal Church
Meridian, Mississippi
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Southern Methodist Univ.
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Little Rock, Arkansas
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Gainesville, Georgia
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Emory University
Atlanta Georgia
Miss Josephine Wilkins*
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Dean of the University College
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida
Mr. Paul D. Williams
Richmond, Virginia
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Richmond, Virginia
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Atlanta, Georgia
Mr. Carter G. Wesley
Publisher
Houston Informer
Houston, Texas

Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, APRIL 9, 1968

File
Dr. King, Jr

April 15, 1968

Mr. Alba Ryan
75 East 165th Street, Apartment 4E
Bronx, New York 10452

Dear Mr. Ryan:

Thank you so much for your contribution in honor of Dr. King. In time, we hope to make a financial contribution to either SCLC or to some work of Mrs. King's. We will see that your contribution is represented in any financial support we provide.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Receipt)

File
Dr. King, Jr

April 15, 1968

Mr. Robert Anderson
334 McMillan Road
Grosse Pointe, Michigan 48236

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for taking the time to write at length about the statement issued by our Executive Committee which appeared in the New York Times.

In essence, I think, what the Committee was attempting to say was that it does not behoove whites to continue lecturing Negro Americans about non-violence because as Dr. King and others like him have so eloquently proved Negroes are perfectly capable of addressing themselves to that question. And, I believe, the Committee was trying to say further that this tragedy was one final proof of the urgency with which the majority of the people of this country must move with real determination to correct longstanding evils and to create, once and for all, a unified and democratic society.

Never have I seen a group of sincere and concerned people look more deeply into their souls than did the members of this committee at the meeting at which they wrote the statement.

Let me hasten to assure you that none of us here are happy with what we have so far accomplished, and we are more than aware that we do not have all the answers.

You may be interested in a statement issued by our Executive Committee somewhat earlier. It is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

P. S. -- We are sharing your letter with Mr. McGill.

PA

334 McMILLAN ROAD
GROSSE POINTE, MICHIGAN - 48236

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Gentlemen:

I saw your spread in the NY Times and I don't know very much about you except for the columnist Ralph McGill; the other names are unfamiliar to me.

Let me say only this, that your first two paragraphs, in my opinion, contradict one another. You speak of "psychosis" and "cancer" and then go on in the next paragraph reminding us against bitter recriminations. The loose and undiscriminating use of words like "cancer" and psychosis" are, in themselves, instances of unrestrained recrimination!

Worse, terrible and vulgar is your next assertion contending that it was "society" that killed Dr ML King. How does a whole society pull the trigger? Only a single, isolated individual (not "society") can do that.

The collective indictment of a society or race for the actions of the individual members that make it up is an example of the extreme use that some people will make of the notion of collective guilt.

Yes, looking in at the conscience of my white heart (a tiny drop of White American) I feel very bad, most distraught that this happened as I would feel in the assassination of Lincoln, McKinley, Czar Alexander, Ghandi, Archduke Rudolph or JFK.

Sometimes one just has to reply to things he feels are

unfair as I think your assertions are.

Before you toss this aside you might forward this to the liberal and fair Ralph McGill who I miss these days as we in Detroit have been without papers for a long time now. I meant to write him sometime ago but never got around to it; I still may, but in the meantime you may forward if you will or care.

Sincerely,

Robert Anderson

Robert Anderson
(Ap 10)

See Dr. King, Jr.

April 15, 1968

Mr. Irving E. Carlyle
Womble, Carlyle, Sandridge & Rice
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Carlyle:

Thank you for your comments on the statement by the Executive Committee. It will be shared with them.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

WOMBLE, CARLYLE, SANDRIDGE & RICE
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

B. S. WOMBLE
I. E. CARLYLE
W. P. SANDRIDGE
WM. F. WOMBLE
LEON L. RICE, JR.
CALDER W. WOMBLE
CHAS. F. VANCE, JR.
WADE M. GALLANT, JR.
LESLIE E. BROWDER
H. GRADY BARNHILL, JR.
W. P. SANDRIDGE, JR.
ALLAN R. GITTER
M. C. GREASON, JR.
E. LAWRENCE DAVIS
DAVID A. IRVIN
LINWOOD L. DAVIS
JOHN L. W. GARROU

MAILING ADDRESS
DRAWER 84
WINSTON-SALEM
NORTH CAROLINA 27102
TELEPHONE
(919) 725-1311
OFFICES
SUITE 2400
WACHOVIA BUILDING

April 9, 1968

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: Statement of the Executive Committee on the Death of Dr. King

Gentlemen:

A copy of the above statement was received. It is excellent and a credit to all concerned, especially to the Southern Regional Council.

With appreciation for a good job well done, I am

Yours sincerely,

Irving E. Carlyle

Irving E. Carlyle

IEC/sl

See Dr. King, Jr.

April 15, 1968

Mr. Joseph Clark
936 East 26th Street
Brooklyn 10, New York

Dear Mr. Clark:

Thank you for taking the time to write at length about the statement issued by our Executive Committee which appeared in the New York Times.

In essence, I think, what the Committee was attempting to say was that it does not behoove whites to continue lecturing Negro Americans about non-violence because as Dr. King and others like him have so eloquently proved Negroes are perfectly capable of addressing themselves to that question. And, I believe, the Committee was trying to say further that this tragedy was one final proof of the urgency with which the majority of the people of this country must move with real determination to correct longstanding evils and to create, once and for all, a unified and democratic society.

Never have I seen a group of sincere and concerned people look more deeply into their souls than did the members of this committee at the meeting at which they wrote the statement.

Let me hasten to assure you that none of us here are happy with what we have so far accomplished, and we are more than aware that we do not have all the answers.

You may be interested in a statement issued by our Executive Committee somewhat earlier. It is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

JOSEPH CLARK
936 EAST 26TH STREET
BROOKLYN 10, NEW YORK

April 9, 1968

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Gentlemen:

On this very sad day I read your advertisement in the New York Times and I appreciated your tribute to Dr. King and above all I agreed that "this is not the time for bitter and unrestrained recriminations..."

But I was saddened by the feeling of recrimination in your statement at a moment when words and deeds are important only to the degree that they advance the aims for which Dr. King was striving.

I think it is terribly late in our history, but I don't think you bring progress quicker by suggesting that this is our "last chance." Only God is in a position to know what the last chance is and there was a slight feeling of omniscience in your statement, an omniscience which only God can have.

Perhaps I was saddened above all by the categories into which you placed Americans, as though all blacks, or all whites, or all of our society, or all America can be labeled as you did, can be placed in categories, as you placed them, can be judged, as you judged them. "Brother, judge not thine brother..." is still a good comment of a good book.

It may not seem important to you at such a solemn moment, but even on this day I think the important things are matters about which we can do something-- like helping the sanitation strikers of Memphis and supporting their just cause for union recognition; the important thing is urging passage in the House of the civil rights measure that was passed in the Senate; the important thing is to use this moment to get momentum for housing, and job and education measures that are so vital if we are to move toward fulfillment of Dr. King's dream. And this is surely the moment when Americans ~~but~~ must deplore and reject, both the murderous racism that felled Dr. King and the same murderous racism or just plain criminality that brought some 28 dead, and robbery and arson and women and children struck down by wanton men and women who brought shame to the memory of Dr. King.

Not the most exalted among us should play at being God. As human beings we can do right or wrong; help us to do right as Dr. King sought to do.

Sincerely yours,
Joseph Clark

See Dr. King, Jr.

April 15, 1968

Mr. Hubert J. Kaliski
Maxim Chemical Company, Inc.
45 John Street
New York, New York 10038

Dear Mr. Kaliski:

Thank you for taking the time to write at length about the statement issued by our Executive Committee which appeared in the New York Times.

In essense, I think, what the Committee was attempting to say was that it does not behoove whites to continue lecturing Negro Americans about non-violence because as Dr. King and others like him have so eloquently proved Negroes are perfectly capable of addressing themselves to that question. And, I believe, the Committee was trying to say further that this tragedy was one final proof of the urgency with which the majority of the

people of this country must move with real determination to correct longstanding evils and to create, once and for all, a unified and democratic society.

Never have I seen a group of sincere and concerned people look more deeply into their souls than did the members of this committee at the meeting at which they wrote the statement.

Let me hasten to assure you that none of us here are happy with what we have so far accomplished, and we are more than aware that we do not have all the answers.

You may be interested in a statement issued by our Executive Committee somewhat earlier. It is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MAXIM CHEMICAL COMPANY
·INCORPORATED·
45 JOHN STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10038

TEL: (212) 964-8630
CABLE: "MAXIM" NEW YORK
TELEX: 422550

DATE: April 10, 1968
OUR REF.:
YOUR REF.:

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303
(5 Forsyth Street NW)

Gentlemen:

It seems to this writer that your April 6th advertisement in the "N.Y.Times" illustrates the ambivalent position taken by many organizations where the ultimate aims are not sufficiently clarified nor the method of solution generally acceptable.

Society did not kill Dr. King but an individual representing only a small segment of that society and I would propose that small segments everywhere advocating violence be brought under law which is strictly enforced irrespective of skin color. Interestingly enough, you admonish "white America" to forego lecturing "black America" and yet you, yourselves, admonish what should be done. Couched in diplomatic terms, I think your point that America in general relies on force to create a second-class citizen society, is poorly taken. Individual instances of course, individual prejudices of course, and we will always have them and we should try to sublimate and ultimately eliminate them, but force as a general policy, NO.

I would rather stress the common characteristics that unite all Americans rather than the differences, great though they may be, and it is these differences that have made America great. I am no more ready to admit that "white" society killed a black American than I am ready to admit that "black" society should be condemned in general because of the militancy of a minority group.

Could you not do America a tremendous service by policing those groups which are using your organization for the furtherence of a cause in which you too do not agree?

The situation is not very clear is it? It is so easy to lay blame on others and this is especially done by those who want the economic rewards of hard work without contributing that work and this seems to be the policy of the militants. If the end result of a peaceful demonstration continually produces violence, looting, killing, should the peaceful demonstrators be held accountable? If your answer is in the negative, then please do not condemn "white society" for the results produced by an equally miniscule minority. If, to achieve their own ultimate gain, the peaceful demonstrators flaunt law and

MAXIM CHEMICAL COMPANY
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45 JOHN STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y. 10038

TEL: (212) 964-8630
CABLE: "MAXIM" NEW YORK
TELEX: 422550

DATE:
OUR REF.:
YOUR REF.:

order irrespective of whether they agree with those laws and that order, are the peaceful demonstrators operating within the type of society they wish, or are they in fact a positive contributory cause of the anarchy that is sweeping our United States?

I am not sure what the answers to many questions are, but I am sure that there is no clear cut picture and no clear cut method, no clear cut ultimate results. I am positive that for all of us....flaunting of the law can only create a situation which will progressively deteriorate until we all have less than what we have now.

As a responsible organization, have you examined your own souls as introspectively as you ask others to examine theirs. I am not very happy with mine; are you?

Very truly yours,

MAXIM CHEMICAL CO., INC.

H. J. Kaliski

HJK:dc

Hubert J.Kaliski

See Dr King, Jr

April 15, 1968

Mr. H. S. Hank Brown
President
Texas AFL-CIO
Box MM, Capitol Station
308 West 11th Street
Austin, Texas 78711

Dear Hank:

Thank you for your thoughtful note about the Council's statement and for the information on the commendable action on the part of the Texas AFL-CIO regarding the scholarship established in Dr. King's name.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

TEXAS AFL-CIO

Box MM, Capitol Station 308 W. 11th Austin, Texas 78711 GR 7-6195 GR 2-0600

April 11, 1968

OFFICERS
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ROY R. EVANS
Secretary-Treasurer

VICE PRESIDENTS
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J. W. (BILL) RICKS
2312 Avenue E, Nederland
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814 Montrose Dr., Pt. Neches
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1727 Young St., Dallas
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523 Norwood, Hurst
T. J. (TOMMY) HAMMER
601 Pennsylvania, Ft. Worth
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705 Travis, Wichita Falls
E. F. (BLONDIE) JERGINS
5701 Wellington Dr., Austin
FRED CRADDOCK
3600 Fleetwood, Amarillo
KENNETH HOWELL
P. D. Box 1590, Big Spring
J. D. (BUDDY) GIVENS
P. O. Box 561, El Paso
HENRY VILLARREAL
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P. O. Box 1590, Big Spring

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SPECIAL STAFF
JOHN ROGERS

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I have noted the excellent statement issued by the Southern Regional Council in regard to the death of Martin Luther King, Jr.

We believe that his voice should not be stilled and as one way of seeing to it that there will be others to carry on in behalf of justice and peace in the world, we are creating a $1,000 scholarship in his name to be presented to a student who has special financial difficulties. In the meantime, Texas AFL-CIO will continue to press for equal opportunities for all men.

It is a privilege to be associated with the Southern Regional Council and the fine work it is doing.

Sincerely yours,

Hank

H. S. Hank Brown
President

hsb/lmn
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encl.

TEXAS AFL-CIO
BOX MM, CAPITOL STATION
AUSTIN, TEXAS

April 10, 1968

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:

The Texas AFL-CIO plans to set up a $1,000 Scholarship in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, H. S. Hank Brown, President of the Texas AFL-CIO, said today.

He and Roy Evans, Secretary-Treasurer, will recommend to the State AFL-CIO's Executive Board that the scholarship be added to the scholarship program established this year by the Texas AFL-CIO.

"We in Texas labor, like most other Americans, were deeply saddened by the death of Dr. King," Brown said.

"The labor movement feels a special loss because Dr. King died fighting with us in our cause--a strike of garbage collectors who were seeking recognition of their union.

"To remind us over the years of the debt we all owe Dr. King and to remind us of his greatness, Roy Evans and I will recommend that this scholarship be established.

"We want to designate this Martin Luther King Scholarship for a student with a special financial need.

"We will recommend that the scholarship become an annual part of our scholarship program which, with the help of 10 union organizations in Texas, amounted to $6,000 this year."

(30)

opeiu298
afl-cio

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Martin Luther King, Jr.

REGARDING

Statement issued by Field Foundation April 5, 1968

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

THE FIELD FOUNDATION

See Dr. King, Jr.

April 12, 1968

Mr. M. G. Dushine
3 Peter Cooper Road
New York, New York 10010

Dear Mr. Dushine:

Thank you for your thoughtful note concerning the advertisement of the statement issued by our Executive Committee.

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of the most recent issue of our quarterly magazine, New South. I hope it will be of interest to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

April 10, 1968

Southern Regional Council, Inc. —

Bravo on your statement on the death of Dr. King which appeared in your ad in the New York Times of April 9.

Very truly yours,

Francis G. Duchin

3 Peter Cooper Rd.
New York, N.Y. 10010

file Sch

April 16, 1968

Miss Clare Miller
The Putney School
Putney, Vermont 05346

Dear Miss Miller:

Please know that we very much appreciate your lovely letter. Incidentally, a former director of the Council, for the period 1946-56, was Dr. George S. Mitchell. Dr. Mitchell's brother taught for a number of years at Putney. Largely through this connection we are well aware of the school.

We share the sentiments, the frustrations, and the determination you express.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

April 12 1968

Dear Sirs.

I am writing to you as a result of your statement which appeared in the New York Times on April 9th I am a student at a private boarding school in the wilds of Vermont. Our community is integrated - 8 black students out of about 300 people - but nevertheless integrated. We had always considered ourselves far removed from the "real world" or where it was really at. As far as the majority opinion goes, being an opinion of white people, we all thought we felt very secure in our liberalism and "race doesn't matter" attitude, and when last week Martin Luther King was

murdered, we were all stunned. But what we were really stunned by was the discovery that the major repercussions of this events was our own racial crisis. Where because of the reaction of the black students here and because of their willingness to give it to us straight, we were forced, and shocked into examining ourselves, into a very painful introspection that has left this school with an awareness and a thoughtfulness that cannot be shaken off or forgotten. And then we read in all the press, all of white America rising up in indignation at the violence in the cities, making grave statements about following in the footsteps of the slain symbol of non-violence. For me, these undoubtedly well-intentioned phrases fell flat. The blind refusal to <u>stop</u>, look around you carefully and say "what have <u>we</u> done" was the most

tragic reaction to this tragic event that I could imagine.

Yours was the only statement I have read in all this time that really rings true, thoughtful and responsible. My main purpose in writing is to thank you for it and to endorse it myself, but also because of my feeling of tremendous helplessness at this time, I feel a need to express my feelings of intense concern in some direction other than back into myself. Thank you once again for your beautiful honesty.

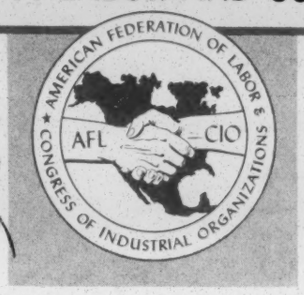
Sincerely

Clare Miller
The Putney School
Putney, Vermont
05346

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

GEORGE MEANY
PRESIDENT

WM. F. SCHNITZLER
SECRETARY-TREASURER



REGION NO. 8. PAUL R. CHRISTOPHER, DIRECTOR
216 FLATIRON BUILDING
705 BROADWAY, N. E.
KNOXVILLE 17, TENNESSEE
4-7481-2

17 17 April 16, 1968

file Sclc.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Many thanks for your Memorandum of April 15, with a copy of the statement of the SRC Executive Committee on the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. which appeared in the NEW YORK TIMES, ATLANTA JOURNAL and ATLANTA CONSTITUTION on Tuesday, April 9.

I was able to get a copy of the half-page which appeared in the NEW YORK TIMES, but have not managed to get original copies of the CONSTITUTION and JOURNAL yet.

With best wishes, I am

Fraternally yours,

Paul

Paul R. Christopher
AFL-CIO Region VIII Director

PRC:lr
opeiul44 afl-cio

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PAUL ANTHONY, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
5 FORSYTHE ST NORTHWEST ATLA

file SCLC

ASSASINATION OF MARTIN KING MUST NOT INTERRUPT THE CENTRAL TASK OF BRINGING BASIC ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FREEDOM TO ALL AMERICANS. ADMINISTRATION LIKELY TO REST ON PASSAGE OF CIVIL RIGHTS LAW AS APPROPRIATE AND SUFFICENT RESPONSE. NEW MOMENTUM MUST BE LAUNCHED TO DEAL WITH THE CENTRAL ISSUES OF POWER FOR THE DISPOSSESSED , JOBS, INCOME, AND HOUSING. SERIOUS COORDINATED EFFORT NEED TO RAISE THESE URGENT DOMESTIC MATTERS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION FOLLOWING CONGRESSIONAL EASTER RECESS.

THERE ARE SEVERAL BILLS NOW BEFORE CONGRESS WHICH SUITABLY STRENGTHENED OFFER MEANINGFUL POSSIBILITIES IN JOBS, WEALFARE, AND HOUSING. AND NEW BILLS CAN BE ADVANCED WITH REAL POSSIBILITY FOR FAVORABLE ACTION. CONGRESS WILL RESPOND TO EVIDENCE OF

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REAL DETERMINATION TO GO BEYOND CIVIL RIGHTS LAW FOR AN EFFECTIVE POOR PEOPLES PROGRAM.

LIMITED GROUP OF INVITEES INCLUDE NATIONAL BLACK GROUPS, LABOR, CIVIL RIGHTS, AND LIBERAL LEADERS, UNDERSIGNED URGE YOU JOIN TO PLAN CONCRETE STRATEGY MONDAY, APRIL 22, 10AM, CARNEGIE INTERNATIONAL CENTER, 345 EAST 46 STREET, NEW YORK CITY PLEASE PHONE 212-598-2695 — to Lewis & DJ Sec

REV RALPH ABERNATHY, PRESIDENT, SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP
DR FRANK RIESSMAN DIRECTOR NEW CAREERS DEVELOPMENT CENTER.

SF1201(R2-65)

Free
SCLC

April 22, 1968

Mrs. Leo Mervis
Coordinator
New Orleans Consortium
Palmetto and Pine Streets
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Helen:

Thank you for your very kind note about the Executive Committee statement. The staff had prepared a draft for the Committee' consideration, but the Committee improved it considerably. In fact, I think this is the first time in my memory when I have seen a committee improve a statement.

Ten copies of the statement are being sent to you separately.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

NEW ORLEANS CONSORTIUM : DOMINICAN · LOYOLA · XAVIER
Palmetto and Pine Streets · New Orleans, Louisiana 70125 · Telephone 488-6646

April 18, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Though your Executive Committee may have added a word here and there, SRC's statement on the death of Dr. King could not be other than yours.

Your mastery in phrasing and word usage in the most poignant and difficult situations have an emotional impact and power with which few people are gifted. I am moved and proud to be one of the undersigned.

Thank you for the privilege.

Warm regards,

Helen Mervis

Mrs. Leo Mervis, Coordinator
New Orleans Consortium

LM:gm

Paul,
Could I have several additional copies

See Dr. King, Jr.

April 22, 1968

Dr. E. A. McDowell
First Baptist Church
754 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Dr. McDowell:

Thank you for your comments on the statement by the Executive Committee and for the excellent column from the Christian Index.

Do come to see us when you can.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

First Baptist Church
754 PEACHTREE STREET, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

EDWARD A. McDOWELL
MINISTER OF TEACHING

Apr. 17, 1968.

Dr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Paul:

I was most grateful for the strong statement on the death of Dr. King made by our Executive Committee, and for the part you had in having the statement made. It was very thoughtful of you to have sent to the members copies of the statement as it appeared in the New York Times.

I was proud that my name was among the Life Fellows, and was identified with the statement.

I am enclosing copies of a story you may have missed, and of my column in Christian Index.

I have resigned position here, effective June 1, but will continue to live in Atlanta.

Very sincerely, Edward A. McDowell

Christian Index, First Baptist Church Edition.

As I See It

Fragments of mortar had torn his flesh in a dozen places. Sgt. Block lay there on the wet, Pacific sands, too weak to crawl. My efforts to drag him to safety were hampered by a sniper's fire just over the sand dunes.

Lying on my wet lap with his life ebbing away he asked, "Chaplain, since I'm going to die, tell me, is there anything on the other side? The other side of death . . . anything?"

There was no use in trying to offer him the pale hope that he wasn't going to die, or that all he had to do was to buck up, grit his teeth and pull hard in order to pull through. He was dying and he knew it. So did I.

"Yes, Sergeant, there is something on the other side," I told him without any quiver of uncertainty. With no disposition to preach him a sermon, I told him about those direct, wonderful words of Jesus: "I go to prepare a place for you . . . in my Father's house are many mansions . . . if it were not so I would have told you."

That seemed to do it. I felt a tense, throbbing body relax and yield to the escort of death. Twenty-one years old . . . and dead on the bloody sands of Ie Shima.

A FEW days later, in a stone's throw of that same spot, another American lay dying. Ernie Pyle, that man of the foxhole outlook, dying from a single Japanese bullet. Oddly enough, the previous night we had talked together about the business of living, dying, and the prospects of life continuing beyond death.

To many, immortality is nothing more than living on in the lives of their children. As a son resembles his father, only in that sense is the father immortal. Still others define immortality as one's influence to be felt in human society long after the death of the individual. Noble words or deeds live long after the decease of the author.

To millions, life ends at the grave—at least in their thinking. Like any other animal at death life ceases to be. And that's all.

Then for other millions, life beyond the grave is not a personalized immortality but, as rain falls to earth and finds its way back to the sea, then is drawn up by the rays of the sun, continuing the two-way journey, so life, is reabsorbed into the vast reservior of all life.

As a drop of water becomes part of the oceans, so a life becomes part of the whole of life. There is little comfort in this belief; it isn't as noble as it sounds.

At this time of year when there are a thousand intimations of immortality, springtime bids us anew to the life of new resurrection. Easter is more than one weekend! It is the assurance that "because He lives we too shall live."

Yes, there is more beyond—there is something on the other side.

Roy O. McClain

Drama Presented April 20

A religious drama entitled "No More Darkness" will be presented on April 20 at 7:30 p.m. in the old social hall by the drama department of the First Baptist Church of Merritt Island, Fla.

This three-act play was written by Charles Wellborn and is a vivid presentation of college life and the temptations youth face. The April 20 presentation is part of a tour series the Merritt Island players are currently conducting.

Teenagers, young people and adults are invited. A fellowship period will follow the play.

First Baptist Church Membership
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Beloved:

In writing let me express to you my heartfelt gratitude for allowing me these days "to labor among you in revival effort." To your pastor, Roy O. McClain, I am most indebted. In his words "This Way Please," I express my love for him in inviting me to come this way for these days. He and you plus everyone should I leave out someone, have shown an acceptance of the preaching of the cross. Paul said it best: "For the preaching of the cross is foolishness to them that are perishing, but to us who are being saved it is the power of God unto salvation."

Until we cross Jordon, together with Jesus, God keep you.

In Him whose resurrection is ours
by grace through faith,
D. P. "Skip" Worsham
9720 Tanglewood Dr.
Baton Rouge, La.

NOTICE

The ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper will be observed in the evening service, April 21.

How To Make Revival Real

The word "revival" means a living again. Obviously the word is better applied to the renewal of church members than to evangelistic services designed to win the lost to Christ.

We have had in our church what we called a revival. The results in terms of numbers won to Christ were small. But if somehow our church membership could translate into attitude and action the resolves made and the emotions experienced as a result of the services, the revival would continue for months to come.

One of the results of the revival should be more love in our hearts for one another and for all men.

The need for more love in the hearts of church people was brought home to us in the latter days of our revival by the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. I know that the hearts of many white Baptists were softened by that brutal killing and the outpouring of grief from the thousands at the funeral services seen and heard on television by millions all over America.

But there are yet many professing Christians, some of them members of our church, whose hearts should be softened to the point where they no longer have prejudice against Negroes. I could wish that our revival would stimulate in those who are prejudiced greater love that would enable them to cleanse their hearts of prejudice.

The eyes of the whole world were turned through television on Atlanta during Dr. King's funeral as they have never before been turned on any other city to witness a funeral, with one exception, the funeral of John F. Kennedy.

The man whose funeral they witnessed by television was a Negro Baptist preacher whose grandfather was a slave. He and many other Negroes today are Baptists because many of our slave-owning Baptist forebears encouraged their slaves to receive the gospel. Negro Baptists are our brothers and sisters in Christ, as well as our fellow Baptists. For this reason, if for no other, we should overcome our prejudice against them. But we should have prejudice against no person, whatever his race may be, because prejudice is un-Christian.

Let us be sufficiently revived to thank God for the efforts of Martin Luther King, Jr. to win justice for his people by non-violence, and to pray that his death will be redemptive in that it will help all Americans to overcome prejudice, renounce violence and riots, and work for justice for all people.

Edward G. McDonnell

5

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70 Baptist Pastors Gather at Ebenezer

First Interracial Meeting Here Maps Ways to Work Together

By DIANE STEPP
Constitution Religion Editor

Ebenezer Baptist Church where the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. often preached for better understanding and among peoples of all races was the site Tuesday of the first official interracial meeting between Atlanta's white and Negro Baptist pastors.

The two groups — the white Atlanta Baptist Pastors Conference and the Negro Baptist Ministers Union — met to explore ways the two groups can work together and to have their respective interracial committees draw up a plan for regular monthly meetings between them.

Note the meeting was planned before Dr. King's death.

The first meeting was originally scheduled for last Tuesday but postponed because of Dr. King's funeral.

FATHER IS PRESENT

Present at the meeting was Dr. Martin Luther King Sr., father of the slain civil rights leader, who encouraged further meetings of the two Baptist associations. "A lot of things can happen with togetherness. I hope we do not get bogged down in non-essentials."

Dr. King told the pastors that "we should get a place to meet and eat together."

About 70 pastors attended the first interracial meeting. The group was about equally divided between white and Negro.

The initial planning meeting was primarily one of organization and discussion on how the two groups can work together.

Dr. E. A. McDowell, minister of teaching at Atlanta's First Baptist Church, offered a motion that the interracial committees of both conferences be authorized to meet and work out details for holding regular monthly meetings of the two groups. The motion was adopted.

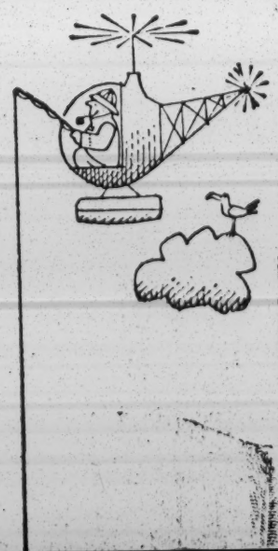
As the meeting drew to a close, Dr. William Holmes Borders, pastor of the Wheat Street Baptist Church, told the pastors that "we in Atlanta ought to see to it in every way possible that we will work for better education, better housing, more job opportunities, better rehabilitation programs for people in prison and do everything possible to make this community better."

GOT TO BE WISE

The Negro Baptist minister asserted, "We can make Atlanta the headquarters of the world. We preachers have the primary responsibility in this cause. Religion is the mother of human culture. We've got to be wise, but we also have got to perform. If we don't we had better turn in our ministerial credentials."

Dr. Borders mentioned the late Dr. King briefly saying, "He gave his last measure of devotion. If we don't give ourselves to the divine task of obtaining democracy for the common man, monuments and words will be of no effect."

The interracial meeting grew out of a theological seminar conducted by Dr. McDowell at the Atlanta First Baptist Church for the past two years. The meetings have been attended by both Negro and white pastors in the Atlanta area.



We also lunched together in dining room of First Bapt. Ch.

See Dr. King file

April 22, 1968

Mr. J. N. Rayzor
3207 Groveland Lane
Houston, Texas 77019

Dear Mr. RRayzor:

Thank you so much for the comments on the statement issued by our Executive Committee, and for your contribution.

We do receive Stone's Weekly and were very interested in the report on the KKK and the police.

With every good wish,

Sincerely

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

Enclosure - 1. (Official receipt)

$100.00 Contribution
4-22-68
Km

Dear Paul,

The SRC statement in the N.Y. Times was certainly eloquent. Thanks so much for the reproduction of it.

Encl. small check to help defray the cost.

Do you subscribe to Time's Weekly? The current issue is interesting concerning KKK cells in police depts - perhaps Memphis.

Best regards, E. Raymond

See Dr. King, Jr.

April 22, 1968

Dr. Riley B. Montgomery
112 Irvine Road
Lexington, Kentucky 40502

Dear Dr. Montgomery:

Under separate cover, we are sending you 10 additional copies of the statement issued by our Executive Committee. I am happy that you like it, and appreciate the use you wish to make of it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

RILEY B. MONTGOMERY
112 IRVINE ROAD
LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY 40502

April 19, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.,
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I appreciated receiving a copy of the STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. KING. It is an excellent statement.

Could you have three or four copies sent to me? I have some places I would like to place them on Bulletin Board where I think they would be read to profit.

With every good wish, I am,

Most cordially,

Riley B. Montgomery

Riley B. Montgomery

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SCLC
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

REGARDING

See also Crackpots File

DATE

4-23-68

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

CRACKPOTS
On the Death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

REGARDING

Special grant from Field Foundation "In memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr, to further Voter Education efforts in South"

DATE

4-23-68

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FIELD FOUNDATION 1968

file
Dr. King, Jr

April 24, 1968

The Honorable William F. Ryan
House Office Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Ryan:

Thank you for sharing with us the pages from the Congressional Record of April 11th. It was very thoughtful of you to call the statement of our Executive Committee to the attention of your colleagues, and to insert it into the Record.

We are very appreciative.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Bc: Ray & John Wheeler

House of Representatives, U.S.

MEMORANDUM

APR 22 1968

The attached refers to a subject in which you are interested, and is, therefore, referred for your information.

Yours very truly

Walter F. Mondale

and the members of the United States Congress passed a resolution in 1964 by a vote of 504 to 2, authorizing the President of the United States to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed forces, to assist any member or protocol state of the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty requesting assistance in defense of its freedom; and

Whereas, the Communist aggression in Southeast Asia against the South Vietnamese government is an immediate threat to the people and security of the United States of America and the free world; and

Whereas, the South Vietnamese government has requested the United States for assistance in the preservation of its security and freedom; and

Whereas, the United States of America has sent its fighting men in South Vietnam to provide this assistance; and

Whereas, any withdrawal of the United States from South Vietnam will amount to an admitted defeat on the part of the United States and a significant retraction of its moral commitment to a country in need due to our participation in SEATO; now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Young Democrats of Hawaii, assembled in Honolulu, Hawaii, this 30th day of March, 1968, that it does hereby respectfully request the United States of America, through its President, to continue its commitment in Vietnam until such time that peaceful negotiations can be formulated and agreed upon by the North Vietnamese government and the United States of America in the best interest of both the South Vietnamese government and the rest of the free world; and

Be it further resolved that certified copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, to the members of the U.S. Senate from Hawaii, to the members of the U.S. House of Representatives from Hawaii, to the Governor of the State of Hawaii, and to the members of the Legislature of the State of Hawaii.

The Passing of Ralph K. Rahn Sadly Noted

HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 11, 1968

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have lost a good and dear friend—the passing of Ralph K. Rahn was sadly noted in Effingham County and the First District of Georgia. Ralph was an outstanding individual, unique in his simplicity and most distinguishing characteristic was his unswerving loyalty and devotion to his friends. And I had the great privilege of being counted among his friends.

Ralph Rahn came "into my corner" early in my political career, and he remained one of my most steadfast supporters and friends throughout the ensuing years—he was content to support his Congressman—and never exacted any promises or demanded any favors for himself. And he understood when an unusually busy schedule kept me from getting by to see him as often as I would have liked. They often told me down there: "If Ralph Rahn is for you, you have no worries in Effingham County."

Ralph Rahn, the politician, epitomized the kind of politics that has held this great country of ours together; individual citizens backing people they believe in. I am sure that Ralph did not wholeheartedly approve of every action of mine, but he used to tell me that he did approve of my sincerity, so I never heard any complaints from him.

On those occasions when Ralph did ask some favor, it was always for the good people of Effingham County, never for himself. He was a completely unselfish man, who thought always of others. His passing is lightened somewhat when I think back over the innumerable people he helped and he never refused a worthy individual, be he rich or poor, black or white. His many friends will tell you that a man about to lose his farm did not have too much trouble getting a helping hand from Ralph Rahn, and the many youngsters he helped through school have gone on to responsible and productive adulthood.

Although he had a heart as big as all outdoors, you would never hear about it from Ralph Rahn.

As a child in Sunday school, I well remember being taught that Jesus "went about doing good" and if, indeed, He does choose from among us to help Him "going about doing good," Ralph Rahn was certainly an excellent choice.

I have been blessed with an abundance of good friends during my lifetime, but men like Ralph are so rare as to leave an aching void by their passing.

I will miss Ralph Rahn and I will cherish our friendship always.

A Statement on the Death of Dr. Martin Luther King

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 11, 1968

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, the executive committee of the Southern Regional Council has issued a statement on the death of Dr. Martin Luther King. The statement is a most moving comment on the tragedy which has befallen the Nation, and I urge my colleagues to give it the reflection it deserves. It was published in the New York Times on April 9, 1968.

The statement follows:

A STATEMENT ON THE DEATH OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

(Issued by the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, Inc., meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, April 6, 1968)

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., once again reveals the psychosis of violence and the cancer of racism in American society. Once again, America is stained with the blood of a courageous and noble leader, with the tragedy of a husband and father senselessly destroyed. His murder violates the ideals for which he stood, ideals which express the great tradition of America.

This is not the time for bitter and unrestrained recriminations against the society which killed Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., but rather the time for all of us to pay heed at last to all that has already been said to the conscience of the nation in the grim, ghastly past—at the murders of John F. Kennedy, Medgar Evers, of the four little children in a Birmingham Sunday School, and so many others.

This is the time for white America to forego lecturing black Americans against violating the nonviolent philosophy to which Dr. King's life will stand as a memorial for all time. Let white America for once concede to black America strength and dignity sufficient to make that decision without advice or admonishment. Let white America acknowledge that black Americans, as Dr. King has proved, have equal moral personality as human beings and have the qualities of leadership and courage and dignity which all Americans need.

The life of Dr. King transcends the violence done throughout his career to the American ideals for which he stood and the final obscene violence to him. His leadership during his life and the pangs of conscience white America feels in his death give all Americans the chance—and perhaps the last chance—to make the choice between the kind of society for which Dr. King lived and died, and the kind of society which denies equal opportunity and relies on force above justice and equity. If America cannot produce leadership toward the society that Dr. King saw in his dream for America, then America is finished.

Let white America look into its own heart.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

Mr. Donald L. Hollowell, Equal Employment Commission, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Research Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Miss Barbara Jordan, Attorney, Houston, Texas; Mr. William H. Maness, Attorney, Jacksonville, Florida; Rabbi Charles Mantinband, Temple Emanuel, Longview, Texas; Mrs. Vivian Carter Mason, Norfolk, Virginia; The Rev. M.D. McCollom, District Superintendent, The Methodist Church, Walterboro, South Carolina; Mr. Benjamin Muse, Reston, Virginia; Mr. John P. Nelson, Attorney, New Orleans, Louisiana; Dr. Lucius H. Pitts*, President, Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama.

Dr. Hollis F. Price, President, LeMoyne College, Memphis, Tennessee; Mrs. Tom Ragland, Nashville, Tennessee; Mr. Claude Ramsay, President; Mr. McNeill Smith*, Jackson, Mississippi; Mr. David H. Scull, President, Turnpike Press, Annandale, Virginia; The Rev. Kelly M. Smith, First Baptist Church, Nashville, Tennessee; Mr. McNeill Smith*, Attorney, Greensboro, North Craolina; Mr. Fred D. Alexander, Realtor, Charlotte, North Carolina; The Rev. Hubert Beckwith, Congregational Christian Church of Fairfax County, Annandale, Virginia; Dr. A. D. Beittel, American Friends Service Committee, Jackson, Mississippi; Dr. B. R. Brazeal, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

The Rev. W. C. Brooke, St. Elizabeth's Episcopal Church, Roanoke, Virginia; Mr. H. A. Hank Brown, President, AFL–CIO, Texas, Austin, Texas; Mr. I. H. Burney, Insurance Executive, Jacksonville, Florida; Mr. Irving E. Carlyle, Attorney, Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Mr. Paul R. Christopher*, Regional Director, AFL–CIO, Knoxville, Tennessee; Mr. James McBride Dabbs*, Planter, Author, Mayesville, South Carolina; Mr. Herbert M. Davidson, Publisher, Daytona Beach *News-Journal*, Daytona Beach, Florida; Dr. Albert W. Dent*, President, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana; The Rev. Duncan M. Gray, Jr., St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Meridian, Mississippi; The Hon. Brooks Hays, Attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas.

* Denotes Executive Committee.

Dr. Douglas Jackson, Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist Univ., Dallas, Texas; Mr. George Lewis, II, President, The Lewis State Bank, Tallahassee, Florida; Dr. Herman H. Long, President, Talladega College, Talladega, Alabama; The Rev. Powers McLeod, District Superintendent, The Methodist Church, Montgomery, Alabama; Mrs. Helen Mervis, New Orleans, Louisiana; Mr. Matthew J. Perry, Attorney, Columbia, South Carolina; Mr. Daniel Pollitt, Professor of Law, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Mr. Frank Smith*, Director, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee; Mr. C. H. Thomas, Jr., Professor of Political Science, South Carolina State College, Orangeburg, South Carolina; Mrs. Charles White, Houston, Texas; Mr. J. Bill Becker, President, Arkansas AFL–CIO, Little Rock, Arkansas; Mrs. Joe R. Brewer, Scott, Arkansas.

The Rev. Caxton Doggett, Hyde Park Methodist Church, Tampa, Florida; Dr. Luther H. Foster, President, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; Dr. C. G. Gomillion*, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; Dr. John A. Griffin, Executive Director, Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Joseph F. Haas*, Attorney, Atlanta, Georgia; Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Bradford D. Ansley, Jr., Sarasota, Florida; Mr. Julius L. Chambers, Attorney, Charlotte, North Carolina; Mr. Edward E. Elson, President, Atlanta News Agency, Chamblee, Georgia; Dr. Edward E. Haddock, Physician, Richmond, Virginia; Dr. Robert J. Harris, Dean, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia; Mrs. Martin L. Harvey, Jackson, Mississippi; Dr. Vivian W. Henderson*, President, Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia.

Dr. Jerome H. Holland, President, Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia; Mrs. Glen E. Laskey, President, Woman's Division, Board of Missions, The Methodist Church, Ruston, Louisiana; Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President Emeritus, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. L. D. Milton, President, Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Samuel Nabrit, Executive Director, The Southern Fellowships Fund, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. J. Allen Parker, President, Alabama Exchange Bank, Tuskegee, Alabama; Mr. J. Rupert Picott, Executive Secretary, Virginia Teachers Association, Richmond, Virginia; Mrs. J. N. Rayzor, Houston, Texas; Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President, Interdenominational Theological Seminary, Atlanta, Georgia.

Rabbi Jacob Rothschild, The Temple, Atlanta, Georgia;

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg, Louisville, Kentucky;

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur, Lafayette, Louisiana;

Dr. Vascoe A. Smith, Jr., Dentist, Memphis, Tennessee;

Mr. Walter Sharp, Brentwood, Tennessee;

Mr. William H. Townsend, Optometrist, Little Rock, Arkansas;

Mr. Nat Welch, Southern Interstate Nuclear Board, Atlanta, Georgia;

Dr. T. Franklin Williams, Physician, Chapel Hill, North Carolina;

Mrs. Lawrence Coe, Memphis, Tennessee;

Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook*, Professor of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, North Carolina;

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Mr. Martin L. Harvey, Dean of Student Affairs, Southern University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana;

Mrs. Julien J. Hohenberg, Memphis, Tennessee.

Mr. Paul Johnston, Attorney, Birmingham, Alabama; Mr. Sylvan Meyer, Editor, *The Daily Times*, Gainesville, Georgia; Mr. George Owens, President, Tougaloo College, Tougaloo, Mississippi; Mr. Robert J. Palmer, Sumter, South Carolina; Dr. C. H. Parrish, Department of Sociology, University of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky; Mrs. Mary Sand, New Orleans, Louisiana; Mrs. Jane Schutt, Jackson, Mississippi; Mr. John Siegenthaler, Editor, *The Nashville Tennessean*, Nashville, Tennessee; Mrs. Alice N. Spearman, Columbia, South Carolina; Mr. Lee B. Thomas, Jr., President, Vermont American Corporation, Louisville, Kentucky; Mrs. J. F. Tillman, Lewisburg, Tennessee; Mr. John H. Wheeler*, President, Mechanics and Farmers Bank, Durham, North Carolina.

Mr. John W. Walker, Attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas; Dr. Raymond M. Wheeler*, Physician, Charlotte, North Carolina; Dr. Bell I. Wiley, Professor of History, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia; Miss Josephine Wilkins*, Atlanta, Georga; Dr. Franklin Williams*, Dean of the University College, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida; Mr. Paul D. Williams, Richmond, Virginia; Mr. Marion A. Wright*, Attorney, Linville Falls, North Carolina; Mr. Jack Young, Attorney, Jackson, Mississippi; Mr. James E. Youngdahl, Attorney, Little Rock, Arkansas; Life Fellows, Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Tryon, North Carolina; Mr. Hodding Carter, Publisher, *Delta-Democrat Times*, Greenville, Mississippi; The Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, Christ Episcopal Church, Miami, Florida.

Dr. Frank P. Graham, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Mr. Paul E. Green, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina; Dr. W. D. Weatherford, Black Mountain, North Carolina; Mr. Leonard Haas, Attorney, Atlanta, Georgia; Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Educator & Newspaper Columnist, Richmond, Virginia; The Rev. Edward A. McDowell, First Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Ralph McGill, Publisher, The Atlanta Constitution, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Francis Pickens Miller, Charlottesville, Virginia; Dr. Riley B. Montgomery, President Emeritus, Lexington Theological Seminary, Lexington, Kentucky; Mrs. David Terry, Little Rock, Arkansas; Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Atlanta, Georgia; Mr. Carter G. Wesley, Publisher, Houston Informer, Houston, Texas.

(Southern Regional Council, Inc., 5 Forsyth St., N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30303.)

*Denotes Executive Committee.

The War: A Field Commander's View

HON. JOHN O. MARSH, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 11, 1968

Mr. MARSH. Mr. Speaker, as we continue to hope for an honorable resolution of the conflict in Vietnam, military operations continue. Within the limitations of current national policy, our forces pursue the objective of security for South Vietnam.

The situation changes, but the basic problems remain. It is useful, therefore, for us at home to have the benefit of a variety of observations by qualified military and civilian leaders of our effort. In this connection, I should like to share with colleagues here remarks made a while ago by an Army commander who served with distinction in the field prior to his returning to the United States to become deputy commanding general of the U.S. Continental Army Command.

Lt. Gen. Stanley R. Larsen spoke as follows at a luncheon meeting of the Reserve Officers Association in Washington, D.C., on February 23, 1968:

Having returned from Vietnam more than six months ago, I am indeed flattered that this gathering of many of our most dedicated citizens should invite me to address you on that subject. Since your invitation dates back to long before the NVA/VC Tet offensive I was a little apprehensive lest the events of the past two or three weeks might make my observations patently outdated.

The summary, analysis, and conclusions to be drawn from the events of the past few weeks are still too premature to lend credence to much of the hasty observations that have been publicized to date. We can say, however, that in some respects the enemy did catch us by surprise; in other respects, our forces were well prepared. Certainly there has been much destruction in some cities, with thousands made homeless. The Vietnamese and U.S. Forces suffered their highest personnel losses of the war for any given period of time. We also know that the enemy, the Viet Cong and North Vietnam forces, suffered by far the heaviest casualties they have ever experienced in the war.

Many initial reports and commentaries express a dubious reaction, if not downright pessimism, over the initiative that the NVA/VC were able to achieve with apparent surprise and with apparent assistance from some Vietnamese living in the cities.

Much of our press and some responsible citizens with some popular following have concluded that our three years in Vietnam have resulted in failure. Failure to win the war. Failure to protect the people. Failure to root out the VC political infrastructure. Failure to keep roads open. Failure to get the Vietnamese to contribute more toward their own salvation.

Vociferous tongues have tried to use this latest flare-up as conclusive evidence that their past criticisms were correct and that we should now seek ways to pull out and, in effect, admit defeat. Such inflammatory insinuations make nail-biting reading. The nail-biting is intended for the public at home. In contrast, however, for the troops in the field about whom these reports are written, there is order, not chaos, as they see it on the ground.

There seems to be built into our current national make-up a sinister element which, dedicated and determined to get us out of Vietnam, will exploit any apparent evidence which makes America's presence, or efforts, in that struggling country look bad.

No one objects to man speaking his piece—expressing his opinions publicly. This is a right we all defend. Surely, however, by now those who persist in looking for every possible item of criticism to write about but who, avoid reporting honest progress when it occurs, must know that the seeds they are sowing are seeds of malice toward their own country. In my humble judgment, as a soldier, those who pursue a course of derogating our efforts in Vietnam might as well be

Fee
M. L. King, Jr.

'A right to a job or an income'

"Twelve years ago in Montgomery, Alabama, we started out with a bus protest, trying to get a seat, the right to sit down on the bus in any seat that was available. We moved through that period on to the period of desegregating public accommodations and on to voting rights so that we can have political power. Now we are at the point where we must have economic power.

"He was concerned about the least of these—the garbage collectors, the sanitation workers in Memphis. He was concerned that you have a decent income and protection that was due you. And this is why he came back to Memphis to give his aid.

"We are concerned about not only the Negro poor but the poor all over America and all over the world. Every man deserves a right to a job or an income so that he can pursue liberty, life and happiness."

Mrs. Martin Luther King, Jr., Speaking in Memphis

'It is time...to repent'

"The Memphis officials must bear some of the guilt for Martin Luther King's assassination. The [garbage] strike should have been settled several weeks ago.

"The lowest paid man in our society should not have to strike to get a decent wage, a century after Emancipation; and after the enactment of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, it should not have been necessary for Martin Luther King, Jr. to stage marches in Montgomery, Birmingham, Selma and go to jail 30 times trying to achieve for his people those rights which people of lighter hue get by virtue of the fact that they are born white.

"We, too, are guilty of murder. It is time for the American people to repent and make democracy equally applicable to all Americans."

Dr. Benjamin Mays, retired president of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

'Let white America look into its own heart'

"This is the time for white America to forgo lecturing black Americans against violating the non-violent philosophy to which Dr. King's life will stand as a memorial for all time.

"Let white America for once concede to black America strength and dignity sufficient to make that decision without advice or admonishment. Let white America acknowledge that black Americans, as Dr. King has proved, have equal moral personality as human beings and have the qualities of leadership and courage and dignity which all Americans need. . . .

"If America cannot produce leadership toward the society that Dr. King saw in his dream for America, then America is finished. Let white America look into its own heart."

Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

PERSONNEL POLICIES

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

The Administrative Committee of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has approved the policies outlined in the following pages of this document, with the knowledge that effective staff performance is dependent upon sound employer-employee relationships and a high degree of motivation in the struggle for justice for all mankind. This manual is available to all staff members at all times, and any changes in the manual must be approved by the Administrative Committee and stated in writing and properly publicized among the staff. All staff members should become thoroughly familiar with the contents of this manual.

I. PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

The Office of the President has been given the responsibility and authority by the Administrative Committee to administer the personnel practices of the SCLC. Final authority and execution of these policies rests with the President, subject to the discretion of the Administrative Committee.

II. CLASSIFICATION PLANS

The Office of the President is responsible for defining all positions within the Conference, classifying them on the basis of kind and degree of responsibility so that each employee has a clear understanding of his duties. Payroll titles shown at the end of this booklet are in effect at the present time in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Machinery is set up in this organization for the careful, periodic review of the job performance of each employee. Such review must be made at least once annually by each employee's supervisor and must be shared with the employee concerned. Each employee must either sign the evaluation of his job performance or put in writing the reasons for his refusal to sign such evaluation. This material then is incorporated in the personnel file of such employee. Job descriptions for each position within the organization shall be completed and prepared anew at the discretion of the Office of the President.

III. PAY PLAN

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has a pay plan made up of salary schedules for each class of position based upon a comprehensive, carefully developed study and approved by the Administrative Committee.

PAY PLAN (Continued)

There is a provision for a minimum salary for each position and a series of intermediate steps within the schedules which shall be considered annually on the basis of job performance. The following factors have been considered in establishing salary schedules for the various positions:

1. The value of the service to the organization.

2. The degree of responsibility of the employee for exercising judgment affecting others, both in number of persons affected and the extent to which affected.

3. The skill required to perform adequately.

4. The rate of pay for comparable service in other agencies and services in the community and the nation.

5. The ability of the organization to pay the worker a salary which will afford basic economic security and allow him to participate in professional and cultural activities in the community, and to develop and maintain his professional skills.

IV. SELECTION AND APPOINTMENT OF PERSONNEL

(a) Applications for a position in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference should be submitted in writing and an initial interview held with the applicant during which the applicant is given information concerning the job description including a complete review of the position open, the skills needed and the performance expected, the salary schedule and increases within this schedule, the opportunities for advancement, personnel practices, emergency duties and other duties expected to be carried out by the staff, and an explanation of the development of personnel file. It is the policy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to bear the expenses of an applicant incident to this initial interview when such applicant is from out of town and has been invited by the organization to the interview.

(b) Prior to a final decision regarding the employment of an applicant, the personnel file must contain at least three written references which have been checked only with the applicant's permission. An initial interview containing the interviewer's impressions must be recorded, and the staff member who will be the supervisor of the applicant must have been consulted regarding the employment of such applicant. Authority for final decision regarding the employment of any applicant is reserved by the Office of the President.

SELECTION AND APPOINTMENT OF PERSONNEL (Continued)

(c) Notification to an applicant may be made by telephone. A follow-up letter, however, confirming the position, hours of work, salary, and other duties, must be sent to the applicant over the signature of the authorized person and must be accepted in writing by the applicant.

(d) Employees have the right to apply for open positions on the staff and will be notified of openings by memo when in the judgment of the Office of the President there are persons within the organization who may be qualified for such openings.

(e) All new professional employees must first pass a physical examination by a medical doctor and the cost of such examination up to $10.00 will be borne by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. The passing of this physical examination shall be a condition of employment.

V. WORK ASSIGNMENT

Assignment of responsibilities and duties and the areas in which an employee is expected to use his personal discretion should be delineated insofar as practicable.

VI. ORIENTATION

A training committee from the staff shall be charged with the responsibility for developing orientation classes for all new employees. Such classes must be held at regular intervals and shall be divided into three parts:

1. Orientation to the historic aspects of racial injustice in America.

2. Orientation to the various SCLC services.

3. Relationships and general policies and programs of other selected civil rights national organizations. (Detailed orientation to the particular service to which the employee will be assigned shall be the responsibility of the employee's immediate supervisor).

VII. STAFF DEVELOPMENT

In the interest of rendering the highest possible service, each employee shall have an opportunity for the development of his skills. To carry out such a program the following media shall be used:

1. Regular and planned supervisory conferences. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference recognizes that this is the medium of the most significant learning.

2. General staff meetings. These are held for the purpose of increasing understanding of the various services and activities, and for better integration of services.

3. Regular meetings of Service Directors with the President for a discussion of common problems, discrimination of knowledge, and discussion of new policies and procedures.

4. Institutes and seminars for increasing knowledge and skill in a specific area. These are not intended to take the place of supervision or professional training, but rather to supplement when necessary and when it is felt that the group method of learning is more effective.

5. The time of attendance may be part of the regular working day whenever feasible. However, the staff member should understand that the Southern Christian Leadership Conference reserves the right to require such staff members to attend institutes and seminars beyond the regularly scheduled working hours, and that attendance at such meetings shall be considered a part of their routine job assignments.

6. Scholarships for professional training with selection based on capabilities and potentialities for development are considered part of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference personnel practices when such a program is within the ability of the SCLC to finance.

7. Summer seminars and courses at institutes of learning, where such courses would increase the value of the worker to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Workers with professional degrees generally shall bear the entire expense for such attendance. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference may consider granting leave with pay if the Worker has been with the organization for number of years.

VIII. STAFF PARTICIPATION IN POLICY-MAKING AND PROGRAM

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference recognizes and encourages use of the experience and resources of its staff in the formulation and revision of procedures and programs. A committee shall be selected by the staff which will accept suggestions from the staff and serve in a consultative capacity to Management. A Management representative shall meet with this committee no less than once monthly.

IX. PERSONNEL RECORDS, MEASUREMENT OF PERFORMANCE

(a) The organization will maintain a personnel record of each employee containing application, references, contracts of agreements, work assignments, evaluations, and service ratings and correspondence relating to that employee. This material will be carefully protected against review or use by unauthorized persons and shall be available for use to authorized persons only after approval of the President's office.

see attachment

(b) A written evaluation of job performance shall be given to each employee at regular intervals and at any other time when evaluations are indicated. The following generally is the plan for the use of evaluations in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

1. On the yearly anniversary of the employee's appointment to the staff.

2. When an employee is reclassified from one position to another.

3. When an employee leaves the staff.

4. At any time the employee requests an evaluation of his performance.

5. At any time in an employee's development where, in the opinion of the supervisor, an evaluation seems indicated in regard to helping the employee in more effective planning for his job performance

X. TENURE, CHANGE OF STATUS, AND TERMINATION OF EMPLOYMENT

(a) PROBATION

All employees are appointed originally for a probation period of six

PROBATION (Continued)

months to permit the employee to demonstrate his capacity for performance, and to determine whether or not the employee or the organization desires to continue the association on a more permanent basis. An evaluation must be submitted upon completion of the probationary period. The employee will be told in advance of this probation period and any specific expectations for this period. There shall be official notification in writing of the termination of the probation period. If there is to be a separation from the staff, initiated either by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference or the employee at the end of such period, two weeks notice of such intention must be given in writing.

(b) TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT

Temporary employment shall be subject to the same conditions which apply to the permanent staff, with the exception that leave and other employee benefits will not be available to the temporary employee.

(c) TENURE

The continuation of employment in a position will be based upon employee's continuing satisfactory performance as indicated by continuous and periodic evaluations, with the sole exception of the reasons outlined in Paragraph F below.

(d) SENIORITY

In taking personnel action seniority shall be considered only in conjunction with the evaluation of performance. Where an employee has been with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference over a period of years, however, and the work has been satisfactory, this factor may be taken into consideration.

(f) LAY-OFF

When reductions in force are indicated such action shall be applied on the basis of performance rating with consideration for seniority. A minimum of two weeks' notice shall be given of such action, and at the discretion of the Office of the President, one month's surplus pay may be considered.

(g) DISMISSAL

An employee may be dismissed because of inability to perform assigned duties, negligence, or inefficiency, or for misconduct. It is under-

DISMISSAL (Continued)

stood that the interpretation of the word "misconduct" embraces insubordination on the part of a staff member. An employee may be demoted on the basis of inability to perform assigned duties. Dismissal for misconduct may be without prior notice.

(h) RESIGNATIONS

Employees who resign shall give two weeks' notice in writing before date of resignation. If such written notice is not submitted, his accumulated leave may be forfeited.

XI. HOURS OF WORK

It is recognized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference that the average work week ideally should not exceed 40 hours, but by the nature of our assignments, it is frequently necessary, to carry out the needs of a program, that staff members will be required to work longer hours.

XII. LEAVE

(a) ANNUAL

Each permanent employee accumulates one working day a month annual leave. When absences on annual leave bracket a weekend, only the normal working days will be charged against the accumulated leave. The maximum annual leave any employee can take at any one time consecutively is ten working days. The other two days of accumulated annual leave may be taken at other seasons of the year. Annual leave must be recommended by the employee's immediate supervisor and must be given final approval in advance by the Office of the President. Unused annual leave is considered an earned dividend, and in the event the employee leaves the service of this organization, and a minimum of two weeks' notice is given, the unused annual leave will be returned to the employee as payment. In the absence of a minimum of two weeks' notice, the organization reserves the right to deduct from the annual leave payment, sufficient time to cover the two weeks' period which properly should have been given as notice of intention to resign. Whenever convenient, however, the organization will not require an employee to work the two full weeks of notice if a replacement is readily available and the employee wishes to leave earlier. No annual leave will be granted any permanent employee until he has served continuously for a minimum of three months. Upon completion of the three months' period, the employee will automatically be credited with three days annual. In the event the employee leaves the organization before

ANNUAL (Continued)

the three months period is completed, no credit for annual leave will be granted. Permanent employees who work on a half-time basis will be granted half of the regular amount of annual leave. A maximum of six days annual leave may be carried over into a subsequent calendar year unless additional annual leave is not taken during the current calendar year at the specific request of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

It is recognized that our annual leave policy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference is considerably more liberal than the annual leave policies in effect in industry-at-large, the reason being that our professional staff members do not receive overtime compensation, although they may be called upon at any time to serve beyond their normal working hours in the interest of effectively meeting the needs of a given services.

(b) SICK LEAVE

Sick leave will accumulate on a basis of one working day per month. When sick leave absences bracket a weekend, the weekend absences are not charged against the sick leave. When sick leave absences extend beyond a two-day period, they should be supported by a doctor's statement when in the opinion of the Office of the President such is desirable. Accumulated sick leave at the time of separation from the staff will not be considered as an accumulated earning of an employee and will not be reimbursed. No accumulated sick leave will be carried over into the following calendar year, unless it is approved in writing by the Office of the President.

(c) EMERGENCY LEAVE

Emergency leave will be granted only in instances where a member of the employee's immediate family is concerned. Illness of in-laws and cousins for example, and for moving from one house to another, as a rule will not justify the granting of emergency leave. Absences resulting from such personal problems will be charged to annual leave. A maximum of three days emergency leave will be allowed in cases of death or serious illness in the employee's immediate family.

(d) LEAVE WITHOUT PAY

Leave without pay may be granted an employee only when he has exhausted all accumulated annual leave. Leave without pay which brackets a weekend will include the weekend absence in the computation of the deduction to be made from the employee's salary. A maximum of one month's leave without pay may be granted in any one year to any permanent employee. Leaves of absence beyond that time, as a general rule, will require separation from the staff, subject to the discretion of the President.

(e) ANTICIPATED LEAVE

Any staff member who has been with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference for a minimum of six months may anticipate either sick or annual leave through the period of the calendar year. In the event such staff member leaves the employment of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference prior to the end of such calendar year, and has anticipated leave beyond the amount he actually earned, the excess leave he has anticipated will be deducted from his final pay check.

(f) APPROVAL AND PREPARATION OF LEAVE CARDS

The following policy shall apply in regard to the preparation and approval of leave cards.

1. Routine leaves, including annual leave and sick leave

   a. The employee should submit signed leave cards to the director of his service.

   b. The Service Director should then consult with the Accounting Office to determine the amount of leave for which the employee is eligible.

   c. If the leave is in order and meets with his approval, he should affix his signature. His approval constitutes his recommendation and final approval must be obtained by the Office of the President.

2. Unusual leave application, such as anticipated annual leave, leave without pay, or emergency leave, should follow the routine listed above.

   Suitable explanation of request for unusual leave should accompany leave card submitted to the Office of the President.

3. Leave cards shall be made out in ink, or on typewriter, and will not be accepted if corrections or erasures have been made unless the employee applying for such leave has initialed such changes.

XIII. HOLIDAYS

The following holidays will be observed:

New Year's Day
Labor Day
July Fourth
Thanksgiving Day
Christmas Day
Christmas Eve or New Year's Eve
(choice of employee with proper approval through channels.)

When any of the above mentioned holidays fall on Sunday, the following Monday will be observed as a holiday.

XIV. INSURANCE

(a) GROUP HOSPITAL

(b)GROUP LIFE INSURANCE

(c) WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION

(d) SOCIAL SECURITY

All employees are required to participate in the Old Age and Survivors Insurance Program of the Social Security Act.

XV. PHYSICAL WORKING FACILITIES

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference recognizes that satisfactory physical working conditions are essential for efficient performance on the job. There should be adequate light, heat, ventilation, and fire protection. Sanitary and rest facilities should be adequate. Furniture and equipment should provide space and privacy and should be adapted to the need for such items. Provision should be made of adequate telephone and clerical service. Adequate supplies in both kind and amount are essential if satisfactory service is to be given. A pleasant and attractive office is essential to the well being and proper functioning of the staff. These conditions will be met to the extent of the organization's ability to finance such a program.

XVI. APPEAL

Any employee may take an appeal against the violation of these practices, or in the event of disagreement of an evaluation submitted by the employee's supervisor. This appeal should be first submitted to the Director of the service. In the event such disagreement continues the employee then has the right to take his appeal up directly with the Office of the President.

WORK PERFORMANCE REVIEW GUIDE
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

1. Who is evaluated? Each staff member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

2. Who evaluates the staff member? The immediate supervisor.

3. Who is the reviewing official? The immediate supervisor of the evaluator.

4. When are Work Performance Reviews to be completed?

   (a) For newly employed staff members, 6 months after date of original employment.

   (b) On the anniversary date of employment when it has not been changed by promotion, transfer, etc. A new anniversary date is established by promotion, transfer, etc., only when promotion, transfer, etc., is accompanied by a salary adjustment of at least one full step. The President's office maintains a record of all anniversary dates and forwards proper forms to the immediate supervisor through recognized channels 10 working days before the anniversary date. The completed form should be returned by the immediate supervisor within 20 working days after the anniversary date. (This allows approximately six weeks for the completion of the form).

   (c) When a salary increase is recommended.

   (d) Prior to any action that severs relationship between supervisor and staff member, e.g., promotion, transfer, demotion, separation, etc.

   (e) At other times considered appropriate by the staff member and/or the immediate supervisor.

5. SECTION I

   Part A should be completed for every staff member.

   Part B should be completed if the staff member being evaluated supervises one or more individuals.

   Part C should be completed if the staff member being evaluated has specific administrative or executive responsibilities.

6. SECTION II - Narrative Statement

The narrative part of the evaluation should be completed for every staff member. The narrative is the supporting document for the scale summation and provides source material for recommendations. The narrative also serves as a guide to the President in the construction of reference statements for present or former staff members. As many supplements as are necessary may be used.

WORK PERFORMANCE REVIEW
SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

Name	Position Title and Code	Total Years Service

Period Covered	Type of Evaluation	Salary
From: To:	Annual:___ 6-Months:___ Separation:___	Adj.:_____ Other:_____

SECTION 1, A: Indicate by check your observation of adequacy of individual to demand of present position. (Work performance scale has 3 parts; complete "A" for each person.)

	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Fair	Unsatisfactory
1. Ability to plan or organize the assigned work. Consider following: foresight, timeliness, and judgment displayed in performance of total duties.					
2. Amount of work performed. Consider the volume of work produced and the consistency of the output.					
3. Quality of work performed. Consider accuracy, thoroughness, and the ability to produce work that meets quality standards.					
4. Ability to adjust to work situation. Consider adaptability to fluctuations in volume and pressure of work or to changes in assignment, location of work, or personnel.					
5. Work relations with immediate associates and other staff members. Consider cooperation, ease, and effectiveness in personal contacts and group relations.					
6. Attitude toward job. Consider response to supervision, integrity in discharging job responsibilities and constructive attitude toward established policies and procedures.					
7. Capacity of growth. Consider teachability, resourcefulness and capacity to learn, to retain what is learned, and to relate one experience to another.					

B. If the staff member being evaluated has supervisory responsibilities, part "B" below must be completed.

Number of workers supervised:_____

1. Ability to plan and execute supervisory duties. Consider following: systematic and adequate instructions to each staff member under immediate supervision, review of work of each, and constructive discussion of performance.					
2. Judgment in making decisions. Consider capacity to decide intelligently and promptly, ability to support decisions, and freedom from purely personal bias or prejudice.					
3. Skill in training and developing staff members. Consider education of each staff member to study job requirements, assistance in acquiring the background of information, analysis of each member's strength, weakness and development.					

(Over)

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C. If staff member being evaluated has specific administrative responsibilities, part "c" below must be completed.

	Excellent	Very Good	Good	Fair	Unsatisfactory
1. Competence in development and direction of operations. Consider following: amount and effectiveness of drive and enterprise displayed, originality and resourcefulness in meeting new problems, development and use new techniques, delegation.					
2. Coordination duties and responsibilities with those of other administrative staff. Consider extent cooperation with staff in same service, functional relations with other services, degree teamwork in development of over-all programs.					

SECTION II. Narrative (This section must be filled in as completely as possible. Describe particular strengths and weaknesses of staff member indicating specific types of training that would benefit this individual in improving over-all performance. Comment briefly on such matters as general manner or poise, punctuality, and dependability.)

General Over-all Evaluation:
Excellent:___ Very Good:___ Good:___ Fair:___ Unsatisfactory:___

Recommendation: Salary Increase:___ Separation:_____ Other:_____ No Change:_____

Date review and attachments, if any, read and discussed by supervisor and staff member:_____

Has staff member accepted report as a whole? Yes__ No__ (If yes, he should sign below. If no, he should so indicate in writing below and should attach written statement concerning items to which exception is taken.)

Signature of staff member:

Signature of Supervisor making report		Signature of reviewing official	
Title	Date	Tit'	Date

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Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

PUBLISHERS OF The Southern PATRIOT FOUNDED IN 1942

822 PERDIDO STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70112 ● Area 504 522-7326

September, 1964

Dear Friend of Civil Rights:

One of the most exciting grass roots movements in the South is taking place in Halifax County, North Carolina, described in the enclosed reprint, "An Upsurge in Carolina".

The Halifax County project, sponsored by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc. (SCEF), has led to registration of some 2,000 new Negro voters. Other SCEF activities and needs are outlined in the enclosed folder.

The SCEF, oldest civil rights organization in the South with a program directed especially to white Southerners, is now fighting the most serious battle in its 25-year history.

On October 4, 1963, in a storm-trooper type operation, state police raided the offices and homes of SCEF officials in New Orleans. All of the corporation's records were seized. Two of the Fund's officers were indicted for violation of the Louisiana Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law and face possible sentences of from 10 to 30 years in prison.

SCEF is fighting back vigorously. A staff of distinguished lawyers, headed by William Kunstler and Arthur Kinoy have been retained. The Fund's attack on the constitutionality of the State statutes will be heard by the United States Supreme Court in November.

On October 4, 1964, SCEF will have demonstrated its determination not to be destroyed by surviving for one year under what an editorial by WDSU-TV station in New Orleans called "police-state" tactics.

More is at stake than the fate of SCEF and the freedom of its officers. This mockery of legal process by the State of Louisiana represents a last-ditch, desperate groping to destroy the civil rights movement under the guise of fighting subversion. If the segregationists can "get" the SCEF this way, other organizations and other individuals will assuredly be next all over the South.

We ask you, in this present crisis, to send us a generous contribution.

Sincerely,

Rev F. L. Shuttlesworth

Fred L. Shuttlesworth,
President

Jim Dombrowski

James A. Dombrowski,
Executive Director

P.S.: If you have already made your contribution to SCEF this year, please pass this on to a friend.

Reprinted from:

The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 22, No. 6

June, 1964

Published by the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

An Upsurge in Carolina

(By Staff Correspondent)

ENFIELD, N.C.—As yet very little noticed by the outside world, a remarkable grass-roots program of voter registration and political action is developing here.

In reaction, a resurgence of Ku Klux Klan activity is also developing in this area. It too is largely unnoticed by the outside world and could spell real danger unless the spotlight of decent public opinion is turned on it.

Enfield is in Halifax County, which lies in the heart of North Carolina's "Black Belt"—country similar to rural areas of the Deep South. This area lies in the northeastern part of the state—a section very different from the industrial and academic centers of North Carolina, where a measure of progress has given this state a "liberal" reputation.

This is farming and plantation country—cotton, tobacco, and peanuts—with virtually no industry. The Black Belt area covers roughly seven counties. Segregation is total and rigid, poverty rampant, and job and educational opportunities almost nonexistent for Negroes.

In the area as a whole, Negroes comprise about two thirds of the population, but relatively few are registered. Attempts to register have traditionally been met by many of the same tactics that prevail in the Deep South—various devices by registrars to refuse registration and physical and economic intimidations.

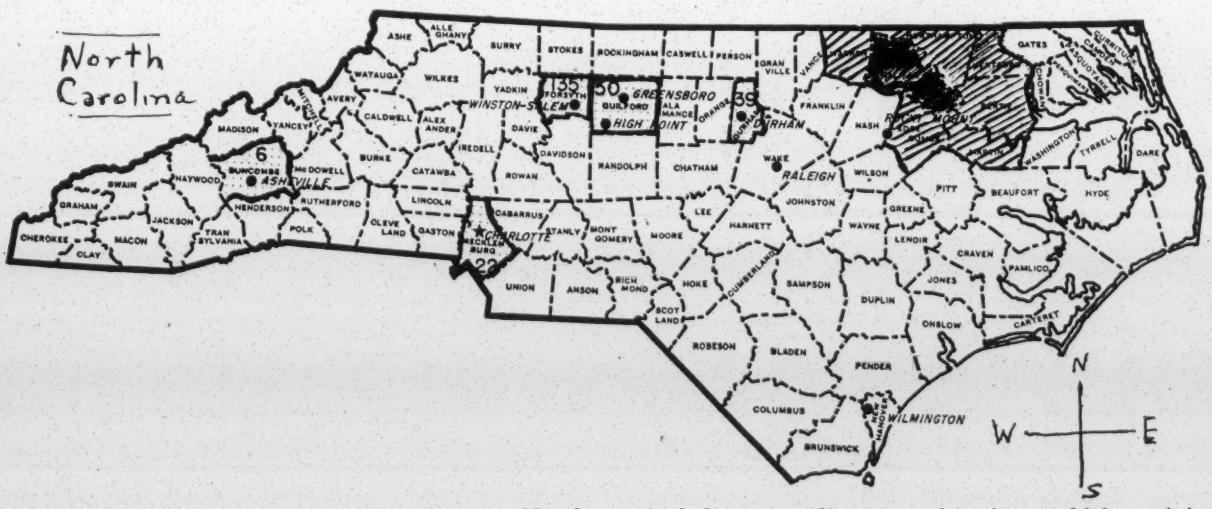
Yet in Halifax County in a few weeks time this spring more than 2000 Negro voters were added to the rolls; a Federal court order was won which prohibits registrars from blocking Negro registration and sets important precedents for the entire state and the South in general; 11 Negroes ran for local office, and one is in the race for Congress.

Most important, the group which did all these things, the Halifax Voters Movement, built itself into a strong grass-roots organization with workers in every precinct in the county and a democratic

(Continued bottom of page)

—Photo by Doug Harris

TROY LASSITER (left), co-chairman of the Halifax Voters Movement, talks with John Salter of the SCEF staff and a farmer from Tillery, N.C., during vote drive. Lassiter is a long-time veteran of civil-rights efforts; ten years ago he helped organize hundreds of Negro students who attempted to desegregate the schools in this section. That movement was crushed but Lassiter and others continued to work.



A SEVEN-COUNTY AREA in Northeastern North Carolina, shaded on this map, is the heart of what is known as that state's Black Belt—a farming area very much like the Deep South where segregation is rigid and repression is the pattern. The more darkly shaded area is Halifax County, where new upsurge of civil-rights activity centers. The lightly shaded surrounding counties, into which activity will soon spread, are Warren, Northhampton, Hertford, Bertie, Martin, and Edgecombe. Parts of the Black Belt pattern and ways also extend into other surrounding areas. The counties with heavy black lines to the west and south are industrial areas which have given the state its liberal reputation.

structure run from the bottom up.

Commenting on the nature and growth of the group, John Salter, SCEF field organizer who has worked closely with it, says:

"Few developments have ever made me quite as optimistic about the future of grass-roots democracy as has the healthy way this movement has developed."

Although the new upsurge is limited now to Halifax County, it is almost certain to spread to the other Black Belt Counties; it has significance for the entire state because this area—due to disproportionate representation — has traditionally exerted great control in the State Legislature.

Efforts at Negro registration in Halifax County actually date back many years, with a few pioneers carrying the burden of the struggle. The new upsurge, however, started last winter.

Last summer there were nonviolent direct action attempts to integrate some of the public facilities of Enfield, and these were met with mass arrests and clubbings and fire-hosing by police and vigilantes. **This convinced many people of the need to build Negro voting strength.**

In February, grass-roots leaders from all over the county came together and mapped their campaign. The representation cut

(More →

. . . . Grass-Roots Vote Drive Stirs Repressed Area

across all class and economic lines—the very poorest farmers working alongside professional people.

By summer every community in the county had been touched and many of the rural areas; more than 100 mass meetings had been held, and about 100,000 pieces of literature distributed.

Total population of Halifax County is 58,000, of whom 32,000 or about 55 per cent are Negroes. Before the recent registration drive, 1600 were voters. In the brief two-week registration period in May, this was increased to 3,600.

On the first registration day, Negroes were met with widespread police harassment and stalling tactics by registrars. That's when they went into Federal court. Attorneys Arthur Kinoy and William Kunstler of New York, Morton Stavis of New Jersey, and Samuel Mitchell of North Carolina won a sweeping injunction laying down certain rules to insure that registrars could not deny Negroes the right to vote.

For example, the ruling held that no registrar could spend more time registering Negroes than whites, must try to register each person in a five-minute period, that he must register three people at a time when lines began to form, must hire extra clerical help, etc. The ruling also required that registration be held on every week day during the registration period, instead of just on Saturdays as previously.

Observers said this ruling probably means that no county in this state will ever again try a massive effort to block Negro attempts to register and vote.

After the registration period, the Halifax Movement concentrated on getting out the vote in the primary election. Movement poll watchers estimated that 3,000 Negroes voted—an unusually high percentage.

The 11 Negro candidates didn't win, of course,—not this time, but many people caught a glimpse of what can be done as more people register. The candidates ran on a broad platform of "Food, Freedom, and Good Government."

The large Negro turnout happened despite great tension in the air, large numbers of hostile police and segregationists in evidence, and the increased Ku Klux Klan activity in the area.

With the elimination of the Negro candidates from the primary one Negro remains in a race this year — A. C. Cofield, long-time leader in this area and chairman of the Halifax Voters Movement, who is running as a write-in candidate for Congress in the November election.

Meantime, the Halifax Voters Movement is turning its attention to long-range goals. It is tightening up its precinct organization and extending its work more intensively into the rural areas of the country; and a massive registration campaign is being planned for the next registration period, which comes in October.

It has sent 31 local persons to be trained as teachers in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference citizenship schools, and they are setting up literacy and citizenship classes. There will also be classes in America government and social problems. Food and clothing are being collected by the Movement for poverty-stricken families.

The movement is backing a school integration effort too, and 18 Negro children have applied for transfers to segregated schools this fall. Testing of the new federal civil rights bill started as soon as it went into effect and some barriers fell. Economic boycotts are in the planning stage to support demands for fair hiring policies.

The counter-pressures have been tremendous. A state leader of the White Citizens Council affiliate has spent a great deal of time here, crosses have been burned and, in late June, armed Klansmen, some wearing masks in violation of state law, traveled to Enfield, held a rally and drove through the Negro section. Death threats have been made against civil rights workers.

There has been an intensive campaign of red-baiting—charges of communism against the civil-rights movement in ads and letters in the newspaper. The John Birch Society is strong here and it is a stronghold of the Wallace-for-President campaign in North Carolina.

None of this has frightened the Halifax Movement people; if anything, their determination has increased. However, they are concerned because the press in the rest of the state seems to be ignoring the upsurge of Klan activity and they fear it will grow and turn more and more to open terror unless there is widespread protest.

The Halifax Movement is pushing an important court test as a counterattack against economic pressure applied to civil-right workers. This is the case of Mrs. Willa Johnson, wife of Reed Johnson, who was a candidate for office; Mrs. Johnson herself is also a movement leader. She is a school teacher and her contract was not renewed for next year.

Attorneys Kunstler and Kinoy, Martin Bradley of Buffalo, N.Y., and Samuel Mitchell filed suit in Federal Court asking reinstatement and damages for her. It is a class action so that a victory will insure the rights of other teachers who want to become active.

In addition to the assistance of John Salter of SCEF, the Halifax Voters Movement has had the help of two field secretaries of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, J. V. Henry and Doug Harris, both native North Carolinians, and also of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which it has become an affiliate. Groups such as the League of Women Voters and AFL-CIO COPE have given aid.

The great bulk of the credit for what has been done, here, however, belongs to the local people of Halifax County themselves.

—Photo by Doug Harris

SLUMS LIKE THESE where Negroes live in Enfield, N.C., are part of the target of the Halifax Voters Movement. Its leaders say its objectives are "full human dignity and liberty, a full measure of economic opportunity, topflight schooling, and democratic and constructive government."

Klan on March

DURHAM, N.C.—*The Carolina Times*, a statewide Negro newspaper, ran an editorial recently entitled, "The Ku Klux Klan Takes Over in Enfield." In it the editor said: ". . . In Enfield and other sections of Halifax County, the law is glad to take a holiday while the Ku Klux Klan or any other group of white persons who wishes to do so, exercises the liberty of heaping insults and abuses on Negroes."

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

the Southern Conference Educational Fund, inc.

LWD ✓
WBV ✓
PA ✓
VI ✓
SW-file

ITS PLANNED ACTIVITIES AND FINANCIAL REQUIREMENTS 1964

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

ITS PLANNED ACTIVIT

THE BUDGET: SCEF's annual budget is about $110,000, about 25% of this goes for administrative and general office expense; and about 75% for publications and special projects. The administrative and general office expense is a fairly stable, fixed sum, but the publications and special projects budget is adjustable. Only those projects are undertaken for which money has been raised or which appears to be in sight.

WHERE THE MONEY COMES FROM: All of SCEF's budget comes from voluntary, individual contributions. We have about 300 friends who contribute $100 or more, but most of the annual gifts are from "little people", from $10 to $25. A special effort is being made to secure $12 a-year-gifts ($1.00 per month).

HOW THE MONEY IS SPENT: SCEF is in regular contact with about 100 grass roots civil rights organizations in the South, lending them encouragement, and making available a staff of professionally trained, experienced technicians, especially skilled in public relations and community organizations.

SCEF's STAFF: SCEF's field staff includes **Carl and Anne Braden,** who have worked as reporters and editors on some of the South's largest newspapers; **John R. Salter, Jr.,** formerly professor of social studies at Tougaloo College, Mississippi, and advisor to the Jackson, Mississippi, NAACP Youth Committee which did such a remarkably fine job of organizing the Jackson Freedom Movement; **the Rev. William Howard Melish,** an ordained Episcopal Minister, and chairman of the Religious Freedom Committee; **Mrs. Ella J. Baker,** formerly national Director of Branches for the NAACP, and former executive director of Dr. Martin Luther King's organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Adult Advisor of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee; Coordinator Washington office, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

EDUCATION FOR GRASS ROOTS LEADERS: SCEF conducts workshops on a local and regional basis for the leadership of grass-roots civil rights groups for the discussion of basic issues, policies, and directions. In the past 3 years special attention has been given to the relationship of civil rights and civil liberties.

WHO DIRECTS SCEF's POLICIES: SCEF's board of directors of 80 and its advisory committee of 100, divided about equally between whites and Negroes, all live in the South. The Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, noted civil rights leader of Birmingham and Cincinnati, is president of SCEF.

SCEF's UNIQUE CONTRIBUTION—ENLISTING WHITE ALLIES: While all SCEF projects and activities are integrated, SCEF regards its unique contribution to the civil rights struggle to be the seeking out, and encouragement of Southern white liberals. For 25 years SCEF has provided a rallying point for those Southerners who wanted to take an uncompromising stand against all forms of discrimination and segregation. As our field staff travels about the South, they try to find these isolated liberals and help them to feel they are not alone.

BUILDING LINES OF COMMUNICATION—THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT: SCEF helps to maintain lines of communication between all integrationists in the South by means of a monthly newspaper the **Southern Patriot,** now in its 22nd year of continuous publication. It collects, and interprets the news of the Southern integration struggle, publishes profiles of its leaders, etc. Almost all of this material is written by the Patriot's own staff of correspondents, and is not available from any other source. The **Patriot** is not a SCEF house organ. It publishes news of all integrationist organizations active in the South. It can be found in the libraries of many of the country's leading colleges and universities. The **Patriot** is sent automatically to all contributors to the Fund.

NEWS BUREAU: SCEF maintains a news bureau servicing about 300 newspapers, magazines, TV and radio stations.

WHITE STUDENT PROJECT WITH "SNICK": For the past 3 years SCEF has given a grant to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC-"SNICK") to pay the salary and expenses of a fulltime field secretary to visit "white" college campuses in the South with the aim of involving more white students in the freedom movement. For the first two years "SNICK" selected Bob Zellner to work under this grant.

This school year it is Sam Shirah. For the first 2 years the grant was $5,000. This year, because of the financial crisis precipitated by the raids, the grant has been reduced to $3,600 or $300 per month. We would like to restore this grant to its original amount.

TWO NEW PUBLICATIONS: SCEF is distributing a new publication by Anne Braden, published by the National Committee to abolish HUAC, under the title of "HUAC-BULWARK OF SEGREGATION", and plans to distribute another pamphlet by the same author. It is a basic document, still to be named, on the SCEF raids & arrests. We need $7,500 for this publishing project: $2,500 for the HUAC pamphlet, and $5,000 for the pamphlet on the SCEF cases.

SCEF is interested in two projects that are close to the hearts of two of its associates:

(1) **HALIFAX COUNTY, N. C.**—John R. Salter, Jr. has laid out an ambitious plan for the development of a grass-roots community campaign for the Tidewater region, beginning with a Voter-Education project in the largest county in North Carolina (Halifax County —60% Negro). They need food, clothing, books of all kinds, and money. $4,200 would finance the project in its initial stages. (Telephone, postage, mimeo supplies, gas, etc.) This project could be just as significant for the Tidewater region as Fayette County has been for Tennessee and the Delta.

(2) **APPALACHIA:** Sam Shirah, a SNCC staff member, working under a SCEF grant, has had a dream concerned with the problem of how to convert the Southern Negro student protest movement into a real black and white movement of people against injustice. To put it more positively and concretely, how to unite the dispossessed in a program for "Jobs and Freedom". He wants to start in the Southern Mountain region. We would like to be able to help finance an office and skeleton staff for one year. $5,000 would do it.

SCHOLARSHIP AID FOR YOUNG FREEDOM FIGHTERS: SCEF has raised more than $5,000 to provide scholarship aid for the children of the Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, 3 of whom are now students at the University of Cincinnati. A few other young people

have been helped. This is one of the areas where more funds are needed urgently.

COOPERATION WITH OPERATION FREEDOM & AID FOR VICTIMS OF ECONOMIC REPRISALS: SCEF helped to set up **Operation Freedom** which is doing such a marvelous job with loans and grants to the Freedom fighters in Fayette and Haywood Counties and in the Mississippi Delta, to help the victims of economic reprisals to make a crop and stay alive. Where Operation Freedom has been unable to help, SCEF has stepped in to assist some special cases:

(1) SCEF raised $19,000 in loans to refinance the business of a Negro business man in Mississippi, in order to give him an economic base from which to carry on his activities as a leader in the freedom movement.

(2) SCEF has raised $21,000 in loans to finance another key Negro business man in Tennessee. The money was used to complete and equip a multipurpose building when white merchants refused to sell to Negroes, when they began to register to vote. The Small Business Administration has agreed to take over the mortgage upon completion.

(3) SCEF has raised $45,000 in bail bonds for young freedom fighters, almost all of them SNCC field workers and members.

SCEF's LEGAL DEFENSE, OUR MOST URGENT IMMEDIATE NEED: We have listed some of the typical projects of SCEF which will indicate how our funds are spent, and I have mentioned a few projects for which we need funds now in order to maintain our regular program. However, the raids and arrests on October 4, 1963, placed a heavy financial burden upon the Fund for legal defense.

In addition to the criminal prosecutions of 2 SCEF officials by the State of Louisiana, SCEF has two cases on appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, one for a half million dollars in damages, and one, which is the key case, testing the constitutionality of the Louisiana Statutes. SCEF desperately needs immediate financial aid for legal defense. We are trying to raise $25,000 for legal defense in 1964, in addition to the regular budget of $110,000 or a total of $135,000.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SCEF COURT CASES: Much more is involved in SCEF's legal defense than the survival of the Fund, for if Louisiana is successful in its efforts to destroy SCEF, it is certain that Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and other Southern states will move quickly against all civil rights organizations and their leaders.

The significance of the SCEF case was stated by Circuit Judge John Minor Wisdom at the beginning of his forthright dissent:

> **"The main issue in this case (Dombrowski v. Pfister) is whether the State is abusing its legislative power and criminal processes: whether the State, under the pretext of protecting itself against subversion, has harassed and humiliated the plaintiffs and is about to prosecute them solely because their activities in promoting civil rights for Negroes conflict with the State's steel-hard policy of segregation. They ask the federal court to defend their federally protected rights."**

It is not stretching the truth to say that the police state tactics used against SCEF, if permitted to stand, are a threat to all organizations working for peace and for social justice, as well as all agencies that challenge the *status quo*.

* * * *

The Washington Post

. . . A three-judge Federal court now has under consideration a suit by the SCEF attacking the constitutionality of the Louisiana Subversive Activities and Communist Control Law. In the manner of its enforcement in Louisiana, the law seems to be a plain infringement on the advocacy of ideas—and as such in violation of the First Amendment. It seems obvious that it is being used against the SCEF for the sole reason that that organization is engaged in advocating civil rights for Negroes in the South. If it succeeds in this case, it will be used in other Southern states to tag the civil rights movement as "subversive" and Communist. This amounts to rule by intimidation. It is the antithesis of the democratic process.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 12, 1964

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND
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SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

Accountants' Report

Financial Statements - December 31, 1965

HUCK & AUCOIN

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

NEWS from
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

Feb. 9, 1966

ELLAVILLE, Ga.--A 14-year-old boy is scheduled to go on trial for his life on Feb. 14 because he killed a policeman who was hitting his brother with a club.

Charlie Hunter shot Night Policeman John A. Hardin to death last Nov. 13 on a dirt road about a mile outside the Ellaville city limits. The boy said he feared that Hardin was about to kill his brother Willie, 19.

Judge T.O. Marshall, sitting as judge of Juvenile Court, turned the boy over to Superior Court for trial on a charge of first-degree murder. Marshall is also judge of Schley County Superior Court.

He was to preside at the trial of Charlie and Willie Hunter, who is also charged with murder. The state was expected to ask that the brothers be electrocuted.

Attorneys for the Hunters are challenging the system of jury selection in Schley County. They say that it results in the exclusion of Negroes, who make up 56 per cent of the population of the county.

Concerned citizens in Southwest Georgia have formed the Hunter Defense Committee to try to free the youths. Slater King, president of the Albany Movement, is chairman. He said the committee hopes to include persons in other parts of the nation who have voiced concern about the case.

King pointed out that Officer Hardin and another man stopped the Hunter brothers on the road outside Ellaville, although the policeman's authority did not extend beyond the city limits.

The man with Hardin was identified as Kermit O. Green, a foreman with

the Georgia Highway Department who also acts as county jailer. Sheriff William Marcene Ellis testified at a preliminary hearing that Green had no authority to arrest anybody anywhere. The sheriff said that Green should have been feeding prisoners at the jail about the time that he and Hardin stopped the Hunters.

The Hunter brothers said that Willie Hunter, who was driving their car, was slow in getting out of the vehicle after it was stopped. They said the policeman then hit Willie Hunter with a club while Green held a pistol and an automatic rifle.

Charlie Hunter said that he yelled to Hardin, "Don't hit him anymore," and tried to get out of the car. The boy charged that Green pushed him back into the car while Hardin hit his brother with the club again.

The Hunters related that Willie was lying on the ground half-conscious, and Hardin was preparing to hit him again, when Charlie grabbed the pistol from Green and shot the policeman.

The brothers were taken to the Sumter County Jail in Americus, where they have been held without bond. Their family employed C. B. King, an Albany attorney, to defend the youths.

The Hunter trial recalls a similar case in Ellaville which became quite celebrated almost 20 years ago. At that time Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, a sharecropper with 12 children, was attacked in a field by a white neighbor. One of her sons struck the man and he fell dead from the blow.

Mrs. Ingram and two of her sons, 13 and 15, were sentenced to die in the electric chair but world-wide protests resulted in their sentences being commuted. All are now free after serving sentences of varying lengths.

The Hunter Defense Committee is at P.O. Box 1641, Albany, Georgia. Funds are needed to help in the defense of the youths.

#

Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.

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November 16th 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsythe SW,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Anthony,

When I visited you during the summer you mentioned that SRC has a good many surveys and studies of various aspects of Southern life available, which I might get copies of. I wonder if I may take up your offer, for help in documenting an article for the Southern Patriot on dual justice in rape cases. Mr. John Boone touched on this during the workshop on dual justice in the courts here last month, and I've addressed my letter to him. I've enclosed a copy of that letter. If he is out of town, would it be possible for you to have someone else forward the material to me? Can you suggest any reports published by other groups, which might be relevant?

Thank you very much.

Peace,
Joy Fenston
Joy Fenston,
Assistant Editor.

November 16,1966

Mr. John Boone,
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5 Forsythe SW,
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Dear Mr. Boone,

As I mentioned last month, when I met you in Louisville at the workshop on dual justice, the Southern Patriot is compiling statistics for an article on dual justice in rape cases. You said then that the SRC has several reports and studies which would be useful to document the article. I wonder if we could have copies of anything you have available. If you have any reports which would be useful for my article, but which have not yet been published in quantity, could we borrow a copy for a few days, and return it? Or could you have it xeroxed? Any reports or studies published by other groups which you could suggest would be helpful.

One other request: Mrs. Braden was talking to you about a study of Arkansas prisons, and you mentioned you had an extra copy of that. Would it be possible for us to have it?

Our deadline is much too soon, as usual, so in case you're out of town at another of these workshops and won't be back to deal with all these requests in the immediate future, I'm sending a copy of the letter to Mr. Anthony. I hope to hear from one of you. Many thanks for your help.

Peace,

Joy Fenston,
Assistant Editor.

5 Forsythe SW,
Atlanta, Georgia.

Texas Rangers Break Farm Workers' Strike

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE
(Assistant Editor)

La Huelga — the strike in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas—has been broken by the Texas Rangers. For 1967 it is over. But the efforts of the Rangers and the ranchers have not broken the spirit of the 2,000 Spanish-speaking Americans who have been striking for 16 months in an effort to gain recognition for their union, the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC), and to better the conditions under which they live.

Starr County, where the strike is taking place, is 98 per cent Mexican-American. Most of the people work the huge Anglo-owned ranches for wages ranging from 40 to 80 cents an hour.

In June of 1966, organizers from the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), headed by Cesar Chavez, came in from Delano, Calif. Soon the cry of *La Huelga* was heard in the valley.

But the struggle did not develop along ethnic lines—Mexican-American against Anglo—for the local power structure is solidly Mexican-American. This latter group lined up with the large Anglo ranches mostly owned by out-of-state interests.

Scabs vs. Pickets

The ranchers immediately refused to recognize the UFWOC (which the NFWA soon became) and began to bring "green cards," strike breakers, from across the border to work the idle fields. The strikers set up roving picket lines on the International Bridge, and on one occasion staged a sit-in on the bridge itself, only to be hauled to jail by border police.

The pickets continued to patrol the ranches, shouting for their people to leave the fields and join *La Huelga*.

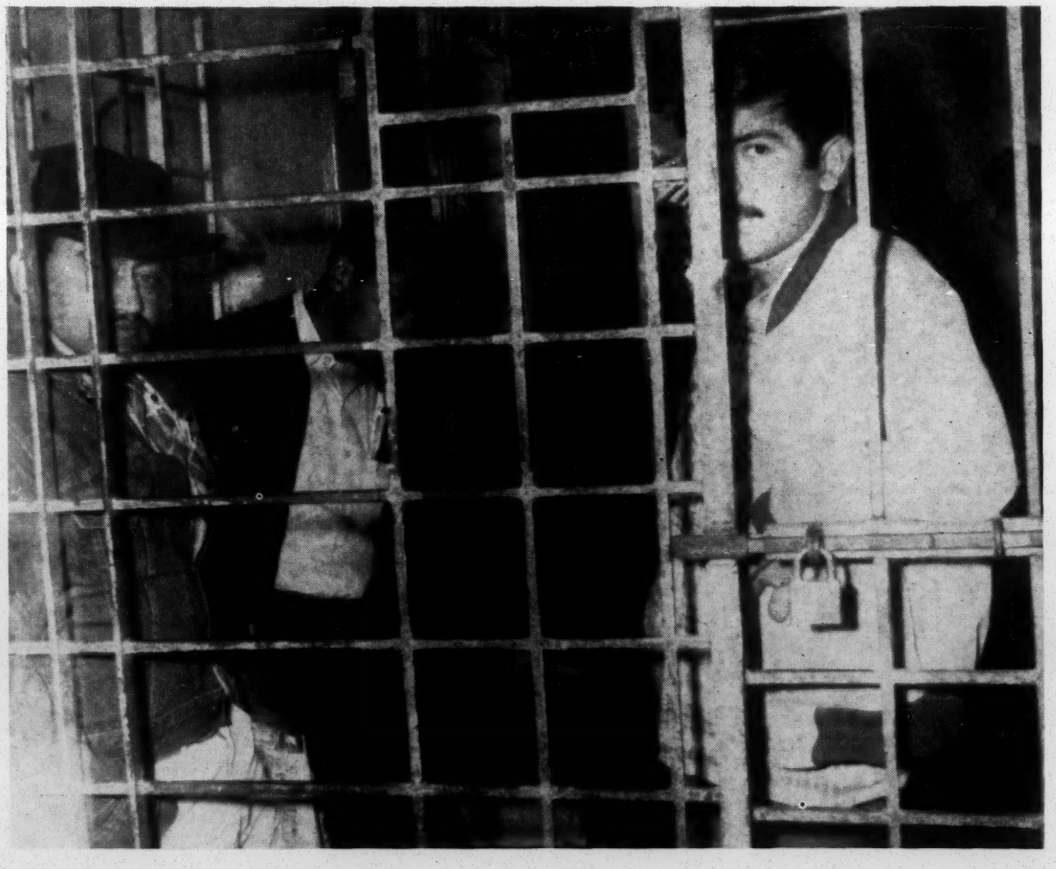
On one occasion the gates on the International Bridge were padlocked and traffic between the two countries was stopped for an entire day. A trainload of bell peppers was held up when a railroad bridge was mysteriously blown up one night.

Arrests totalled over 100. Then, just recently, the melons were ready to be harvested. Strikebreakers from all over were recruited and the power structure called on the Texas Rangers to "preserve the peace."

(The Rangers traditionally have been hated fiercely in the Spanish-speaking community. Not unlike the Ku Klux Klan, they were formed in the old days of the Texas Republic to keep the Mexicans "in line". They merged with the Confederate Army during the Civil War to fight to preserve slavery, and in the Twentieth Century they have been used repeatedly as strike breakers.)

The Rangers pushed pickets around and intimidated strikebreakers who might have left the fields. The strikers said the Rangers used "Gestapo

(Continued on Page 6)



STRIKING TEXAS FARM WORKERS saw the inside of Starr County jails often during the 16-month strike, which was broken recently.

The Southern PATRIOT

Vol. 25, No. 7

August, 1967

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Farmers Build Co-Op

A Black Belt Revolution

Judgment Day

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Farmers Build Co-Op

A Black Belt Revolution

(By Staff Correspondent)

"A man at Orrville told me that if it wasn't for the co-op starting up this year, he would have given up farming. He couldn't see any way to continue. The white man was just closing in on him; told him he'd have to leave his farm. He hadn't been making any kind of living from it, anyhow . . . .

"As soon as the young people graduate or drop out of school, they're gone. There just isn't anything for them to do here. I feel like the co-op has just got to work. Without it, the farmer's back is really to the wall."

—Mrs. Clara Walker,
Dallas County, Alabama

SELMA, Ala.—The co-op is SWAFCA—the South West Alabama Farmers' Co-operative Association—which recently won a $400,000 grant from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO).

The man from Orrville is just one of some 15,000 black farmers who live in a ten-county area in the rich, Black Belt country of southwest Alabama. Five thousand of them support families on less than $500 a year—half of these, on less than $250. Only 5,266 make more than $1,500 a year. (These figures don't include people who know only farming, but have no land.)

Their poverty becomes more overwhelming year after year, as white landlords steadily mechanize their plantations, and cotton allotments grow smaller and smaller. Year by year, families have been moving away. Between 1959 and 1964, 18 per cent of the farm population in these ten counties left the land.

The Early Movement

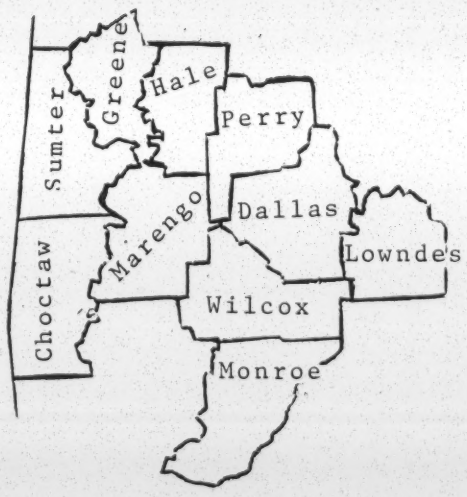
The co-op is not the first attempt people here have made to solve their problems. "We first started coming together during the Movement," Mrs. Walker says, "trying to register to vote and having such a hard time. I guess that kind of pulled us together."

They worked hard to build an anti-poverty program a year and a half ago, and the power structure "snatched the rug out from under it. We thought we had it. We did all the hard work and set it up. Then they took it over and turned it into whatever the ditch-digging program is now."

Last fall, more than two years after the Selma-Montgomery march, they could see that "things were no better than they had been. They were worse." And many of the farmers felt they were approaching a crisis.

Credit was tightening up and more people were being thrown off the land. The white landowners had taken the crop subsidy checks from their black tenants by a legal maneuver which still has people puzzled. "We saw that if we didn't do something right away, there wouldn't be any farmers left to organize," one man said.

At first, they thought of banding together to sell their cotton so they could get a better price. Then they decided they could also buy supplies more cheaply through a co-op.



This is SWAFCA country

People went from farm to farm, talking to their neighbors and finding out what they wanted to do. By January, 800 farmers had agreed to take part. They decided to stop growing so much cotton and corn—the two traditional crops in this area—and to start growing more vegetables like cucumbers, peas and okra, which would show a much higher profit.

Ten-county Area

They included farmers from ten counties, rather than setting up a separate co-op in each county, so the buyers would not be able to play one group off against the other. And they met with representatives of all the government and private and public agencies who could possibly be of help. They soon realized that the help

(Continued on Page 8)

Judgment Day

An Editorial

For years people active in the civil-rights movement have warned this country that there would be uprisings among the poor people unless our society met their needs. It was stressed that the poor themselves must organize so as to have control over their life situation and to insure that they kept such control.

It was obvious and stated over and over that the black poor would be the first to rebel because they live under the worst conditions.

This summer, as cities across America caught fire symbolically and literally, it seemed to some of us as if a judgment day had come. But there was no satisfaction in being able to say "I told you so." There was only a sense of tragedy, of failure that we had not made our voices heard.

***Patriot* readers and editors are not the general public. Most of us feel we have never done enough, but by and large our readers black and white are among the people who have worked long and hard to change conditions. It is to these people that we now speak:**

First and foremost, now is a time when we must not despair —those of us who have hoped for mass movements that could remake this society by peaceful means and that these movements could join the efforts of black and white.

Unless such movements can yet be built there is little hope for this country and perhaps for the world. And if we despair now, we will miss a crucial new opportunity to analyze why they have not been built in the past and how they might be built in the future.

Second, we must hold tight to our perspective and not fall prey—as we don't think many *Patriot* readers will—to those who say the turmoil could be avoided if a few "agitators" were got out of the way. Scapegoating is an ancient human sickness —and one of the worst.

Third, we must realize that we are probably in for a wave of repression and must resist it everywhere. Panicky police in cities not yet hit by uprisings do not understand the basic problems and turn to harsher police methods. Thus the rights of many people get trampled on.

(For example, recently in Louisville four innocent black men were held under $20,000 bond each after some fires were set, and city officials refused to let a public building be used for a ghetto community meeting. For documentation of new wave of terror sweeping the South, see the "news in review" on page 3.)

And finally, most urgently, we must each of us begin working today to organize the people around us for a national program, on a scale not yet dreamed of, to end injustice and poverty and make this country fit for all its people to live in.

Past movements for peaceful social change have failed partly because people in power have not wanted change and have used every device and every form of terror to crush such

(Continued on Page 2)

"This'll keep them agitators from comin' in and causin' trouble."

The Ghetto Revolts

(Continued from Page 1)

movements. (One such device is discussed on page 7, but there have been many others.)

But movements have also failed, as has been noted in recent *Patriot* articles, because they have not been radical enough—radical in the sense of going to the root of what is wrong in our society and dealing with people's vital needs. They have failed too because sometimes people in these movements have lost their nerve at crucial moments. These are problems we can do something about.

And the concept of black-white unity has thus far failed because not enough white people have been organizing other white people around goals that coincide with those of black people. Yet, programs that can change the lives of black people

Book Notes

King's Program for the Future

A few years ago, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., confided to friends that a great frustration of his life was a lack of time and tranquility to read and think. It is a common dilemma among people on the front lines of social struggle.

Sometime since then, however, King apparently has managed to find the time, for it is evident in his new book, **Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community?** (Harper & Row, 49 East 33rd St., New York, N.Y. 10016, $4.95). This book deals with hard economic and political realities in a way his earlier works did not.

King takes a long look at the situation of black people in America today and candidly acknowledges that their revolution has "established a foothold, no more." But he refuses to write off the struggles of the past decade. "He (the Negro)," he writes, "came out of his struggle integrated only slightly in the external society but powerfully integrated within. . . . He gained manhood in the nation that had always called him 'boy.'"

One chapter is King's personal account of the development of the "black power" slogan during the Mississippi march of 1966. (He deplores the choice of the slogan, but goes on to define the realities of power which he says black people must forge.)

Another chapter demolishes the myth of the "white backlash" (which he calls the "surfacing of old prejudices, hostilities and

future, he declares, demands "far-flung, workmanlike and experienced organizations. . . ."

A New Morality

Despite its emphasis on practical economics and politics, there is much of the "old" King in this book too—the ringing calls for a new morality, a new man, a new world. For this reason perhaps, some will write it off as impractical and vague. To this reviewer, however, it seems that King is working his way to a new stage of thought that combines high-minded vision with down-to-earth program, a combination that is sorely needed in many quarters today.—A.B.

How Race Concept Was Invented

Earl Conrad's ninth book, "The Invention of the Negro," has been made even more valuable by recent outbreaks in cities across the nation.

Conrad shows how the concept of race and the myths which support it were invented and kept alive over the last 500 years. First used to justify the slave trade and slavery, these myths now help many white people to avoid caring what happens to black people. In Nazi Germany, they helped so-called Aryans to blot from their minds the horrors heaped upon the Jews.

Myths Strengthen Control

The myths also keep black and white apart so that the employer group, whether urban or rural, can keep political and economic

lisher is Paul S. Erikson, 119 West 57 St., New York, N.Y. 10019; $5.95.

Langston Hughes' Last Book

When Langston Hughes died last spring, SCEF and other civil-rights groups lost a faithful friend, America's black people lost a ringing voice, and the entire nation lost a great talent that turned pain and suffering into beautiful poetry.

Hughes' last book, "The Panther and the Lash" (Alfred A. Knopf, 501 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y., hardcover $4.50, paperback $1.95), makes the reader acutely aware of this loss all over again.

Forty-four of the 70 poems in the volume are new; 26 are from Hughes' earlier books. But all are timely comments on the world and the nation and people today—from Alabama to Harlem, from despair to bitterness to persistent faith in life.

SCEF Couple Is Charged With Sedition

Alan and Margaret McSurely, field organizers and writers for SCEF, were arrested in Pikeville, Ky., on Aug. 11 on charges of sedition. They were still in jail at press time. Joseph Mulloy, a field director for Appalachian Volunteers, an OEO agency, was also arrested. Some of the recent action around Pikeville is described on Page 4.

"This'll keep them agitators from comin' in and causin' trouble."

The Ghetto Revolts

(Continued from Page 1)

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But movements have also failed, as has been noted in recent *Patriot* articles, because they have not been radical enough—radical in the sense of going to the root of what is wrong in our society and dealing with people's vital needs. They have failed too because sometimes people in these movements have lost their nerve at crucial moments. These are problems we can do something about.

And the concept of black-white unity has thus far failed because not enough white people have been organizing other white people around goals that coincide with those of black people. Yet, programs that can change the lives of black people—that can make our cities livable and eliminate human need—will also benefit the great majority of this country's white people. Here lies the possibility of meaningful black-white coalition.

We need, for example, a vast public-works program to give jobs to millions slowly starving in the slums of our cities and in the South's mountain and farming regions. We need in every community great numbers of houses, schools, hospitals, libraries, cultural and recreational centers—every kind of building needed for a civilized society.

Meantime, as an emergency measure, we need permanent unemployment pay of at least $60 a week for every jobless person willing to work—until government or industry finds him a job. Retired people and students should also be entitled to such benefits.

Many intelligent Americans are making proposals of this kind. There is absolutely no reason why a nation that plans to put a man on the moon cannot rebuild its cities and make its industrial genius serve the needs of man.

But it won't happen with a system of values that allows our government to spend $24 billion a year on a war in Vietnam that is making us hated all across the world, plus $50 billion more for war materials—while devoting $2 billion a year to a so-called war on poverty.

It won't happen while there are congressmen in Washington like those who ridiculed and hooted down a modest $40-million bill to kill the billions of rats in our slums. It won't happen with a House of Representatives that makes its contribution to deep social problems by passing a bill to prosecute so-called agitators who cross state lines.

It won't happen, in short, until we organize all across the country and put people in power who will respond to the needs of those who put them there. None of us can do much about this alone, but for each of us—wherever we live—there are things we can do to organize and must begin to do now.

Movement Leader Dies

AUSTIN, Tex.—George Vizard, a leader in the peace and civil-rights movement here, was shot and killed July 23 at the grocery store where he worked.

Vizard, 23, was active in SDS, the Du Bois Club, the Texas Farm Strike, and had been involved in civil-rights work ever since it began here. This summer he was co-ordinating Vietnam Summer work.

He was well known as an activist, and his life was threatened several times. Recently, he was arrested for peace activity and beaten by Austin police.

The police are now investigating the shooting. Money is reported to have been taken from the safe of the store. Individuals and organizations across the country have sent telegrams to the U.S. Attorney general and others asking for a full investigation.

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Another chapter demolishes the myth of the "white backlash" (which he calls the "surfacing of old prejudices, hostilities and ambivalences") and takes on those white liberals who have retreated as the struggle became more complex and who are "more devoted to 'order' than to justice."

A Vast Mobilization

The rest of the book develops King's program for the future. At the risk of over-simplification, what it amounts to is a vast mobilization of this nation's resources to meet the needs of man.

He sees this as being achieved by a combination of mass nonviolent direct action and political action. The former concept is under attack from two separate directions today—from those who are turning to violence and also from those who say the time for all street action is past and that more "sophisticated" forms of action are needed. King, however, holds steadfastly to his belief that nothing can replace the power of thousands of marching feet and the creative upheavals of nonviolent direct action.

Political Organizing

But he calls for undergirding mass action with the "tortuous job" of solid political organization "in a thousand places." In a self-critical passage, he states that the failure of the civil-rights movement to do this has been one of its basic weaknesses:

". . . . It was not necessary to build a widespread organization to win legislative victories. Sound effort in a single city such as Birmingham and Selma produced situations that symbolized the evil everywhere. . . . We made easy gains and built the kind of organizations that expect easy victories and rest upon them. . . ." The future, he declares, demands "far-flung, workmanlike and experienced organizations. . . ."

A New Morality

Despite its emphasis on practical economics and politics, there is much of the "old" King in this book too—the ringing calls for a new morality, a new man, a new world. For this reason perhaps, some will write it off as impractical and vague. To this reviewer, however, it seems that King is working his way to a new stage of thought that combines high-minded vision with down-to-earth program, a combination that is sorely needed in many quarters today.—A.B.

How Race Concept Was Invented

Earl Conrad's ninth book, "The Invention of the Negro," has been made even more valuable by recent outbreaks in cities across the nation.

Conrad shows how the concept of race and the myths which support it were invented and kept alive over the last 500 years. First used to justify the slave trade and slavery, these myths now help many white people to avoid caring what happens to black people. In Nazi Germany, they helped so-called Aryans to blot from their minds the horrors heaped upon the Jews.

Myths Strengthen Control

The myths also keep black and white apart so that the employer group, whether urban or rural, can keep political and economic control. Conrad has done a tremendous amount of research to show how we got where we are, and perhaps to help find a way out. His book has 231 pages, plus a bibliography and index. Publisher is Paul S. Erikson, 119 West 57 St., New York, N.Y. 10019; $5.95.

Langston Hughes' Last Book

When Langston Hughes died last spring, SCEF and other civil-rights groups lost a faithful friend, America's black people lost a ringing voice, and the entire nation lost a great talent that turned pain and suffering into beautiful poetry.

Hughes' last book, "The Panther and the Lash" (Alfred A. Knopf, 501 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y., hardcover $4.50, paperback $1.95), makes the reader acutely aware of this loss all over again.

Forty-four of the 70 poems in the volume are new; 26 are from Hughes' earlier books. But all are timely comments on the world and the nation and people today—from Alabama to Harlem, from despair to bitterness to persistent faith in life.

SCEF Couple Is Charged With Sedition

Alan and Margaret McSurely, field organizers and writers for SCEF, were arrested in Pikeville, Ky., on Aug. 11 on charges of sedition. They were still in jail at press time. Joseph Mulloy, a field director for Appalachian Volunteers, an OEO agency, was also arrested. Some of the recent action around Pikeville is described on Page 4. Further details in next month's Patriot. Meantime, protests are needed to Governor Edward Breathitt, State Capitol, Frankfort, Ky.

The Southern Patriot

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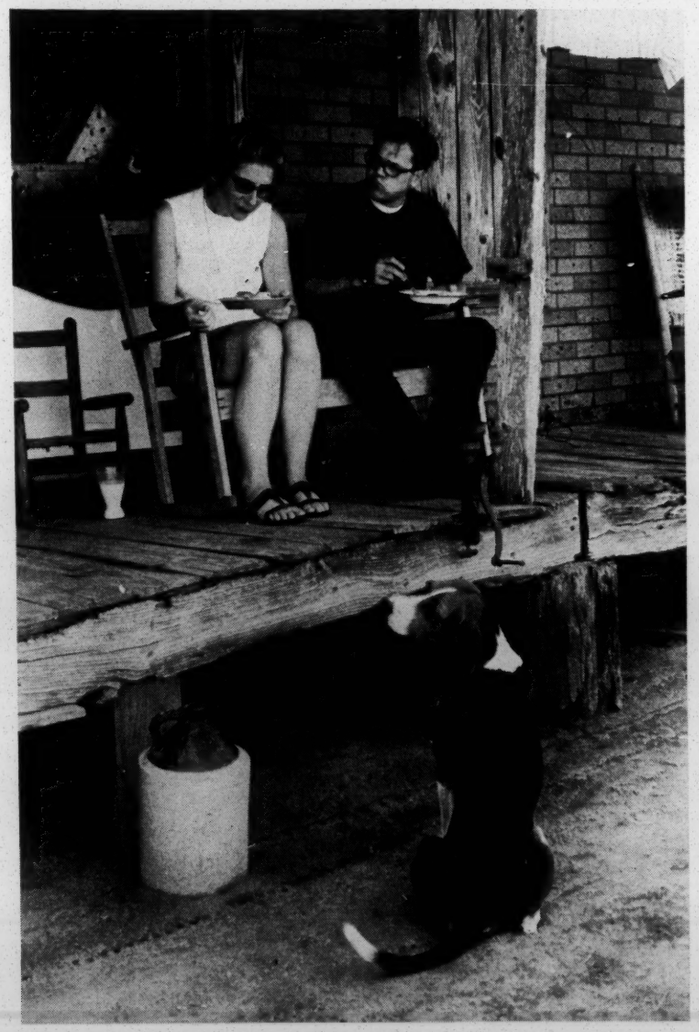
August, 1967 Vol. 25, No. 7



FRANCIS AND BETTY WALTER relax on a porch at Gees Bend, during a rural-life workshop (Southern Courier photo).

Breaking Down Barriers In Southwest Alabama

In Wilcox County, members of the Freedom Quilting Bee are earning up to $300 a year by sewing quilts, sunbonnets, potholders. Their average family income before the Bee started was $800.

In the small, all-Negro farming community of Gees Bend, groups of white Alabamians have learned about the problems of rural life by spending the weekend with families there. It was the first time most had visited in black homes.

Starvation: Mississippi's Final Solution

The Abuses of White Power

By ROBERT ANALAVAGE

"The only Negroes I've seen are so fat they shine."
—Paul Johnson, Mississippi Governor

Hitler had one method of ridding the German state of "undesirable" political elements; Mississippi has another. And sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the two "solutions," for they both fall under the heading of genocide.

Dr. Cyril Wheeler of Yazoo City, Miss., medical adviser to Friends of the Children of Mississippi (see June *Patriot*) said there is an "unwritten but generally accepted policy on the part of those who control the state to eliminate the Negro Mississippian either by driving him out of the state or by starving him to death."

Doctor's Report

To back up Dr. Wheeler's charges, a team of physicians recently toured Mississippi and examined hundreds of children. The physicians said, "Malnutrition is not quite what we found; the boys and girls we saw were hungry—weak, in pain, sick . . . they are suffering from disease and hunger and directly or indirectly they are dying from them—which is exactly what starvation means."

They reported "diseases of the heart and lungs which require surgery; severe kidney ailments that warrant immediate hospitalization; eye and ear diseases and unattended bone diseases secondary to poor food conditions; chronic diarrhea; wasting of muscles; enlarged hearts; abdominal edema (commonly known as bloated belly); a weakness of the

foods free—foods such as powdered eggs and milk, molasses, bread, spam, bacon, etc., which were only meant to supplement a diet, not to be a diet. Under this program, inadequate as it was, at least people had something.

But the old American myth about so-called self-reliance and individual responsibility cropped up and it was felt by some well-fed rugged individualists that the poor should "not receive something for nothing." Thus, the food-stamp program was started.

It sounded good enough on the surface. Families would pay $12 for food stamps that could be traded at local stores for $70 in food. But for a poor family $12 is an enormous amount of money to raise in a lump sum, and for an unemployed man it is an impossibility. In one area alone, when the new program came in, 38,000 fewer people were receiving food, and across the state fully one-third fewer people participated in food stamps than got commodities. What is happening to these people?

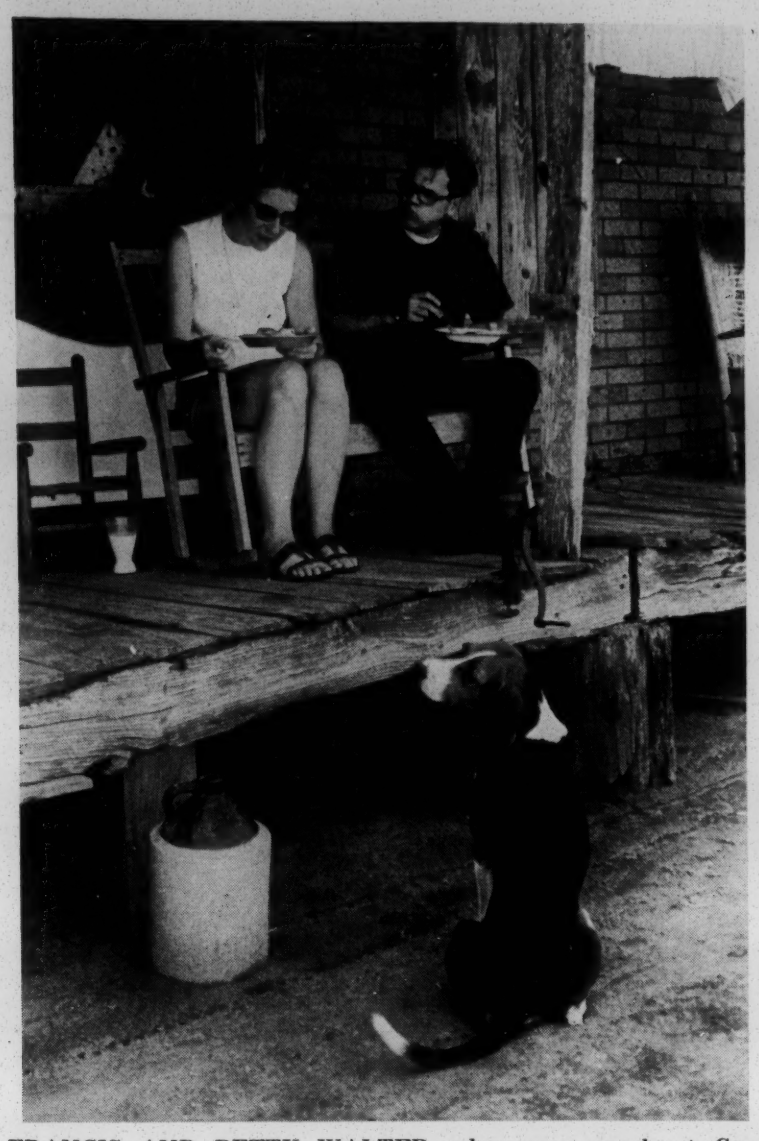
Miss Laura Engle of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund said that "several groups such as the Delta Ministry and private citizens have collected and distributed food. This is all that can be done, in the face of the federal government's inaction, to keep these people from starving."

Senators' Reaction

Several senators toured Mississippi and they tried to describe the situation.

Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania called it "shocking and terrible." Robert Kennedy said "it is a reflection on all of us." George Murphy of California said he didn't know "poverty such as this existed in America," and Jacob Javits of New York said "what we saw were not poor people but starving people."

All the good senators are right. It is all of these things. But it is more. It is just one more of the abuses of White Power. It is Mississippi's version of the final solution.



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In the small, all-Negro farming community of Gees Bend, groups of white Alabamians have learned about the problems of rural life by spending the weekend with families there. It was the first time most had visited in black homes.

Twenty low-income families in another community are building their own homes, with the help of an OEO grant and FHA loans.

These are all small projects but they are helping to erode the pattern of life in southwest Alabama—breaking down the poverty that grips black people here, and walls that keep people apart.

They are projects of the Rev. Francis Walter, a young Episcopal priest who is head of the Selma Inter-Religious Project. SIP grew out of the Selma March. The different denominations that had come together decided to build something permanent.

Father Walter and his wife, Betty, are both natives of Alabama. They were forced to leave their first parish, in George Wallace's Barbour County, because of their stand against segregation. They moved to Tuscaloosa two years ago, when SIP was set up.

He is fighting to end the massive "deportation" of Negroes from the Black Belt. "They still have a majority in many of these counties," Mr. Walter says, "and while that's so, there's still a possibility for a social and political revolution here."

He helps by lobbying for support when organizations like the South West Alabama Farmers' Co-operative Association (see story page 1) come under attack; integrating poverty boards; providing emergency aid for local groups that spring up to meet special needs; developing programs to enable people to stay here; and most important, he feels, communicating with whites in Alabama who will lobby for and support Black Belt Negro enterprises.

He has also provided a way for movement supporters to give very concrete help to Negroes in the Black Belt—by contributing to SIP, and sending letters and telegrams to Washington when they are needed.

The Freedom Quilting Bee produces beautiful quilts for $25. Help for SIP and the Bee can be sent to Mr. Walter at 810 29th Avenue, Tuscaloosa, Ala. 35401.

Starvation: Mississippi's Final Solution

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They reported "diseases of the heart and lungs which require surgery; severe kidney ailments that warrant immediate hospitalization; eye and ear diseases and unattended bone diseases secondary to poor food conditions; chronic diarrhea; wasting of muscles; enlarged hearts; abdominal edema (commonly known as bloated belly); a weakness of the bone structure; and, finally, from chronic hunger — "fatigue, exhaustion and weakness."

The doctors said it was not surprising that in Mississippi the infant mortality rate among Negroes is more than twice that of whites, and while the rate for whites is dropping, the rate for Negroes is rising.

These conditions have always existed among black Mississippians but surprisingly, in an age of food surpluses, they have actually grown worse. One reason is that in the last two years, the farms have been rapidly mechanizing, throwing as many as 80 per cent of the black people out of work in some areas.

But there is a more sinister explantation: These conditions are a result of the federal government's food-stamp program and the control that Southern congressmen wield over the committees that control the program.

Commodities vs Food Stamps

Under an older program called Commodities (a surplus food program) poor people at a certain income level received some basic foods free—foods such as powdered eggs and milk, molasses, bread, spam, bacon, etc., which were only meant to supplement a diet, not to be a diet. Under this program, inadequate as it was, at least people had something.

But the old American myth about so-called self-reliance and individual responsibility cropped up and it was felt by some well-fed rugged individualists that the poor should "not receive something for nothing." Thus, the food-stamp program was started.

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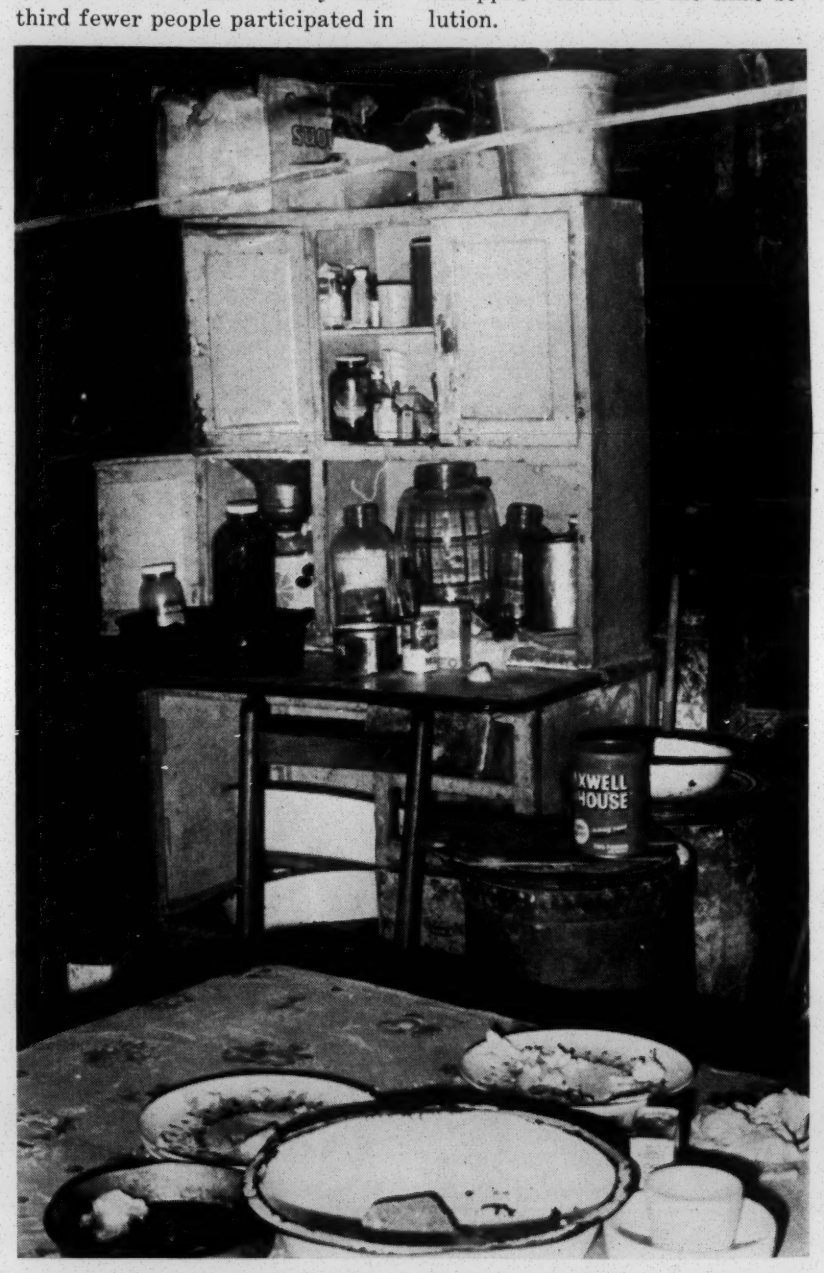


CUPBOARDS ARE EMPTIER since the food stamp program was set up in Mississippi's Delta. (Photo by Clifford Vaughs)

The News in Review

Violence, Repression Sweep the South

While Northern ghettos exploded into nation-wide headlines, a wave of repression and terror was sweeping the South. In Texas, an attempt to crush the movement was seen in the prosecution of five Texas Southern University students (see page 8) for first degree murder, and the shooting of George Vizard (see page 2) raised questions.

The body of Rodell Williamson, one of the first Negro poll watchers in Wilcox County, Ala., was found in the Alabama River. In Nashville, Tenn., police shot and killed a young Negro man; they said he was running from the scene of a break-in. A Negro policeman in Clarksdale, Miss., was suspended for a month after he killed Joe Lee Hale, 18, while trying to arrest him. The county judge said the killing was "justifiable".

The Baton Rouge, La. homes of a labor leader (Victor Bussie, state head of the AFL-CIO, who had asked the state legislature to investigate Klan bombings) and a movement leader (Mrs. Viola Logan) were bombed in one night.

In Mobile, Ala., a bomb destroyed the home of movement leader J. L. Leflore. Four Negro homes and a large church have been destroyed by fires in West Tennessee this summer.

There has been a large-scale resurgence of Klan activity in North Carolina. The homes of four Anson County School officials who had been working to integrate the high school, and the office of another, were bombed late in June. Three weeks later, the FBI arrested 12 men accused of shooting into homes, dynamiting businesses, burning churches, residences and poverty program property, in an attempt to stop school integration in two other counties—Rowan and Carrabus—over the last 21 months.

The Rev. Frank Williams, a young black minister who moved into a white neighborhood in Greensboro, has been harassed constantly: one crossburning touched off violence in the nearby black ghetto. And a growing number of North Carolina areas find themselves labelled "Klan Country" on billboards.

* * *

Judge J. Skelly Wright of the U.S. Court of Appeals, sitting as a district judge, struck at de facto segregation of Washington, D.C. schools in a decision handed down July 19.

He ruled that segregation that results from neighborhood residential patterns is just as unconstitutional as that which comes about through administrative decree. It was the first time a court had ruled that discrimination against people who are poor is also unconstitutional.

* * *

Associated Community Teams

(Continued on Page 6)

The People vs. Bulldozers

A Victory in the War against Strip Mining

By SUZANNE CROWELL
(Staff Correspondent)

ISLAND CREEK, Ky. — The people of this Eastern Kentucky community stood up to bulldozers and won a decisive victory in the fight against strip-mining last month. The fight centered around the property of Jink Ray, which was threatened by the 150-foot augers of Fon Johnson's Puritan Coal Company.

Nonviolence?

On June 29, when the bulldozers approached the property line, friends and neighbors stood in the way. "If we have to let blood, then we'll let blood," said one resident. Governor Breathitt visited the site and urged nonviolence, while promising support to the landowners. Breathitt had asked strippers to halt their activities until a case pending in the Court of Appeals is decided this fall.

A county judge enjoined the landowners from interfering with mining operations on July 17. A crowd again gathered at the property line, and again stood off an earthmover which nearly killed two people as it pushed a boulder weighing several tons part way down the hill.

Jink Ray wired Breathitt: "Bulldozers are working. If you intend to help us, please do it now." Recognizing the strength of the movement, the Governor suspended Puritan's operating permit and ordered a full investigation into whether the stripping would endanger lives and homes.

The investigation lasted two weeks, and on August 1 the State Reclamation Division announced that Puritan's permit to mine Jink Ray's property had been permanently revoked. Although the legal slope limit of 33 degrees for stripping had not been exceeded, it was ruled that the operation would endanger homes in the hollow.

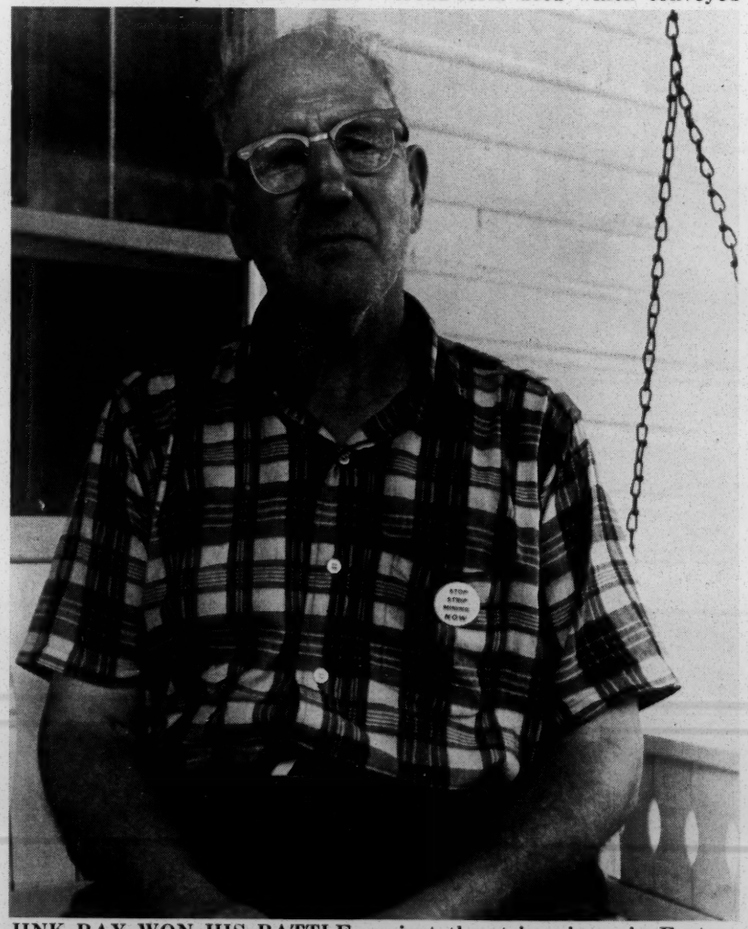
During the period between June 29 and August 2, the Island Creek community had literally been up in arms. Fon Johnson, the coal operator, had reportedly "gone gunning" several times for local citizens. The people vowed to defend their homes with guns, if necessary. Involved in many unionization struggles, the people of Eastern Kentucky do not scare easily.

The landowners are organized into the Appalachian Group to Save the Land and People, which advocates abolishing strip mining, providing damages to landowners, and imposing a severance tax on coal. The Group has been aided by the Appalachian Volunteers, an OEO-funded program.

Despite the fighting tradition of the region, the coal operators insist on believing the "outside agitator" theory. The head of the Pike County Chamber of Commerce, Robert Holcomb (who, incidentally, is also head of the Independent Coal Operators Association) has had federal officials investigate the role of the AVs in teaching "open resistance to law and order."

"The law sure seems against us," says Jink Ray. Indeed, the coal operators usually have a very sympathetic ear in the State Reclamation Division, and the courts have ruled consistently in their favor—that is, since the first appeal challenging the right to strip mine.

In April, 1964, a Magoffin County Court Judge ruled that the broad-form deed which conveyed the rights to coal companies allowed strip mining. But if the company destroyed the surface rights retained by the owner, he said, the company must pay damages.



JINK RAY WON HIS BATTLE against the strip miners in Eastern Kentucky; most don't (photo by Les Jordan).

Damages Reversed

The Court of Appeals reversed the damages decision. Accepting the argument that strip mining existed in 1903 when the deed was signed, the high court said no payment was in order. It is true that surface mining of the pick-and-shovel variety existed, but equating it with modern auger methods is ridiculous.

Unfortunately the lawyers for the landowners filed only a two-page brief with the Appeals Court, referring back to their petition for a rehearing. Undoubtedly that affected the judges, since the claim that strip mining existed at the time of the deed signing was never attacked.

The fight against strip mining is far from over. Resistance by the coal operators is strong. During a recent tour of strip mines led by the Appalachian Group, which included federal officials, the entrances to several mining areas were blocked by bulldozed ditches and deputy sheriffs.

Support for Jink Ray has come from all over the country, but as long as each case is considered separately, the odds are stacked in the companies' favor. Only a blanket court rule or a state law against stripping will mean real victory.

"Something is Wrong"

Southern Activists

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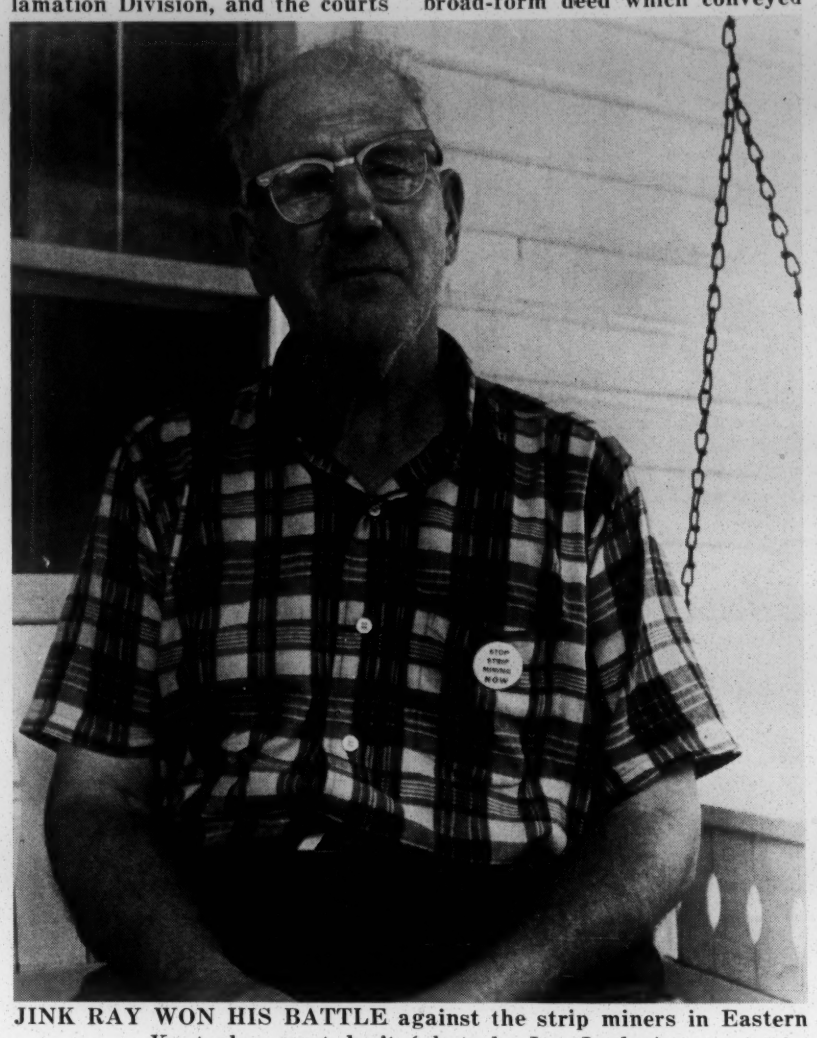

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"Something is Wrong"

The Court and the Miners

(By Staff Correspondent)

HAZARD, Ky.—The U.S. Supreme Court, just before it went home for the summer, refused to review the convictions of four Eastern Kentucky miners who tried to organize their own war on poverty five years ago.

The four are Bige Hensley, Charles Engle, Clayton Turner, and Herb Stacey. They were leaders of the roving picket movement that swept the Kentucky mountains in 1962.

They face five year prison sentences. The charge against them was conspiring to blow up a railroad bridge that was never blown up. Their convictions were based on confessions they made under extreme pressure (see May *Patriot*).

Their attorneys have asked the Supreme Court to reconsider its refusal to review their case. This request will come before the court in the fall. If they are turned down again, they must go to prison.

(Their attorneys, Leonard B. Boudin, I. Philip Sipser, Paul O'Dwyer, and Dan Jack Combs, are giving their services without charge.)

A Tragic Example

Supporters of the men here and elsewhere in the country are already planning a clemency campaign if they have to go to prison. They see the case as a tragic example of all that is wrong in the mountains.

The roving picket movement of 1962-63 was an effort by Kentucky miners to win decent pay and a decent life. At that time the mines were cutting wages and stopping payments to the union welfare fund that supported hospitals in the area. The miners' hospital benefits were cut off.

The men struck at some mines and set up pickets that moved from mine to mine—thus the name, roving pickets. They also began to organize for political action to elect their own people to office and replace the local officials who were closely tied to the mine operators.

All of the forces of the coal operators and of the local, state, and federal government joined in a drive to break the movement. State and federal court injunctions were issued; the leaders were arrested. The final blow was the arrest of the men accused of conspiring to blow up the railroad bridge in June, 1963. Time and money had to be diverted from organization into defense of this case, and the movement died.

Even the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, which refused to set aside the conviction of the four miners, recognized the unusual nature of the case. In its opinion, it said:

"From the beginning this court has been aware that this was no ordinary criminal trial and that these men are no ordinary criminals. . . . they were pictured as driven to desperation by the harsh facts of the declining coal industry and by abandonment of their own union. . . ."

The roving-picket movement was an effort by the poor in Eastern Kentucky to organize on their own to exert some control over their own lives. After it was crushed, the federal government began to pour money into the area in its so-called war on poverty. This gave a few people high-paying jobs and stifled the discontent—but the poor are still poor and the powerless still powerless.

In a recent pamphlet on the miners' case, the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) says:

"Today the federal government is pouring millions of dollars into Appalachia in a so-called war on poverty. But most of the money is going to a high-paid new middle class, and the poor people are still hungry and destitute.

"Five years ago, the poor people tried to organize their own war on poverty through the roving picket movement, and their movement was crushed by the coal operators with the help of the federal government. Now this same government is sending four leaders of that movement to jail. Something is wrong."

(Copies of this pamphlet are available from SCEF, 3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211.)

Supporters of the four miners believe that if these men, who had the courage and the imagination to try to organize for themselves, are allowed to go to prison without widespread protest, it will be a long time before there will be new movements for change that really represent the poor in the mountains.

Southern Activists Invited To Meeting

(By Staff Correspondent)

Southern civil-rights organizations, both regional and local, are among 200 groups invited to send delegates to a national convention called by the National Conference for New Politics (NCNP) in Chicago, August 31-September 4.

NCNP, which was organized in 1966, describes itself as an effort to "unify into a strong political force" individuals and organizations committed to common goals, namely, ending the Cold War, establishing racial equality, encouraging disarmament and "constructive relations with people undertaking revolutionary change," and using the nation's resources to solve its problems at home.

Georgia State Rep. Julian Bond, a member of the board of SCEF, is co-chairman of NCNP. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., will give the keynote address at Chicago.

A Third Ticket?

There has been considerable talk of NCNP running a 'third ticket" in the 1968 national elections, headed by King and Dr. Benjamin Spock, the pediatrician. In midsummer, however, King was saying that he would not run.

The convention was also expected to discuss widespread local independent and issue-oriented candidacies. Over the past year, NCNP has supported such candidates in California, Mississippi, and elsewhere.

In the official call to the Chicago convention, the signers state: "We will not be trapped inside the old parties; and we will not be trapped outside of them. And if we should build a party, it will be not merely a party, but a movement."

"We do not Govern our Government"

The call also states: "We do not feel that we can now govern our government. We do not feel that we can even govern our own private institutions . . . . Who decided that our schools would be dreary, ugly prisons of body and mind. . . .? We didn't.

"Who decided that strip mining should wipe out towns in Appalachia? We didn't. Who decided to put a man on the moon, to give $80 billion a year to the military establishment, instead of making our country a healthy and creative place to live and raise children? We didn't.

"Whoever runs America, it is not the American people . . . We intend to end poverty, fear and despair at home. . . . We intend to make our government accountable to us. . . ."

In addition to Judian Bond, Southern signers of the convention call include Chet Briggs, Austin, Tex.; Ivanhoe Donaldson, Washington D.C.; Victoria Gray, Hattiesburg, Miss., also a member of the SCEF board; Myles Horton, Knoxville, Tenn.; John Hulett, Lowndes County, Ala.; Sue Thrasher, Nashville, Tenn.; and the Rev. Andrew Young, Atlanta, Ga.

STRIP MINING

Greed plus
Gravity
threaten the lives
of those in the
Hollows.

The good of the
People is at stake.

—Photos and poem by Les Jordan

"Those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the roar of its many waters."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS

THE PEOPLES FORUM

"If you want the happiness of the people, let them speak out and tell what kind of happiness they want and what kind they don't want!"

ALBERT CAMUS

The Drift Toward Fascism

In I. F. Stone's words: this country has crossed the line between where a solution is possible for America's Negroes living in the ghettos, and where inevitably we are progressing toward revolutionary civil insurrection. Neither integration nor complete civil rights are the issues any longer: for the Negro it is either now, the "now" standing for immediate equality de facto, rights, jobs, enjoyment of what is available to white citizens, or a destroying rampage of that which they cannot possess or enjoy. The lines have been drawn, and polarization has crystallized.

What occurred in Newark in July, the violence of which outstripped Watts two years ago, is only the beginning. And the behavior of the white ruling powers, treating the Negro ghetto and its inhabitants as if they were occupied enemy territory, with the police totally indifferent to the people—this will be more and more the rule as we go further into 1967 and toward 1968.

Today, in Detroit, L.B.J. has called out federal troops, and as Stone said: the revolts are not any longer in Vietnam and the Congo, but at home, and what we are witnessing is an incipient civil war. The opportunities to alleviate the injustice, inhumanity and unlivability of American Negro life, are gone.

What is to be expected now? The prospects are very dark, if not hopeless. The lines having been frozen as they have, will polarize the population into two separate camps: the Negro minority and the white majority. White backlash will envelop congress, and supression laws will be passed and implemented. Federal troops will become the principal tool of supression, and eventually oppression.

The fascization of the white attitude toward American Negroes will steadily spill over into the fabric of life in general, and in the not too distant future we will one morning live with the fact that this country is fascist.

At that point, the L.B.J.'s and other mouthers of inanities will be swept up into the historical trash-cans, just like the Bruenings and Von Papens in Germany; the military or their puppets will take over; dissent or even discussion will be supressed; and opponents will be eliminated. It is then also that total blind jingoism will take over foreign policy, and nuclear war will become an accepted form of behavior.

It seems that inevitably we are going toward that abyss. We will have the choice: either run, and remove ourselves bodily to foreign soil, where humanity will still be allowed; or prepare ourselves to

UNION MILITANCY

The June *Patriot* had some statements about dues checkoff which I wish to question. The article about Cone Mills in North Carolina states that automatic deduction of union dues from workers' pay checks "is at the base of any strong union. Without checkoff, a union couldn't posibly collect enough dues to fight a rich company like Cone. . ."

Dues collection is surely an important part of keeping a union in fighting trim, but I doubt that the purpose is served by having the company deduct the dues automatically.

In the early days of the C.I.O., many opposed the checkoff on the ground that union officials tend to become fat and lazy when dues come in without any effort on their part. History has proved this to be correct in most instances. If you doubt this, look about you in the trade-union moveday of today.

Strong and militant union officials, fighting for the rights of the workers, have no trouble getting dues paid. The workers want to pay when they see that the union is serving their interests. So, if the union really fights a rich

Appalachia

(An excerpt)

There is a fierceness here
in our grey green hills
our windswept and rock-strewn hills,
and someone who never knew
our ancestors' love of Highlands
came scraping and grinding
and stripped away
our shelter—our barrier
our rock-strewn mountains.

Our kinfolk took care
to hand down the legend of the laurel—
two centuries we told it; handed it down
to our children—and they to theirs.
Our kinfolk took care
but miners
stripped tangled wild rose
and mountain laurel
strangling them with earth, killing them
and the lack of them killed the earth.
What will we hand down
to our children?

PATRICIA RAMSEY
Louisville, Ky.

Texas Strike Is Broken

(Continued from Page 1)

terror tactics": keeping people under surveillance, arresting people in the middle of the night, beatings.

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Another time one picket was beaten, handcuffed, and his head was held a few inches from a moving train.

The Rangers rode shotgun as the growers moved their crops to the railroad yard. When the railroad workers abandoned the train to honor the strike, the train was operated by railroad agents and Rangers. Indeed, the Rangers

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It seems that inevitably we are going toward that abyss. We will have the choice: either run, and remove ourselves bodily to foreign soil, where humanity will still be allowed; or prepare ourselves to resist. Resistance is not a short term proposition, and it may well take decades before American fascism can be destroyed. Few of us will ever survive to live that day. Yet it may be the better choice, to resist, and be consumed as humans.

(Ed. note: The writer, a resident of Houston, Texas, asked that his name not be printed. He is a Dutch Jew who lived in Holland during the thirties. He fought against the Nazis in World War Two and fought in the 1948-49 and 1956 campaigns with the Irsaeli Army. He told the Patriot that he sees the same kind of campaigns developing against the Afro-American as he witnessed in Holland during the thirties against the Jews.)

News Review

(Continued from Page 3)

(ACT), a militant civil-rights group, began a campaign to help poor people in Washington wipe out their debts by applying for bankruptcy. It would block repossession of articles they had bought and garnishment of their assets. Credit managers and retail merchants reacted with alarm.

James Nabrit retired as president of Howard University in the wake of a storm caused by his dismissal of five faculty members and 18 students charged with staging "disruptive" campus demonstrations. He said increasing unrest among "black power" adherents in the faculty and student body had not prompted his decision.

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Dues collection is surely an important part of keeping a union in fighting trim, but I doubt that the purpose is served by having the company deduct the dues automatically.

In the early days of the C.I.O., many opposed the checkoff on the ground that union officials tend to become fat and lazy when dues come in without any effort on their part. History has proved this to be correct in most instances. If you doubt this, look about you in the trade-union movement today.

Strong and militant union officials, fighting for the rights of the workers, have no trouble getting dues paid. The workers want to pay when they see that the union is serving their interests. So, if the union really fights a rich company like Cone, it will get the dues. Not the other way around.

In order for this to work, there must also be a program for keeping union members fully informed. The dues payers must know what the union is doing and what it stands for.

Union newspapers and pamphlets must be geared to telling the workers' story and not become puff sheets for union officials. In other words there is no substitute for an informed and militant membership with dedicated, disciplined, and articulate leadership. Surely a forced dues checkoff is no substitute.

CARL BRADEN,
Louisville, Ky.

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(An excerpt)

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and stripped away
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Our kinfolk took care
to hand down the legend of the laurel—
two centuries we told it; handed it down
to our children—and they to theirs.
Our kinfolk took care
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and mountain laurel
strangling them with earth, killing them
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(Continued from Page 1)

terror tactics": keeping people under surveillance, arresting people in the middle of the night, beatings.

One girl, Kathy Baber, a student who has been working with the strikers, was grabbed by one Ranger and shoved from Ranger to Ranger. She was finally smashed into a pole. Miss Baber is a small girl; the incident caused one Huelgista to remark, "they need 1,000 pounds of Ranger to handle 100 pounds of girl."

Ranger Brutality

But the most serious incident came when several Rangers, led by Captain A. Y. Allee, broke into the home of a strike organizer, Magdaleno Dimas. Smashing down the door, the Rangers attacked Dimas and another organizer.

Captain Allee shouted: "Kill the bastard! Kill the bastard!" Dimas received several stitches, his spine was injured, and he developed blood clots as a result of the beating.

Another time one picket was beaten, handcuffed, and his head was held a few inches from a moving train.

The Rangers rode shotgun as the growers moved their crops to the railroad yard. When the railroad workers abandoned the train to honor the strike, the train was operated by railroad agents and Rangers. Indeed, the Rangers even went to the trouble of setting up a machine gun on a flat car.

The "Strikebreakers"

Gilbert Padilla, vice-president of UFWOC, refuses to call the Rangers law-enforcement officers. He simply refers to them as "strikebreakers".

The melons—the crucial crop the Huelgistas had to stop—got to market. It will be another year before the next harvest. Meanwhile, the organizers continue to talk to the workers and prepare for next year.

And the Rangers, who all have the initials "RKK" as the first three letters on their license plates, are referred to as "Ranger Klux Klan" by the people. Everywhere, the black Aztec eagle, the symbol of *La Huelga*, is visible.

The SCEF Suits:

Supreme Court Gives the Go-Ahead

(By Staff Correspondent)

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) is preparing for trial of its charges that the staff of Senator James Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee plotted with Louisiana officials to raid SCEF's offices and steal its records in 1963.

The way was cleared for the trial when U.S. Supreme Court ruled that SCEF may proceed with a $250,000 damage suit against J. G. Sourwine, general counsel for the Eastland Committee.

The Supreme Court decision has been hailed as a major victory for civil rights and civil liberties. It means that for the first time a representative of a witch-hunting committee of Congress must come into court as defendant instead of prosecutor and answer charges that he violated the rights of citizens.

A SCEF statement at the time of the decision said: ". . . . The Supreme Court decision vindicates SCEF's position that high officials are not above the law. This means that it *is* possible for citizens to fight back against the witch hunt—and if people are willing to fight back the sad days of the McCarthyite 1950's need not be repeated in the 1960's."

The raids involved in the suit took place when SCEF's main offices were in New Orleans. Three SCEF officials were arrested by Louisiana officials and charged with violating that state's law against so-called subversive activity.

SCEF challenged these charges in the U.S. Courts and won. In a landmark decision in 1965, the Supreme Court upheld SCEF's charge that it was being harassed for its civil-rights activity. The court, in effect, told the State of Louisiana to leave the organization alone.

After this victory, SCEF moved its main offices to Louisville because its long-time director, Jim Dombrowski, retired, and its new directors were long-time Louisville residents. However, it has maintained an active program in Louisiana and now has six staff members working there.

SCEF had filed suit for damages against Eastland and Sourwine in U.S. District Court in Washington. The lower court dismissed the suit and SCEF appealed. It was on this appeal that the Supreme Court ruled before it adjourned for the summer.

At the time of this appeal, SCEF took testimony from Louisiana officials and Sourwine. During these proceedings, it was learned that Louisiana officials had devised a plan called "Operation Tip-Top" in the summer of 1963 to obtain SCEF records by raiding its office. State officials met with Sourwine and discussed SCEF both before and after the meeting at which they planned "Operation Tip-Top."

SCEF attorneys Morton Stavis and Harriet Van Tassel are taking additional pre-trial testimony this summer. In July, they questioned Sourwine again. In mid-August they were to take testimony from Senator Eastland.

A similar SCEF suit for $750,000 against Louisiana officials is also being prepared for trial in U.S. District Court in New Orleans.

"A Devastatingly Destructive Weapon"

How Injunctions Crush Peaceful Protest

By ANNE BRADEN
(Patriot Editor)

The June 12 decision of the U.S. Supreme Court upholding contempt convictions from the 1963 demonstrations in Birmingham brings into focus some very important issues — issues that may have been lost sight of in this tumultuous summer.

In the Birmingham case, just when demonstrations were beginning to build, city officials obtained an injunction against them —a court order saying the people must not demonstrate in violation of a parade-permit law.

The Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker, the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and five other leaders of the Birmingham movement called for and led mass violations of the injunction on Easter Week End. They were cited for contempt of court and convicted. They appealed their sentences on the ground that the injunction they had violated was clearly unconstitutional in that it denied their right to free speech.

The Supreme Court, in upholding their convictions by a vote of 5 to 4, said that whether the injunction was unconstitutional or not, the eight leaders should have obeyed it until it was attacked in the courts. The court majority declared that the eight were trying to act as judges in their own case.

* * * *

Recently, as unorganized, spontaneous and violent rebellion has broken out in the nation's cities, many people have asked whatever happened to that other kind of mass use and some victories, it **has been at least three years since there were widespread demonstrations that leaped from city to city and shook the nation.**

What happened to the NVDA movement in the South?

One thing that happened was injunctions—like the one used in Birmingham.

This is not the entire answer, of course. The decline of the NVDA movement is a complex matter; there were many factors, such as the growing disillusion of those who took part when they found, even where there was seeming victory, that so little basic change was made in their lives.

But those who write off NVDA as ineffective often overlook the fury with which such movements were attacked and often destroyed before they ever had a chance to develop their potential power. For every local movement which had some degree of success in achieving admittedly limited goals, there were many more which died a-borning under the crushing weight of intimidation, arrests, and court action. One of the main weapons used to crush them was the injunction.

One movement that was not crushed was the Birmingham movement. An essential reason was that on the Easter Week End, when the movement was beginning to build, its leaders chose to violate an injunction. Had they not done this at this point, that movement too might well have died.

court order barring demonstrations in Talladega, Ala., and demonstrations ceased. Long litigation in the courts followed, and the case finally died. It didn't really matter by then—the movement in Talladega had died long before.

The same pattern was followed in community after community—Danville, Va., Gadsden, Ala., Baton Rouge, La., to name just a few. The most recent instance is Louisville, Ky., where the one

for a short period, might deal a crippling blow to petitioners' efforts . . ."

Justice Douglas, in a separate dissent, noted that "the right to defy an unconstitutional statute is basic in our scheme. . ." Thus, the courts have repeatedly held that a person who believes a law is unconstitutional may violate this law and take his chances—submitting the matter to the courts to decide whether he should be punished.

that the sentences in this case are only five-day ones and therefore "not intolerable." But it says the issue is so important to the country that a reconsideration is imperative.

"The peaceful protest movement—no matter how dissonant it may have become," the petition for rehearing states, "has channeled dissatisfaction with deeply ingrained injustices into constructive social change . . . By this decision the Court devastates the peaceful protest movement and

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* * * *

Recently, as unorganized, spontaneous and violent rebellion has broken out in the nation's cities, many people have asked whatever happened to that other kind of protest—the organized and nonviolent kind, the demonstrations where hundreds and sometimes thousands marched or picketed to call for the changes they sought.

There have not been any significant demonstrations of that kind this summer. Their absence cannot be entirely explained by a reluctance on the part of those who might have organized them because they could not be sure they would stay nonviolent.

This is undoubtedly one factor. But it is also true that nonviolent direct action (NVDA) as a movement was essentially dead long before the violent explosions of this long hot summer. Even in the South, where NVDA had its greatest mass use and some victories, it has been at least three years since there were widespread demonstrations that leaped from city to city and shook the nation.

What happened to the NVDA movement in the South?

One thing that happened was injunctions—like the one used in Birmingham.

This is not the entire answer, of course. The decline of the NVDA movement is a complex matter; there were many factors, such as the growing disillusion of those who took part when they found, even where there was seeming victory, that so little basic change was made in their lives.

But those who write off NVDA as ineffective often overlook the fury with which such movements were attacked and often destroyed before they ever had a chance to develop their potential power. For every local movement which had some degree of success in achieving admittedly limited goals, there were many more which died a-borning under the crushing weight of intimidation, arrests, and court action. One of the main weapons used to crush them was the injunction.

One movement that was not crushed was the Birmingham movement. An essential reason was that on the Easter Week End, when the movement was beginning to build, its leaders chose to violate an injunction. Had they not done this at this point, that movement too might well have died.

There is a tragic irony in the fact that it was in the summer of 1967, at the moment when thousands of desperate and hopeless people in the nation's cities were turning to violence to make their voices heard, that the U.S. Supreme Court should condemn as wrong the people who made the nation listen by nonviolent action in 1963 in Birmingham.

* * * *

Southern officials have always used injunctions to cripple labor unions. As early as 1962, they began to find out what an effective weapon the injunction could be against the nonviolent freedom movement.

In that year, officials obtained a court order barring demonstrations in Talladega, Ala., and demonstrations ceased. Long litigation in the courts followed, and the case finally died. It didn't really matter by then—the movement in Talladega had died long before.

The same pattern was followed in community after community—Danville, Va., Gadsden, Ala., Baton Rouge, La., to name just a few. The most recent instance is Louisville, Ky., where the one mass nonviolent movement so far in 1967 gained real strength in a drive for open housing last spring. It was effectively crushed by a state-court injunction.

People willing to demonstrate and get arrested in violation of clearly unconstitutional laws have often stopped demonstrating in the face of an injunction. This is partly because injunctions are issued by a seemingly respectable state court and carry an aura that laws enforced in the city Police Court don't quite have.

It is also because of a very practical consideration: while convictions for violations of unconstitutional laws are often later reversed by the higher courts, those who violate injunctions are cited for contempt. Contempt convictions are usually upheld. Furthermore, in some states the law allows almost unlimited sentences for contempt.

The Supreme Court justices who dissented in the Birmingham case pointed up what is so basically destructive in this rule by injunction.

Commenting on the contention that the civil-rights leaders in Birmingham should have obeyed the injunction while they challenged it in the courts, Justice Brennan said:

"Critical to the plain exercise of the right of protest was the timing of that exercise . . . A cessation of these activities, even for a short period, might deal a crippling blow to petitioners' efforts . . ."

Justice Douglas, in a separate dissent, noted that "the right to defy an unconstitutional statute is basic in our scheme. . ." Thus, the courts have repeatedly held that a person who believes a law is unconstitutional may violate this law and take his chances—submitting the matter to the courts to decide whether he should be punished.

Douglas and the other dissenters insist that this same principle should apply to an injunction; if a citizen believes it violates his right of free speech, he should have the right to take his chances, violate the order, and submit to the higher courts the matter of its constitutionality.

If he is denied that right—if the courts continue to hold as they did in the Birmingham case that no matter how wrong an injunction is a person cannot test it by violating it—the result is what Justice Warren in still a third dissent declared happened in Birmingham.

There, he said, Birmingham officials knew they couldn't get by with arresting the demonstrators for violating a clearly unconstitutional parade-permit law, so they just got a judge to put a judicial signature on an order saying virtually the same thing that the unconstitutional law said and punished them for contempt.

Thus, as Justice Brennan wrote, the Supreme Court "let loose a devastatingly destructive weapon for suppression of cherished freedoms. . . ."

* * * *

The Legal Defense and Education Fund, which represented the Birmingham leaders, has filed a petition for rehearing in the Supreme Court. This will be considered in the fall. The petition notes that the sentences in this case are only five-day ones and therefore "not intolerable." But it says the issue is so important to the country that a reconsideration is imperative.

"The peaceful protest movement—no matter how dissonant it may have become," the petition for rehearing states, "has channeled dissatisfaction with deeply ingrained injustices into constructive social change . . . By this decision the Court devastates the peaceful protest movement and leaves the field to capture by those violent elements who do not stop to read injunctions."

In the late 1920's and early 1930's, the use of injunctions against labor unions became so unjust and destructive that public opinion turned against them. Congress finally passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act barring their use against unions.

A serious and detailed study is now needed of how injunctions have been used in the same way to break civil-rights movements. Action to stop this, as it was stopped in the labor movement, is a necessity if there is ever to be hope again of a new and effective nonviolent protest movement.

LOUISVILLE OPEN-HOUSING SUPPORTERS demonstrated in the face of an injunction; leaders eventually served 30-hour sentences for violating it. The injunction finally destroyed the movement, as it has in other cities. (Courier-Journal Photo)

THE MOVEMENT

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SWAFCA Creates Economic Strength

(Continued from page 1)

would probably be minimal, but by now they were determined to go ahead with or without it.

During these months, the application to OEO was being worked out. By May, when a $400,000 grant was approved, they had developed a two-stage program which "may provide solutions for the problems of underdeveloped areas everywhere."

SWAFCA is trying to prove that small farmers can break out of the cycle of poverty and make a decent living in the Black Belt.

They will buy tractors and other equipment, as well as seeds and fertilizer, through the co-op. None of this is included in the OEO grant, but indirectly the grant may help with these purchases because it includes $60,000 to be used as "loan insurance". SWAFCA wants to see if it can multiply this fairly minimal amount five or ten times by borrowing. The grant will also pay the salaries of specialists to teach them modern farming methods.

The co-op will be run democratically: the people will make their own decisions about what they want to do. And, if it is successful, it should become self-sustaining within three years. Members may double their incomes this year.

The Second Phase

This is the first phase of the plan OEO accepted. The second phase is to "build an economic and social base" for the entire low-income population of the area.

This can include everything from health, self-help housing and educational programs, to credit unions, small co-operative businesses and industry — to process their own fertilizer and their own produce—which would provide employment for town dwellers, and for farmers during the off-season.

Long before the grant was approved last May, the farmers had put in their

While the application was still being processed, Selma Mayor Joe Smitherman had led a twelve-man delegation to Washington. They charged — among other things — that SWAFCA is a "black power" group and that it duplicates services which are already being offered. When, in spite of this, the grant was announced, the opposition became hysterical.

The Alabama Senate asked the state's congressional delegation to "use every available means to have the grant investigated and rescinded" on the ground that it would further civil-rights activity in the Black Belt.

All of Alabama's representatives and senators, except for one man who was in Vietnam and another whose district is far to the north of the co-op, duly met with OEO officials to voice their objections.

Gov. Lurleen Wallace vetoed the grant. Smitherman considered seeking an injunction to block it; he decided this was not feasible.

Finally, after it became clear OEO was determined to make the grant, city and county officials in nine of the ten counties began to set up machinery to prevent the same thing from happening again. They are considering forming a "development council" to channel OEO funds in the future.

No one really knows why OEO stood firm. Shirley Mesher, an unpaid volunteer who works as one of three SWAFCA coordinators, points out that a wide coalition of national religious, labor and civil-rights organizations and individuals swung their support behind the co-op as soon as the fight started. Also, there was no corresponding power unit in the ten-county area to oppose it. "If we'd set up the co-op county by county, they could have picked us off."

Most of the farmers who went to Washington a week after Smitherman's delegation think that OEO had been persuaded to cancel the grant. "I guess seeing that we were determined to go ahead helped to change their minds."

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Boycotts

They have already overcome boycotts—first, when local producers refused to sell them fertilizer at the beginning of the planting season, later when a buyer accused them of trying to sell pickles that were under contract to him. Other companies cancelled their orders, and the co-op lost thousands of dollars in produce and labor while they proved the pickles were theirs to sell.

Once SWAFCA is established, they expect white members to join. There are not many poor white farmers in the area, but there are already a few white members. Mr. Johnson says, "At every opportunity we extend a welcome to them."

SWAFCA has already gone a long way toward solving its members' problems. Last year, for example, the buyer who has a monopoly in Alabama paid only one and a half cents a pound for okra. Now they earn between three and five cents a pound from out-of-state buyers.

They have stopped growing as much cotton, which earns at the very most only $50 an acre. Even without irrigation, they expect to make $650 per acre of cucumbers, $500 for greens. Farm specialists think the average SWAFCA member will be able to earn three times as much as he did last year.

If they succeed, farmers may stop leaving the Black Belt and many people may return. This would reverse the present trend of farmers being forced into city ghettos. It would thwart the efforts of white politicians and land-

SWAFCA Creates Economic Strength

(Continued from page 1)

would probably be minimal, but by now they were determined to go ahead with or without it.

During these months, the application to OEO was being worked out. By May, when a $400,000 grant was approved, they had developed a two-stage program which "may provide solutions for the problems of underdeveloped areas everywhere."

SWAFCA is trying to prove that small farmers can break out of the cycle of poverty and make a decent living in the Black Belt.

They will buy tractors and other equipment, as well as seeds and fertilizer, through the co-op. None of this is included in the OEO grant, but indirectly the grant may help with these purchases because it includes $60,000 to be used as "loan insurance". SWAFCA wants to see if it can multiply this fairly minimal amount five or ten times by borrowing. The grant will also pay the salaries of specialists to teach them modern farming methods.

The co-op will be run democratically: the people will make their own decisions about what they want to do. And, if it is successful, it should become self-sustaining within three years. Members may double their incomes this year.

The Second Phase

This is the first phase of the plan OEO accepted. The second phase is to "build an economic and social base" for the entire low-income population of the area.

This can include everything from health, self-help housing and educational programs, to credit unions, small co-operative businesses and industry — to process their own fertilizer and their own produce—which would provide employment for town dwellers, and for farmers during the off-season.

Long before the grant was approved last May, the farmers had put in their first crop and the co-op was an accomplished fact. They borrowed money from private sources to buy seeds and fertilizer.

Opposition

OEO's announcement sparked an immediate protest, in the best—or worst—tradition of Southern power structures.

While the application was still being processed, Selma Mayor Joe Smitherman had led a twelve-man delegation to Washington. They charged — among other things — that SWAFCA is a "black power" group and that it duplicates services which are already being offered. When, in spite of this, the grant was announced, the opposition became hysterical.

The Alabama Senate asked the state's congressional delegation to "use every available means to have the grant investigated and rescinded" on the ground that it would further civil-rights activity in the Black Belt.

All of Alabama's representatives and senators, except for one man who was in Vietnam and another whose district is far to the north of the co-op, duly met with OEO officials to voice their objections.

Gov. Lurleen Wallace vetoed the grant. Smitherman considered seeking an injunction to block it; he decided this was not feasible.

Finally, after it became clear OEO was determined to make the grant, city and county officials in nine of the ten counties began to set up machinery to prevent the same thing from happening again. They are considering forming a "development council" to channel OEO funds in the future.

No one really knows why OEO stood firm. Shirley Mesher, an unpaid volunteer who works as one of three SWAFCA coordinators, points out that a wide coalition of national religious, labor and civil-rights organizations and individuals swung their support behind the co-op as soon as the fight started. Also, there was no corresponding power unit in the ten-county area to oppose it. "If we'd set up the co-op county by county, they could have picked us off."

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If they succeed, farmers may stop leaving the Black Belt and many people may return. This would reverse the present trend of farmers being forced into city ghettos. It would thwart the efforts of white politicians and landowners to reduce Negro voting strength in the Black Belt.

In fact, SWAFCA is making a small revolution in Southwest Alabama. "It looks like the power structure don't realize they're living in a changing world," says Mr. Johnson. "They think it's still 50 years ago. And those times is gone. They won't come back again."

SWAFCA PRODUCE IS GRADED on this machine at the Selma headquarters of farmers' co-op (Southern Courier photo).

Vietnam Summer

Projects Strengthen Southern Peace Movement

By NANCY HODES
(Staff Correspondent)

Vietnam Summer projects are bringing large numbers of new people into the Southern peace movement, and helping to build a base for continuing projects all year.

"This summer has seen the largest broad-based community organizing effort against the war that has ever taken place in the South," says Tom Gardner. He is chairman of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) and Southern field secretary for Vietnam Summer.

The organizing is taking many different forms: leafletting (at beaches, churches, laundromats); vigils and teach-ins; draft counselling; door-to-door canvassing; organizers' institutes.

Some are new projects, in places where the peace movement never had a foothold before. Others are sponsored by established groups—SSOC, SNCC, SCEF, etc. —in co-operation with Vietnam Summer.

* * *

Three regional training institutes, in Florida, North Carolina and Virginia, showed how many new people have become involved as a result of the Summer. About half of the some 2000 people attending the institutes were new contacts.

Vietnam Summer people in Greensboro, N.C., organized their first vigil on July 5, and about ten of the 30 people there were unknown to the organizers.

In Morgantown, W. Va., because of the work of Vietnam Summer, one of the town's most highly-respected ministers called a meeting to hear a report from a professor who had just returned from Vietnam. The minister secured the county courthouse for the meeting. Sixty people heard the speech, and 40 of them agreed to participate in anti-war work.

* * * *

Vietnam Summer projects have not only involved new people, but have been set up in new areas of the South which had previously been silent in regard to the war and U.S. foreign policy.

The meeting in West Virginia was called "the first middleclass peace activity in the area." In Knoxville, where opposition to peace work has been traditionally ruthless, Vietnam Summer workers are circulating a Negotiations Now petition and plan to hold a "Vietnam Week" in the middle of August. After a public meeting on August 14, they will hold small discussions every evening for the rest of that week, and then demonstrate on the mall in Knoxville on August 19.

Greensboro, N.C. recently had its first vigil ("from which other good things arise" says a N.C. peace organizer). A Vietnam Summer staff member in Jacksonville, Fla., set up a meeting on "Ghetto Problems and the War" (in doing research for the conference he found that of the 24 casualties from his county, 20 were black and four were white).

* * * *

Much of the organizational work in projects is related to the draft. People in Morgantown, Dallas, Louisville, Nashville, and a number of cities in Florida have set up draft counselling and information centers .

The draft-information center in Dallas is well on its way with the first set of training classes. Dallas peace workers are serious about their center—they plan to raise enough funds in the next six months for a budget of $10,000 per year.

Others in various Southern cities have been leafletting induction centers, either regularly or when friends have gone for physicals or for induction. These demonstrations have received extensive press coverage in places such as Nashville and Miami.

* * * *

Some projects saw Hiroshima Day as a target date for demonstrations. The Atlanta Alliance for Peace in Vietnam held a southwide rally in Atlanta August 6 (see next *Patriot* for details.) Many local projects demonstrated the same day.

* * * *

Vietnam Summer has helped to stimulate and strengthen some of this activity in the South, but when the national office closes in the fall, local groups will be on their own. Some of the Southern groups are already preparing for the fall, thinking in terms of peace candidates, more campus and high-school work, and continuation of present programs.

Proposed state-wide co-ordinating committees came out of each of the three Southern training institutes. These committees plan to organize state-wide rallies, speakers' bureaus, newspapers, draft resistance networks, and vigils, to strengthen communication between local groups, and to dispel the feeling of isolation so commonly felt among peace workers, especially in the South.

Texas Students Face Murder Charge

HOUSTON, Tex.—The District Attorney is expected to ask for the death penalty when five Texas Southern University students are tried this fall for the death of policeman Louis Kuba, during an outbreak last May.

A grand jury indicted them for Kuba's death, although it was shown no weapon taken from a student which could have fired the shot. Kuba may have been killed by one of the 5,000 rounds of shot police fired at student dormitories.

One of the five students was in jail at the time of the shooting—but under Texas law, anyone who is considered responsible for starting a riot may be charged with any crime that results from it.

Meantime, the local mayor has agreed to dismiss police charges against the more than 400 students arrested during the outbreak.

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATION FUND

REGARDING

Defense Materials - THE LOUISVILLE TIMES
Saturday August 12, 1967

DATE

8-12-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

DEFENSE MATERIALS

See Conf Southern Education Fund

September 19, 1967

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
1202 Kentucky Home Life Building
Louisville, Kentucky 40202

Dear Dorcas:

Last week I had an inquiry from a New York foundation about the financial situation of SCEF, its funds, its resources and its needs. I suggested to the foundation that it simply call you, as treasurer, and make this inquiry. It indicated that it would rather not since it would be premature to raise any hopes of it being a potential source of support, and asked if I would do so without mentioning the name of the foundation. This is to request such information if you wish to share it.

Should you be willing, I think the foundation would find it particularly helpful to have the last audit, the current budget, and any projected needs that are readily available. Again, if you wish to share this information,

I would suggest you provide only what is readily available and not invest an undue amount of time in it.

I look forward to seeing you in November.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Southern Conf. Educational Fund

September 25, 1967

Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
2215 Bonnycastle Avenue
Louisville, Kentucky

Dear Dorcas:

Thank you very much for your prompt reply to the request for information. It is very helpful. I will pass all of it along, including a copy of your letter. Hope it does some good.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

File
Southern Conf Educ. Fund,
cr. sep:
Field Fd —
re: Financial Status of the
Fund as requested
by L W Dunbar

September 26, 1967

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Les:

I wrote Dorcas Ruthenburg, Treasurer of SCEF, asking for available financial information saying I was doing so at the request of a foundation executive who wished to remain anonymous. She has sent me the enclosed information.

Hope it will be helpful to you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/km

Enclosures

Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF)

GENERAL OFFICES
3210 WEST BROADWAY, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY 40211 • Area Code 502 774-3331

OFFICERS
President
Fred L. Shuttlesworth
Vice-Presidents
Bishop Charles F. Golden
Jack Peebles
Modjeska M. Simkins
Secretary
Clarice Campbell
Treasurer
Dorcas Ruthenburg
Assistant Secretary
Rosalyn Laventhal
Staff
Robert Analavage
Ella J. Baker
Carol S. Boner
Barbara Bloomfield
Anne Braden
Carl Braden
Jack Brady
Theresa Bridges
Virginia Collins
Patricia Deer
James A. Dombrowski
Nessa Goatley
Carol Hanisch
Nancy Hodes
Leslie Jordan, Jr.
Wm. Howard Melish
Jack Minnis
Sherri Myers
Miriam Nicholas
David Puckett
Sandra Rosenblum
Morton Thomas

September 22, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for letting us know about the inquiry regarding SCEF from the New York foundation. I am enclosing material that was readily available to give a general picture of our financial situation, funds, resources, and needs.

Our auditor has had much illness among his staff this year, and so has not completed the audit for 1966. However, my unaudited report was put together with his assistance and I am sure it will prove to be a correct assessment of our situation as of the end of 1966.

Since this report was made, we have spent an additional $37,214 from our investment fund as we expanded our work among the poor--black and white--in an effort to give them more voice in the democratic processes. This means that our Investment Fund now stands at $17,441.

If we are to continue the work which we consider vital for the South, we will need substantial aid soon, either through increased funds from individuals or through a source such as you describe.

If there are further questions about our finances, information can be obtained from our auditor, Mr. Earle B. Fowler, C.P.A., Marion E. Taylor Bldg., Louisville, Ky., who is on retainer to keep a running audit of our books and to provide annual audits.

Mrs. Anne Braden, our associate executive director, will be in New York on SCEF business from Sept. 27 to Oct. 10 and would be available for discussion of our finances and aims. She can be reached at our New York office, Room 412, 799 Broadway; 475-8775.

Also, Dunn & Bradstreet can provide a full report on our status and our credit rating. If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to write.

I look forward to seeing you in November.

Dcas
Dorcas Ruthenburg
Treasurer

DR:ng

TREASURER'S REPORT (UNAUDITED)
OPERATIONS & TRANSACTIONS - ALL FUNDS
CALENDAR YEAR 1966

OPERATING FUND - INCOME AND EXPENSES

INCOME		
Contributions, bequests and gifts		77,917.18
COSTS AND EXPENSES		
PROJECT COSTS		
Southern Mountain Project and Mountain Education Project	16,388.42	
Operation Open Debate	852.95	
Louisiana Project	1,364.58	
Anti-HUAC	542.04	
S. Nashville Project	1,245.74	
Southern Patriot	22,085.28	
TOTAL PROJECT COSTS	42,479.01	
PROGRAM, FUND RAISING and ADMINISTRATIVE EXPENSES	94,339.48	
TOTAL COSTS AND EXPENSES		136,818.49[1]
EXCESS OF EXPENSE OVER INCOME		(58,901.31)

Note 1: Includes amount transferred to Property Fund-below.

INVESTMENT FUND TRANSACTIONS

FUND BALANCE - JANUARY 1, 1966		60,069.28
ADD: TRANSFERRED TO INVESTMENT FUND FROM OPERATING FUND NET INCOME, BY ORDER OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS, YEAR 1966	-0-	
DIVIDENDS RECEIVED	913.77	
INTEREST RECEIVED	253.89	
GAIN - SALE OF SECURITIES, ETC.	36,604.07	
TOTAL ADDITIONS TO FUND	37,771.73	37,771.73
SUB-TOTAL		97,841.01
DEDUCT: TRANSFERRED TO OPERATING FUND FROM INVESTMENT FUND BY ORDER OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS, YEAR 1966		43,185.66
FUND BALANCE - DECEMBER 31, 1966		54,655.35

PROPERTY FUND TRANSACTION

TRANSFERRED FROM OPERATING FUND (NOTE 1, ABOVE)	
PURCHASE OF LAND, BUILDING, AND APPLIANCES	11,965.00

TREASURER'S REPORT (UNAUDITED)
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
OPERATING BALANCE SHEET & SUMMARY OF FUNDS - DECEMBER 31, 1966

OPERATING FUND - BALANCE SHEET
DECEMBER 31, 1966

ASSETS

Cash (except investment cash)		
Cash in banks		800.05
Petty cash and revolving funds		2,597.00
Total cash (except investment cash)		3,397.05
Other assets		9,287.43
TOTAL ASSETS		12,684.48

LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE

Notes payable		15,000.00
Bail loans payable		7,065.25
Payroll deductions and taxes		764.06
TOTAL LIABILITIES		22,829.31
Fund balance - Operating fund		
Beginning balance - 1/1/66	5,570.82	
Add: Transf. from Investment Fund	43,185.66	
	48,756.48	
Less: Excess of expense over income, calendar year 1966	(58,901.31)	
FUND BALANCE - OPERATING FUND (DEFICIT)		(10,144.83)
TOTAL LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCE		12,684.48

SUMMARY OF FUNDS
DECEMBER 31, 1966

OPERATING FUND (DEFICIT)	(10,144.83)
INVESTMENT FUND	54,655.35
PROPERTY FUND	11,965.00
TOTAL FUND BALANCES - DECEMBER 31, 1966, RECOGNIZED AS NON-STOCK CORPORATE NET WORTH	56,475.52

TREASURER'S REPORT (UNAUDITED)
SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
BALANCE SHEETS - INVESTMENT FUND & PROPERTY FUND
DECEMBER 31, 1966

INVESTMENT FUND - BALANCE SHEET
DECEMBER 31, 1966

Amalgamated Trust & Sav'gs Bk, Chicago	#81,837	8,000.00
Amalgamated Bk of New York, New York	#70,433	8,000.00
Bank of Louisville, Louisville		5,691.16
First Nat'l Lincoln Bank, Louisville		8,964.19
Seamen's Bank for Savings, New York	# 1,524	8,000.00
South Brooklyn Sav'gs Bank, Brooklyn	#A628,882	8,000.00
Victory Savings Bank, Columbia, S.C.		8,000.00
INVESTMENT FUND BALANCE - DEC. 31, 1966		54,655.35

PROPERTY FUND - BALANCE SHEET
DECEMBER 31, 1966

HEADQUARTERS OFFICE, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY	
Land	1,809.84
Building	9,752.98
Appliances	402.18
PROPERTY FUND BALANCE - DEC. 31, 1966	11,965.00

NOTE 2: In the preparation of this report the three Funds (Operating, Investment and Property Funds) were arbitrarily established at the close of the calendar year 1966. Our accountants recommend (1) that the Investment Fund be created and its transactions approved by the Board from time to time, and (2) that the Property Fund be created and maintained as a permanent record of property owned. I believe the creation of the Funds herein described would be a constructive action, and I join with our accountants in recommending that this be done.

Dorcas Ruthenburg

Dorcas Ruthenburg, Treasurer

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
EDUCATIONAL FUND
3210 WEST BROADWAY
LOUISVILLE, KY. 40211

THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF)

A BUDGET
and
OUTLINE OF WORK
For 1967

SCEF

Main Office:
3210 W. Broadway
Louisville, Ky. 40211

Eastern Office:
799 Broadway (Suite 412)
New York, N.Y. 10003

INTRODUCTION

This is a proposed budget for SCEF for 1967. It has been prepared by the executive directors, Carl and Anne Braden, and is being presented to the board of directors of SCEF for approval. It provides for work in six special project areas, as well as general program and field work. It also provides for special one-time projects. A detailed budget, attached hereto, shows a break-down of expenses in each field of work. Following the detailed budget, there are descriptions of each field of work.

The proposed total budget for the year is $165,052. In recent past years, SCEF has raised an approximate annual budget of $100,000. Last year (1966), it did not raise that much, but we believe this was due to special circumstances---the fact that during 1966 SCEF experienced a very difficult change in staff leadership and was involved in moving its office from New Orleans to Louisville. Thus the new executive directors could not spend the proper amount of time in fund-raising efforts. There is no reason to think that SCEF's fund-raising potential has decreased from the years when it raised $100,000.

Even at that, what we are proposing for 1967 represents an increase of more than half again as much as we have raised in recent years. This is still a small budget as compared with other civil rights groups. But it is without doubt an ambitious undertaking.

We want to attempt it for a very important reason: SCEF's role has always been to reach the white Southerner and bring him into action in coalition with the black Southerner. Never has this been so necessary as it is today; in fact, the future of our nation may depend on it. Furthermore, we believe that never has it been as possible as it is today. It has been made possible because the strength of the movement of black people has cracked open "the closed society." Therefore, history today seems to be challenging SCEF to do a job that must be done. We do not want to fail that challenge. We believe that the programs of work here outlined are realistic and possible ones---ones that will produce results and in fact are already doing so.

Also, SCEF has another very unique role. It is becoming more and more customary for social action organizations to be financed by federal funds or grants from big foundations. Some things can be done this way, but there are limitations; it remains true that the only way for an organization to be completely free is to get its financing as SCEF does---from many concerned individuals. In a way, SCEF's existence today is proof that this <u>can</u> be done. SCEF survived as an independent, militant, and non-conforming organization during the very difficult years of McCarthyism and the "silent 50's." Its survival was possible because of the loyal support of many individuals, who believed in its importance as a free organization. We believe it is even more important today that SCEF continue to survive and expand, free to blaze widening paths of action. We have faith that many people, who believe with us in the importance of such independence, will help us to make it financially possible.

BUDGET SUMMARY

MONTHLY BUDGET, 1967:

Southern Mountain Project	$ 2,427	
Grass-Roots Organizing Work (GROW)	1,344	
The Southern Patriot	2,100	
Operation Open Debate (Peace Education)	619	
The Louisiana Project	479	
Anti-HUAC Project	454	
General Program, Field Work, Administration	2,452	
General Offices, Headquarters Operation, (Louisville)	1,781	
Eastern Office (New York City)	1,140	
Miscellaneous (average monthly cost of insurance on SCEF cars)	125	
Total budget, regular monthly expenses		$ 12,921

ANNUAL BUDGET, 1967:

Total expense of regular projects and program (total of above items multiplied by 12)	$ 155,052
Special Projects	10,000
	$ 165,052

(The $10,000 added to the annual budget for special projects is for single-time projects that may be undertaken---for example, a conference or a campaign around a particular case.)

The total annual expense of the separate projects is as follows:

Southern Mountain Project	$ 29,124	
Grass-Roots Organizing Work (GROW)	16,128	
The Southern Patriot	25,200	
Operation Open Debate (Peace Education)	7,428	
Louisiana Project	5,748	
Anti-HUAC Project	5,448	
General Program, Field Work, Administration	29,424	
General Offices, Headquarters, Louisville	21,372	
Eastern Office, New York City	13,680	
Miscellaneous (car insurance on SCEF cars)	1,500	
TOTAL		$ 155,052

A break-down of the monthly budgets for each project appears on pages 3, 4, and 5. A detailed description of each project and each area of work appears on page 6,7,8,9,10,11,12.

DETAILED MONTHLY BUDGET

SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN PROJECT: (4 subsistence workers, one volunteer)

Salaries (4 people)	$432	
Social security	19	(Where car expense is starred here and on other projects, it includes not only gas but monthly average of major repairs and eventual car replacement.)
Hospitalization insurance (4)	32	
Expenses for 1 volunteer	50	
Auto expense for 5	400*	
Travel for 5 (includes room and board while traveling)	200	
Postage	10	
Office supplies	10	
Telephone	40	
Miscellaneous	100	
		$ 1,293

Mountain Education Program (3 subsistence workers)

Salaries (3 people)	$324	
Social security	14	
Hospitalization insurance (2)	16	
Auto expense	200*	
Travel	100	
Postage	50	
Printing	100	
Telephone	30	
Miscellaneous	100	
		934

Appalachian Associates (grant monthly) 200

TOTAL $ 2,427

(Description of the Mountain Project and work associated with it appears on page 6 of this outline.

GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZING WORK (GROW) (Staff of 3):

Salaries (3 people)	$802	
Social security	36	
Hospitalization insurance for 2	16	
Auto expense	150*	
Travel	150	
Telephone	80	
Postage	60	
Office supplies	50	
TOTAL		$ 1,344

(Description of GROW appears on pages 7 and 8 of this outline.)

THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT (2 subsistence workers, 1 volunteer):

Salaries (2 people)	$242
Social security	11
Hospitalization insurance (2)	16
Expenses and hospital insurance for volunteer	91
Auto expense	250*
Travel	150

(continued on next page)

Detailed Monthly Budget (cont.)

(4)

Southern Patriot:

Deep South office, rent and utilities	55	
Deep South office, telephone.....	25	
Publications purchased.....	25	
Office & photo supplies.....	25	
Postage (office use).....	10	
Extra correspondents.....	50	
Telephone (main office and traveling)	100	
Printing & mailing of Patriot (includes cost of cuts, postage)...	1,050	
TOTAL		$ 2,100

(A description of The Patriot appears on page 8 of this outline.)

OPERATION OPEN DEBATE (one subsistence worker, one volunteer)

Salary (1 person).....	$ 20++	
Social security.....	1	
Hospitalization insurance (1).....	8	
Expenses of volunteer.....	60	
Auto expenses.....	120*	
Travel.....	100	
Literature samples.....	25	
Speakers Bureau.....	50	
Postage (including newsletter).....	70	
Office supplies.....	25	
Printing.....	50	
Telephone.....	90	
TOTAL		619

++The subsistence worker on this project is really a volunteer but is on payroll at nominal amount to qualify for SCEF hospital plan.

(A description of Operation Open Debate appears on page of this outline.)

THE LOUISIANA PROJECT (2 subsistence workers):

Salaries (2 people).....	215	
Social security.....	10	
Hospitalization insurance (1).....	8	
Auto expense.....	135*	
Travel.....	100	
Postage.....	5	
Office supplies.....	5	
TOTAL		479

(A description of Louisiana Project is on page 9 of this outline.)

ANTI-HUAC PROJECT (1 volunteer on nominal salary to qualify for hospital plan):

Salary (1 person).....	20
Social security.....	1
Hospitalization insurance (1).....	8
Auto expense.....	100

(continued on next page)

Detailed Monthly Budget (Cont.)

Anti-HUAC (cont.)

Expenses for volunteer.....	50	
Travel.....	100	
Office supplies.....	50	
Postage (including newsletter).....	100	
Telephone.....	50	
TOTAL		$ 454

(A description of the Anti-HUAC project is on page 10 of this outline)

GENERAL PROGRAM, FIELD WORK, ADMINISTRATION: (Staff of 5)

Salaries (5 people).....	$ 1,907	
Social security.....	71	
Hospitalization insurance (3).....	24	
Travel.....	450	
TOTAL		2,452

(A description of general program, field work and administration is on pages 10 & 11 of outline)

GENERAL OFFICES, HEADQUARTERS OPERATION (LOUISVILLE):

Salaries (2 clerical workers).....	570	
Social security.....	25	
Hospitalization insurance (2)	16	
Office & printing supplies.....	300	
Postage.....	300	
Telephone.....	230	
Utilities on building.....	40	
Taxes and insurance on building.....	30	
Repairs.....	60	
Household supplies.....	35	
Food & kitchen expense for workshops, visitors, transient civil rights workers.....	100	
Accounting service.....	75	
TOTAL		1,781

(A description of the work of the Louisville headquarters is on pages 11 and 12 of outline.)

EASTERN OFFICE (NEW YORK CITY):

Salaries (2 people, working in fund-raising and education).....	730	
Social security.....	32	
Hospitalization insurance (1).....	8	
Auto expense.....	30	
Rent & utilities.....	130	
Telephone.....	80	
Office supplies.....	30	
Postage.....	50	
Travel.....	50	
TOTAL		1,140

(A description of the work of the Eastern Office is on page 12 of this outline.)

TOTAL MONTHLY BUDGET, REGULAR PROJECT & PROGRAM EXPENSE	$ 12,796

(This monthly budget total does not include the car insurance item which appears on summary sheet, pro-rated.)

DESCRIPTIONS OF WORK

SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN PROJECT (Budget on page 3):

The Southern Mountain Project is designed to help the poor white and black people of Appalachia organize themselves in ways that can solve their economic problems, bring them political strength, and dignity. In the short run, this means such forms as community unions, regional alliances, cooperatives, credit unions---and pressure to get permanent unemployment pay and such government programs as vast public works to build the schools, hospitals, and community facilities the area needs. Ultimately, it means people really controlling their own lives and their region through democratic forms and a new economic program for the area.

SCEF has undertaken the Mountain Project for two basic reasons: (1) Appalachia is the home of 10 million people, which is one-third of all the people who live in the South; it reaches into nine Southern and Border states. More than one million of these people are unemployed, and this is one of the most poverty-stricken areas in America. Thus the need for organization is great, for here people have not yet found ways to create the democratic forms that can improve their lives. And (2) this is an area where the racist tradition is not as strong as in some parts of the South; it is therefore the area where it is most possible to build the alliances of black and white people that are so desperately needed in the South and in the nation.

As of early 1967, the Mountain Project had five field workers---three in West Virginia and two in Kentucky, working intensively in small areas and traveling over a wide area.

As a subsidiary of the Mountain Project, we are in the process of developing the Mountain Education Program. The purpose of this is to do research on the area, prepare material analyzing the problems, and proposing programs to solve them---material written basically for the people within the area. At the beginning of 1967, the Education Program had only one worker; another was to be added in April, and a third in the summer.

Workers on both the Mountain Project and the Mountain Education Program cooperate with organizations of professional people now forming to attack the problems of Appalachia. But our own work is aimed mainly at helping poor people to organize. Our people also cooperate with people working on government programs in the area---Vistas, Appalachian Volunteers---while constantly pushing toward more far-reaching and meaningful programs.

The Appalachian Associates to which SCEF gives some support as a part of its mountain work is a project being established by noted Southern poet Don West. It is a program for educational, cultural, and organizational work in the mountains. A part of this project is already under way in the form of a quarterly magazine, Appalachian South. The next stage, which Don is working on now, is development of a school at Pipestem, W. Va. The school will be geared toward mountain young people, especially high school drop-outs. Don and

(Continued on back of this page)

Southern Mountain Project Description (cont.)

and his co-workers will help them learn trades and will also give them an appreciation of the strengths and culture of the mountain areas. They will also encourage them to go back into their communities and help people organize for social justice. Appalachian Associates receives support from several sources. SCEF contributes a monthly grant to help with the expense of getting the school started. Don West also serves as a consultant to our Mountain Project staff; he is one of the most knowledgeable people in the country in regard to the Southern mountains.

GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZING WORK (GROW) (Budget on page 3)

GROW is a new project being launched by Bob and Dottie Zellner. It is in keeping with SCEF's long-time objectives and SCEF is incorporating it into its program.

The purpose of GROW is to stimulate as widely as possible throughout the South the organization of white people for social action and to bring them as quickly as possible into coalitions with movements of black people on a local, state and regional level. Although GROW will be concerned with all white Southerners, its special emphasis will be to reach the poor white Southerner---those people who have been so long neglected by healthy social movements and have thus been left prey to false calls of the Ku Klux Klan and other racist groups. GROW's prospectus states: "We want to begin the serious long-range effort to organize the white people in the South into a force equal in strength and similar in commitment to the movement now flourishing in the black community, so that interracial coalitions, based on common interests, can be formed."

Many people recognize that this is the need of the hour. The Zellners are peculiarly fitted to take on this tremendous challenge. Bob is a native white Alabaman, son of a Methodist minister (who is a member of the SCEF board). Immediately after finishing college in 1961, he became the first white field secretary of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He worked at that time on SNCC's "white student project," which was an effort, subsidized by SCEF, to reach the white students in the South and bring them into the civil rights movement. This project had profound effects, both directly and indirectly, throughout the South. In this period also, Bob became deeply involved in SNCC's total program, worked long and hard on the dangerous front lines of the Southern movement. He won the wide respect of people in the white communities as well as in the black---even of white people who did not agree with him. His wife, Dottie, is from the North but worked for a long period as one of the key people on the SNCC staff in both Atlanta and Mississippi. The two of them bring to their new project unique knowledge of the South and of the movement and an unusual degree of experience in organizing.

Bob and Dottie, along with their young daughter, will live in New Orleans. Dottie will coordinate their project from there, and Bob will travel throughout the South. He sees the first stages of the project as work in contacting people in all parts of the South

(continued on next page)

Description of GROW (continued)

to stimulate as many persons as possible to grass-roots organizing in their own communities. One of his primary objectives will be to encourage young white Southerners to work in their own home areas.

The Zellners also plan to develop an educational center in New Orleans, which will become a center for workshops, conferences, etc.---giving people an opportunity to exchange ideas and contribute to each other's strength. (Details on this will be supplied later.)

If GROW is successful, much of its work will be done by volunteers or by people developing their own organizing projects in their own communities. At the present time, a staff of only three is envisioned---Bob and Dottie, and one person in the North building support for the work and keeping contact with interested persons outside the South.

Bob and Dottie have joined the SCEF staff. They are also still members of the SNCC staff---this joint staff arrangement being one that SCEF and SNCC have worked out successfully in other situations. SCEF has adopted the GROW project, and the Zellners are seeking similar sponsorship from SNCC---the hope being that it can be a joint SNCC-SCEF project. For the time being at least, however, SCEF is attempting to raise the entire budget needed to get the project started.

THE SOUTHERN PATRIOT (Budget on pages 3 & 4):

The Southern Patriot is SCEF's monthly newspaper, now eight pages tabloid. It is not a SCEF house-organ but attempts to cover activities of many groups working in the South and also the activities of people working in their own communities to change their lives.

It attempts to report the news of the South that too often does not get reported in the daily press---the work that is going on to make the South a better place to live. It also reports the injustices in the South that might otherwise go unnoticed except by their direct victims---and thus tries to mobilize action to stop injustice. It also includes articles on the various people who are part of movements for change in the South, and articles of interpretation analyzing what is happening in the South's social movements. A page for letters provides a forum for readers, and there is a picture page.

Anne Braden, who formerly did all the editorial work on the Patriot and is now associate director of SCEF, continues to serve as nominal editor and does some work on it. However, most of the work of producing the Patriot is now done by three young people---one writer, one photographer, and one combination writer-photographer-editor. Rather than add more staff at this time, we are developing a list of correspondents who occasionally contribute articles for nominal payment. The main Patriot office is in the Louisville SCEF building. It also maintains a Deep South office, where one staff member lives and work.

The Patriot is part of SCEF's over-all effort to build an informed public in the South and thus make change possible.

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Descriptions of Work (continued)

OPERATION OPEN DEBATE (Peace Education) (Budget on Page 4)

Operation Open Debate is a peace education project, designed to stimulate thought and action on this issue throughout the South.

SCEF has undertaken this project because it believes one of the most evil effects of segregation in the South was that it forced a "closed society" on the region---an atmosphere where controversial issues could not be discussed. Now because of the work of the civil rights movement, the atmosphere has opened up. It is important that we move quickly to open up discussion of the life-and-death issues that face mankind, so that elections may be meaningful and the democratic processes may have a chance to work. The peace issue is also one which holds out the possibility of a real unity between black and white Southerners, because it is an issue that affects all mankind, regardless of color.

Operation Open Debate maintains its own office in Nashville, with little overhead, as it is in the home of a volunteer. The project is manned by two staff members, both of whom are volunteers although one receives a nominal salary in order to qualify for hospital group insurance. One of these workers is basically a traveler and visits throughout the South---contacting people, bringing them information and sources of literature, putting them in touch with each other, helping in other ways as asked. The other staff worker coordinates from Nashville---following up with mail contact, helping to provide speakers, literature, and information. A newsletter is published and sent to contacts throughout the South. The Speakers' Bureau of Operation Open Debate, mentioned in the budget, brings informed speakers into the South; local groups usually pay at least part of this expense, but Operation Open Debate sometimes provides some funds to help small groups in isolated areas get speakers who are touring the South.

This project is based on the premise, which SCEF has found effective through the years, that if people are given information and put in touch with others of like mind (so they know they are not alone) they will move in creative ways and find the organizational forms best suited to their community.

THE LOUISIANA PROJECT (Budget on page 4):

This is an educational project designed to bring black and white people together around common need.

It is staffed by two subsistence workers, one black and one white. They work together in both urgan and rural areas of Louisiana. They set up workshops and discussion groups where people can come together and discuss their problems and possible solutions.

The ultimate aim is community organization through which people can create their own democratic forms that can give them some control over their lives. It is education in the most profound sense---based on the general SCEF philosophy that if people have information

(continued on next page)

Louisiana Project (Continued)

and opportunity to come together they will create the forms of organization best suited to their needs.

The project cooperates with the programs of other civil rights groups, such as the citizenship education program of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

THE ANTI-HUAC PROJECT (Budget on Pages 4 & 5):

This project is carried out with the cooperation of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee. The National committee contributes $150 a month to the support of the project. It is staffed by one full-time worker, a volunteer who works for expenses, plus a nominal salary to qualify her for SCEF's hospital insurance plan. In addition to helping finance expenses of the project, SCEF contributes space in its Louisville building which serves as an office for the project and also as living quarters for the staff worker when she is in Louisville.

The purpose of this project is to bring information about HUAC to as wide a circle of people in the South as possible and to help them organize to work for the abolition of the committee. Along with information on HUAC, information is also distributed on similar committees---the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, headed by James Eastland of Mississippi, and the numerous Southern state legislative committees modeled after these. It is our belief that such commitees, spreading as they do the idea that work for social change is subversive, have been one of the main forces stifling democracy in the South. We feel, as with the peace issue, that now is the time that Southerners can move on this issue which it was almost impossible to discuss widely a few years ago. By helping people to organize against HUAC, we believe we are creating a new understanding of the whole concept of civil liberties---something that is essential if we are really to have a new South and a democratic society.

The field worker on this project travels the South, meeting with various groups, distributing information, putting people in touch with each other, organizing Southwide efforts such as the petition in early 1967 that protested HUAC's plan to investigate ghetto uprisings. The project also issues a regular newsletter and helps people form committees against HUAC in their areas.

GENERAL PROGRAM, FIELD WORK, ADMINISTRATION (Budget on page 5):

In addition to the six specific projects described above, SCEF continues to carry on a broad program aimed at ending all forms of discrimination and segregation in the South, interpreting these efforts and seeking support for them outside the South, and relating them to similar efforts in other parts of the country. This work is just as important as it ever was, because contrary to some opinion the battle against racism is not won in the South. What has been

(Continued on back of this page)

Description of General Program, Field Work, Administration (Continued):

accomplished so far is that we now have the opportunity to work more effectively toward our goals. The atmosphere is more free, and certain laws are on the books. Now we must bring the laws to life by community organization throughout the region. Where the vote has been won, we must make it meaningful by grass-roots political organization. A number of organizations are working at these tasks. SCEF makes its contribution through a broad program of public information so that people may have the facts, a steady program of assistance to local groups which need the support of a regional organization, and a wide contact program---building up a network of people who can draw strength from each other and feel themselves a part of a movement. It is SCEF's belief that this is the way healthy movements for social change are built---and that the job of a regional or national organization is to give people the help they need without creating rigid organizational forms that box them in.

This general program of SCEF is carried on by all of its staff to a certain extent, even as they work on special projects. But it is the particular responsibility of SCEF's administrative and field staff, and of its main office operation in Louisville and its Eastern office in New York City.

The field and administrative staff of SCEF consists of five persons: Carl and Anne Braden, the executive director and associate director; the Rev. William Howard Melish and Miss Miriam Nicholas, assistant directors; and Miss Ella Baker, consultant.

The Bradens are in charge of the general program of the organization and supervise the staff; they also do considerable field work, both South and North. One of their primary responsibilities is to raise money for the organization, but all of SCEF's fund-raising is tied to educational and informational work. Melish now works mainly as a field worker along the Eastern Seaboard, both North and South---one of his main assignments being the interpretation of activity in the South to people in the North. Miriam Nicholas is in charge of the Louisville office and building and directs the program and educational work that centers there. Ella Baker works in the field, moving back and forth between South and North, working with many groups in the North and especially with such grass-roots efforts in the South as the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party.

GENERAL OFFICES, HEADQUARTERS OPERATION (LOUISVILLE) (Budget, page 5):

SCEF's main headquarters is in a building which it owns in Louisville. The building is actually a house, and in addition to the office it has four apartments and one extra room which serve as living quarters for staff when they are at home base and also provide housing for the many movement visitors who come and go. A kitchen in the apartment which houses the office provides hospitality for movement visitors. Each apartment also has its own kitchen. In the basement, we have our own printing equipment; this is not big enough to print the Patriot, which is printed commercially, but we

(Continued on next page)

Description of Louisville Office (Continued):

print much of our other material. We also have a darkroom with photographic equipment.

The work of this Louisville office involves much more than the bookkeeping operation of the organization. It is the source of much of our educational work---the production point of publications designed to inform the public, North and South. It is also the nerve center of our contact with people working in many communities. For example, one thing we do is issue action memos to key people across the South and the rest of the country as situations develop in various communities or states where local people need wide help in some effort they are making. The Louisville office is also the base of the Southern Patriot News Service, which issues regular material on Southern developments to more than 300 newspapers and magazines in the U.S. and Canada.

EASTERN OFFICE (NEW YORK CITY) (Budget on Page 5):

SCEF's New York office is basically a fund-raising operation, but it is also an educational center. In addition to raising funds for the organization, its job is to get information about developments in the South to interested persons in the North, so that they may take various actions to be helpful. It also seeks to help local groups along the northeastern seaboard organize to take a continuing interest in the South and, in some cases, to develop programs geared to their own locality that do work similar to efforts we are encouraging in the South.

The office serves not only the immediate New York area, but also New England and the Northeast generally. It is staffed by two full-time workers, Sandra Rosenblum and Carol Hanisch, and has the help of one of our assistant directors, the Rev. Howard Melish, who works in its educational program.

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GRASS-ROOTS ORGANIZING WORK (GROW)

A Project of
The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF)

This is an organizing project being established in the Deep South by Bob and Dottie Zellner, young veterans of the Southern student movement. Its purpose is to set in motion forms of organization that can win white people away from the destructive and dead-end philosophy of racism and help them organize for the building of a democratic South. It is especially, although not exclusively, aimed at the poor and disinherited white people of the South who have been so long misled by racists and neglected by the whites working in the civil rights movement.

The GROW project is in line with the long-standing purpose of the Southern Conference. When this organization was established in 1938, its purpose was to mobilize the South's people, white and black, to oppose their real enemies---poverty and the concentration of political power in the hands of a tiny minority. As the black people of the South began to shake the power structures of the South and to form their own militant organizations in the 1950's, SCEF concentrated more and more on the great unmet challenge of the nation---reaching white Southerners and stimulating them to support democratic goals. In this period of great repression, it worked mainly among middle-class white Southerners---intellectuals and professional people---and with some success. By 1964, the work of the freedom movement had made it both possible and imperative that this work be extended into poor white communities, and so SCEF broadened its program. It set up the Southern Mountain Project to help disinherited white people in the hill country of the South organize around their own needs---needs which are so similar to those of poor black people.

With the GROW project, SCEF extends this work into what have been considered the bastions of racism in the Deep South.

The Zellners, who set up GROW, are a husband-wife team, both in their late 20's. They combine the best that both the South and the North contributed to recent Southern student movements. Bob is the son of a Methodist minister, grew up in Alabama, graduated from Huntingdon College in Montgomery, Ala. In 1961, he joined the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) on a special SCEF-financed project to reach Southern white students. For the next several years, he was an organizer in all the Deep South states and was arrested several times. Dottie grew up in New York City and was educated at Queens College. She came South in 1961 to work for the Southern Regional Council. In 1962, she joined the SNCC staff and worked in its public relations department. Bob and Dottie were married in 1963 and have one daughter. They later lived in New England where Bob did graduate work at Brandeis University in political science, and in 1966 he was campaign manager for Bob Cook, an independent peace candidate for Congress in Connecticut. They have now returned South for a long-term commitment and are living in New Orleans. A budget and their plan of work for Grow are attached.

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A PROSPECTUS FOR ORGANIZING IN THE WHITE COMMUNITY

Grass Roots Organizing Work (GROW)

Historically, the poor and working whites of the Deep South have constituted the bulwark of racism and terror against the black community. The white power structure has systematically miseducated the poor so they would not be able to see their common interest with poor and working blacks, and has thereby kept from them the truth of who, indeed, reaps the benefits of this society. Except for fleeting moments during Reconstruction, Populism, and the New Deal, poor and working whites have perpetuated the Southern political, social and economic structure; for as long as they saw their black counterparts as objects of fear and competition, the power structure was sure that no serious, long-range challenge to the status quo would arise.

We have therefore organized a pilot project, Grass Roots Organizing Work (GROW), to explore the possibilities of rekindling the light of common efforts which flickered so briefly. This is, we believe, the only way that a black-white coalition can become a reality. Black organizers cannot do it for us. We whites must take the responsibility for the job.

We are initiating a program of extensive travel through the white communities in the Deep South to investigate promising organizing situations. By this we mean local situations which have in them the seeds of the Movement---such as a union drive at a factory; the question of academic freedom on a white campus; a food stamp drive; the building of a road in a farm community, and so on.

Out of this travel should come a number of people who will be interested not only in becoming organizers---and then training others but who will begin to see their problems in relations to those in

the black community, the South, and the nation. Once organizers are located, it will be possible to send them into other areas to develop the movement there, and thus create a chain of organizers in much the same way as has been done in the black community. In addition, as promising situations develop, use can be made of talented white workers who have scattered to various parts of the country in lieu of any program in which they felt they could take part.

We are setting up an educational center in New Orleans which will have library, education, recreation and discussion facilities to help train these organizers, and provide a center for the poor and working white community here as well. The center, located in a poor white section of New Orleans known as the "Irish Channel," will also have space to hold Southwide workshops and meetings.

Since very little work has been done in Deep South poor white communities---as opposed to that being done in Appalachia, for example---we feel it necessary not to impose a rigid time or organizing schedule on the project. It is very important to have the time and freedom to explore and experiment. Our experience in the Movement has taught us that much of this kind of organizing grows out of the needs of a particular community, which affects another community in turn, and grows into different local and regional programs.

Throughout all of this we hope to be able at least to make a start in creating the conditions in the poor and working white community for a just and rational common effort with the black community---one based not only on the estimable ideals of brotherhood and equality, but also based on the hard truth that only a united community of the dispossessed can make the necessary changes for a new society.

----Bob & Dottie Zellner

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF)
3210 West Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAIN PROJECT

A Statement of Purpose and Program

The purpose of SCEF's Southern Mountain Project is to help the jobless and underpaid people of Southern Appalachia organize for economic and political action to improve the conditions of their lives.

The immediate concentration point is in Eastern Kentucky. Here the main issue is the need for jobs. This is an area where thousands of people have been thrown out of work by the increasing use of machinery in the coal mines. An especially acute problem exists among the young people---the war babies of World War II and the immediate postwar years. Most of these young people have never had real jobs and have no hope of ever getting them. They have nothing to look forward to except going overseas to fight another war.

So far the only answers the government has come up with are make-work ("weed-cutting") programs that have no meaning, shipping people off to low-paying city jobs, or sending them to Vietnam.

SCEF is helping the mountain people raise the demand for "Good Jobs Now---at Home." This is a demand that the poverty war cannot meet, because it would require a vast public-works program to build what this area needs in schools, hospitals, community buildings, and area development. The courthouse gangs don't want such a program since it would destroy their stranglehold, and the federal government is not prepared to spend the money anyway. If such a program is to come, the people must organize and demand it through their own political and economic action. Finally they must get rid of the courthouse gangs and elect their own people to office---both at home and in Washington. SCEF will help them organize around these demands:

1. That the people make the decisions from now on.

2. That the people design and run their own programs.

3. That wealth stolen from the mountains be paid back to build houses, roads, libraries, schools, hospitals, old folks' homes, bridges, transportation systems, flood controls, recreation areas, and cultural centers.

4. That the people do this work themselves---at union wages.

5. That the war in Vietnam---which is taking the lives of mountain boys and the money that could be used at home---be stopped.

6. That the government stop moving mountain people into big cities to knock their black brothers out of the few low-paying jobs available.

7. That the United States government start paying attention to <u>people, not profits</u>.

Although SCEF is now concentrating its mountain organizing work in Eastern Kentucky, it will eventually extend this program throughout Southern Appalachia. Nine Southern and border states lie partly in Appalachia: Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland. Ten million people live in this area; between

1,000,000 and 1,500,000 of them are totally out of work; many more are below the poverty line.

This program is in line with SCEF's long-standing purpose. That purpose, since the beginning of the organization 30 years ago, has been to bring true democracy to the South---to help take control of the region out of the hands of the ruling few and distribute it among the many. In the past, the greatest progress toward bringing democracy to the South has been made by the freedom movements among black Southerners. SCEF has cooperated with these movements and, as an interracial organization, has placed special emphasis on encouraging more white Southerners to support them.

With the growing strength of the black movement in the 1960's, similar movements among white people became both more necessary and more possible. In 1964, SCEF turned its attention to organizing movements among the white poor, recognizing that this is a necessary step needed to change the lives of both black and white. This work is being pursued in the Deep South as well as in the mountain areas, but in the mountains the progress can be much faster because the region is not plagued by the racist traditions of the Deep South. Most of the poor people in the hills are white, so the emphasis is on helping them organize. But wherever black people live, black and white are being organized together. The ultimate goal is state and regional black-white coalitions.

In helping the poor and powerless people of the South to organize, SCEF has a special and valuable role to play. It is run by a board of 60 private citizens from all the Southern states, and its financial support comes from thousands of concerned individuals. Thus it is an independent organization. Various government poverty agencies are also working to help the poor organize, and SCEF respects the work of many of them. For example, the Appalachian Volunteers, under heavy attack from the courthouse gangs and Kentucky politicians, are doing good work. But the AV's and other government-funded programs are subject to the pressure of politicians both at home and in Washington, and cannot engage in political action. SCEF is free to deal with the real problems that exist without facing such limitations. And it is free to suggest and encourage political action, which holds a hope that the poor people of the South can find a peaceful way to solve their problems and create a new kind of life.

Because of the freedom it offers for creative work, SCEF is now attracting to its staff some of the nation's most talented young people. Many of them previously worked in the black freedom movement and now want to use their energies to build unity of white and black people. They thus bring to this effort the organizing skills, the courage and the dedication that can be acquired only in struggle and which were produced in abundance in the Southern movements of the early 1960s.

September 1, 1967

3 Pike Poverty Workers Charged With Sedition

The Courier-Journal

SUNDAY, AUGUST 13, 1967.

By KYLE VANCE
Courier-Journal Staff Writer

PIKEVILLE, Ky. — A midnight raid on the rural mountain homes of three antipoverty workers resulted yesterday in sedition charges against the three and confiscation of a truckload of books and papers.

Commonwealth's Attorney Thomas Ratliff said the seized material included what he called a "communistic library out of this world."

Arrested and held for examining trial were Al McSurely and his wife, Margaret, both staff representatives of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), and Joe Mulloy, field representative for the Appalachian Volunteers.

Mulloy was released after posting $5,000 bail. Mr. and Mrs. McSurely were held in jail in lieu of $5,000 and $2,000 bond respectively.

Carl Braden of Louisville, head of SCEF, said the McSurelys chose to remain in jail to test the law on habeas corpus motions.

Mulloy also posted $250 bond on a charge of flourishing a dangerous weapon. He said he had carried a pistol when he answered a knock at his door because he did not know who was there. When the callers identified themselves as officers, he handed the gun to them, he said.

Dan Jack Combs, attorney for the three, said he will go either to a state

See PIKE RAID
Col. 1, back page, this section

Continued From Page One

or federal court tomorrow with habeas corpus motions to free the McSurelys.

SCEF, whose headquarters are in Louisville, has been active in civil rights movements in the South and recently has turned its attention to organizing both Negro and white poor.

Appalachian Volunteers works with the poor of the mountains to inform them of their rights and to organize them into community action groups. They also train VISTA volunteers, the domestic version of the Peace Corps.

Landlord Complained

Ratliff and Sheriff Perry A. Justice led the raids on the complaint of James M. Compton, of Collins, former landlord of the McSurelys.

Ratliff said Compton evicted the McSurelys after examining their collection of books and papers and seeing "a parade of strange looking visitors at their house."

He said the material taken from McSurely included a "white paper" on how to "take over Pike County from the power structure and put in the hands of the poor."

"The paper also included a narrative on ways to get into the government's antipoverty programs and take advantage of the money available through the programs," Ratliff said.

"Every piece of evidence we have points to just one objective, to stir up dissension and create turmoil among our poor."

He said the confiscated material will be made available to Washington, including congressional investigators, and that it will be used to try and convince the Office of Economic Opportunity that federal funds should be withdrawn from the Appalachian Volunteers and VISTA.

"We have good evidence that government funds are being used to promote causes aimed at downgrading and maybe overthrowing the government," Ratliff said.

He said his investigation will continue and that it will include interviews with local young people who have been "indoctrinated" by McSurely and Mulloy.

Works by and about Lenin, Marx, Mao Tse-tung, Castro and other Communist leaders were among the books seized, Ratliff said. Others dealt with Russian short stories, Socialist thought and the so-called Berkeley student revolt at the University of California. These were paperbacks and are available at some bookstores.

Ratliff said he also found instructions on how to use weapons and how to fight guerrilla wars. Correspondence taken included letters in which certain teachers were favored for the Pike County school system.

"They have been getting real close to our young people," Ratliff said. "They have what they call the Marrowbone Folk School out in the county which I understand is an indoctrination school."

"They have helped get boys into the Neighborhood Youth Corps and they have taken some young people to civil rights meetings in Chicago and other places."

Convicted in 1954 Case

The habeas corpus motions to free the McSurelys will attack the validity of the sedition charges in view of decisions holding that states cannot enforce sedition laws. One such decision dealt with a sedition conviction in Kentucky against Braden, head of SCEF, who called the state sedition statute "unconstitutional, invalid and void."

Braden was convicted in 1954 on charges of advocating sedition after the bombing of a Negro home in a previously all-white neighborhood in Louisville. Braden had sold the home to the Negro. The conviction was later set aside by the state Court of Appeals after the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in a Pennsylvania case that the states do not have the authority to bring such charges.

The SCEF headquarters was moved to Louisville in 1966 from New Orleans. In 1963, police raided the New Orleans headquarters and claimed to have found subversive literature. The U.S. Supreme Court overturned prosecution arising from the Louisiana raid.

Ratliff said the prosecution may base its case on the theory that states can punish violators of state sedition laws.

'Exaggeration,' Braden Says

Ratliff said the Smith Act, which pre-empted states from enforcing state sedition laws, was found unconstitutional by the Supreme Court and, because of this, the state can now enforce state sedition statutes.

"That is an exaggeration," Braden said. "The Smith Act is still on the books, in case Mr. Ratliff is not up on his law."

Mulloy made a statement on his release deploring "this travesty of justice." He said Ratliff, the Republican nominee for lieutenant-governor, was trying to gain politically on the issue.

Tom Bethel, information officer for the Appalachian Volunteers, said the organization is dedicated to building, not overthrowing, the government.

"We are interested in working with local, county, state and federal officials to improve living conditions in Appalacia," he said.

"We do not always agree with the elected officials in the area, but we do respect the fact that they are elected. In return, we hope they will respect our constitutional right of dissent. Dissent and sedition are two very different things, and we hope this will be recognized in Pike County."

(Over)

The Courier-Journal

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18, 1967.

Kentucky's Law On Sedition Due U.S. Court Test

By FRED W. LUIGART JR.
Courier-Journal Staff Writer

LEXINGTON, Ky.—U.S. District Judge Bernard T. Moynahan yesterday set the stage for a federal court test of a Kentucky sedition law.

He granted a request of three anti-poverty workers, arrested last week in Pike County, to let a three-judge federal court of appeals rule on the constitutionality of the law.

However, Judge Moynahan refused to hold up current state legal proceedings against the trio: Mr. and Mrs. Alan McSurely, field workers for the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), and Joseph Mulloy, a staff member of Appalachian Volunteers.

Hearing May Be Canceled

They were charged with sedition after raids at their homes on the night of Aug. 11-12 by Pike County Commonwealth's Atty. Thomas Ratliff. Ratliff said "Communist literature and films" were confiscated.

A preliminary hearing on the state sedition charge against the three is set in Pikeville for today, but may be canceled in light of the federal action announced yesterday — which is to try the statute, not the anti-poverty workers.

It is possible that disposition of the cases of the three individuals will be put off altogether until after the constitutionality of the sedition law has been decided in the federal courts.

Whatever decision is handed down by the federal appellate judges on the

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constitutionality issue will be appealable directly to the Supreme Court.

The next step in the federal proceedings will be arranging a time for the three-judge court to meet. That will be determined by the chief judge of the 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at Cincinnati, which will hear the case.

Yesterday Judge Moynahan denied appeals by the accused trio for temporary restraining orders that would have:

- Prevented Pike County officials from proceeding with their prosecution of the McSurelys and Mulloy.
- Impounded, in the hands of a U.S. marshal, literature seized in the raid on the McSurely and Mulloy residences.

No 'Irreparable Damage'

On these latter two points, Judge Moynahan noted that it is the policy of the federal courts not to interfere with the processes of the state courts and that there was no evidence submitted to indicate the plaintiffs would suffer "irreparable damage" if the restraining orders were denied.

The McSurelys sued in U.S. District Court Wednesday for an injunction against enforcement of the Kentucky sedition statute. Mulloy was permitted to intervene in the case yesterday.

With them, the plaintiffs also include the SCEF; the National Conference for New Politics, of which Alan McSurely is a field organizer; and Vietnam Summer, a peace group. In addition, the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union (KCLU) has requested admission to the case as a friend of the court.

Conflict of Statutes?

The KCLU is seeking to enter the case, its attorney, Robert A. Sedler, told the court yesterday, because the suit "presents constitutional questions of the utmost magnitude."

The defendants are Commonwealth's Atty. Ratliff, Republican candidate for lieutenant governor; Perry A. Justice, Pike County sheriff; and Grover Atkins, Pike County jailer. State Atty. General Robert Matthews is a nominal party to the defense because the suit involves a federal test of a state statute.

In granting the request for the three-judge court, Judge Moynahan in effect accepted arguments advanced by the McSurelys' and Mulloy's attorneys, Dan Jack Combs, of Pikeville, and William M. Kunstler, a New York constitutional lawyer, that the suit raises the question of a possible conflict in federal and state statutes.

Kunstler argued that sedition is a federal offense and that any statutes dealing with sedition are therefore null and void.

"There is just no such thing as sedition against a state," Kunstler told the court. He termed the arrest of the McSurelys and Mulloy a "disgraceful episode in jurisprudence."

Ratliff, representing the defendants, argued that the state statute is constitutional because, he said, it applies to persons seeking to overthrow the government of Kentucky and its subdivisions.

The arrested trio were sent to Pike County to "subvert and forcibly overthrow the government . . .," he said.

The confiscated books and papers, Ratliff said, included works by Lenin, Karl Marx and Mao Tse-tung.

"It's a ridiculous concept," replied Kunstler, referring to Ratliff's remark that the McSurelys planned to overthrow the government of Pike County.

'Karl Marx Also at UK'

"I submit you can go to the University of Kentucky where you'll find Karl Marx's works also," Kunstler added.

The ownership and distribution of Socialist and Communist literature, Kunstler continued, has "never been a crime in the United States.

Combs told the court that books not confiscated during the raids included the Bible, two books about former senator and presidential candidate Barry Goldwater, and the publication, "None Dare Call It Treason," a scathing attack on President Johnson published during the past presidential campaign.

"They (the arresting officers) were very selective," Combs added, noting that the books impounded were about communism and socialism.

Combs also told the court that since their arrests, the McSurelys' mail has been censored by the Pike County jailer. The couple has remained in jail since their arrest.

There also were charges that the arrest of the three was provoked by Ratliff's political aspirations, and suggestions that the three were arrested for their opposition to strip mining.

"I suspect that the real reason has a lot more to do with coal than with communism," Kunstler said.

Ratliff said he and other officials involved in the raid were only carrying out duties required of them by Kentucky statutes.

The warrants, he said, were issued after several Pike County persons protested the activities of the McSurelys and Mulloy.

You may wish to protest these unjust arrests by writing to:

GOV. EDWARD BREATHITT
State Capitol
Frankfort, Ky.

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3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

(over)

The Courier-Journal
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12, 1967.

Sedition Charges

Pike Jury Indicts Five, Including Braden, Wife

From AP and Special Dispatches

PIKEVILLE, Ky.—The Pike County grand jury yesterday indicted a Louisville couple and three anti-poverty workers on charges of advocating or teaching sedition in violation of state law.

The jury also charged in its final report that a "well-organized and well-financed effort is being made to promote and spread the communistic theory . . . to overthrow the government of Pike County."

Named in the indictments were Carl and Anne Braden of Louisville, Alan and Margaret McSurely, and Joseph Mulloy. The McSurelys and Mulloy were arrested recently after raids in August on their homes produced what the commonwealth called "subversive literature."

Braden is executive director of the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a privately financed organization formed to aid racial-equality efforts and to assist in the organization of the poor. His wife works with him.

The McSurelys are field workers of the SCEF. Mulloy has been a summer field worker for the Appalachian Volunteers, financed in part by the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity.

All five are due to be arraigned today in Pike Circuit Court.

The McSurelys and Mulloy were released on bond after the August raids and a panel of three federal judges is considering their argument that the state sedition law is unconstitutional.

Late last night, Justice Bert T. Combs of the 6th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Cincinnati, chief of the three-judge federal panel, set a hearing for 10 a.m. tomorrow in U.S. District Court in Lexington on a motion for a restraining order to bar the state's prosecution of all five indicted yesterday, pending the federal panel's ruling on the constitutionality of the state sedition law.

'Have Sufficient Evidence'

The motion was filed by William Kunstler, attorney for the SCEF and for the five persons indicted.

In its report yesterday, the Pike County grand jury said it has studied the sedition law and as a result "of our investigation, we have sufficient and competent evidence to support an indictment requiring that those indicted stand trial for the crime of advocating or teaching sedition in violation of the Kentucky state statute."

The jury said that Communist organizers have been sent to Pike County by "racial organizations which have paid and supported them . . ." It added:

"Some employes of the Appalachian Volunteers and other federally financed anti-poverty programs have collaborated and cooperated with known Communist organizers."

The jury further stated: "Local officials of the Appalachian Volunteers have cooperated with known Communist organizers by allowing them to conduct training among the VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) workers, Peace Corps trainees and local citizens."

Braden replied, "I have been indicted by better people than these and on even phonier charges," referring to a 1954 indictment aganist him under the sedition statutes. He added:

"The law has been found unconstitutional by the highest court in the state and the United States. This is for pure harrassment and for political advancement.

'Disrespectful to U.S. Court'

"It is also disrespectful to the U.S. court which has the case under its eye."

Dan Jack Combs, attorney for the McSurelys and Mulloy, said he was surprised that the Bradens were included in the indictment.

"Carl was only here to execute bond," Combs said.

Alan McSurely said: "Ratliff holds the people of Pike County in as much contempt as he does the federal court and each of his illegal acts are losing votes for him."

McSurely referred to Commonwealth's Atty. Thomas Ratliff of Pikeville, who is running for lieutenant governor on the Republican ticket.

Ratliff participated in the investigation leading to the arrests of the McSurelys and Mulloy.

Later, when the panel of three federal judges met to hear testimony on the constitutionality issue, Ratliff said he would not prosecute in the case until the federal court issued a ruling on the validity of the state's sedition law. The judges have not announced a decision.

Pike Circuit Judge James B. Stephenson ordered the grand jury to proceed with its investigation of the charges, despite Ratliff's agreement with the federal panel.

In Louisville, Mrs. Braden later issued this statement:

"We were indicted for sedition 13 years ago because we helped a black family seek their right to a decent home. We are indicted for sedition now because we lead an organization that is trying to help poor people of all colors win their rights.

Seven Accused in 1954 Case

"We believe today, as we did then, that the principles our country was founded on mean what they say—that all people have the same rights whether they are black or white, rich or poor.

"When they charged us with sedition in 1954 it only multiplied our efforts to make these principles real in our society. It will do the same thing this time."

Her statement referred to the fact that Carl Braden and four other persons, including Mrs. Braden, were indicted in 1954 on a charge of advocating sedition in connection with an explosion at the home of Andrew E. Wade IV, a Negro electrical contractor, near Shively. Braden had purchased the home and transferred ownership to Wade and his wife in May 1954. The explosion occurred a month later.

Two other persons were indicted on related charges.

Braden was convicted in Criminal Court in Louisville that year and sentenced to a 15-year prison term and a $5,000 fine after a 13-day trial. He was the only one of the five tried.

The Kentucky Court of Appeals threw out the conviction on June 22, 1956, after the U. S. Supreme Court had ruled that the states have no jurisdiction over sedition against the federal government.

Braden served almost six months of his term at the Kentucky Reformatory near LaGrange before being freed on a $40,000 appeal bond. The state Court of Appeals ruling finally freed him completely.

You may wish to protest
these unjust indictments
by wiring or writing:

GOVERNOR EDWARD BREATHITT
State Capitol, Frankfort, Ky.

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The Courier-Journal

LOUISVILLE, FRIDAY MORNING, SEPTEMBER 15, 1967

5 Defendants Freed

Kentucky Sedition Law Ruled Unconstitutional

By FRED W. LUIGART JR.
Courier-Journal Staff Writer

LEXINGTON, Ky.—Kentucky's 47-year-old sedition statute, a law enacted in response to the so-called Bolshevik "red menace" of the early 1920s, was ruled unconstitutional in U.S. District Court here yesterday.

The federal government, the court held in a 2-1 decision, preempted the state legislation with enactment of the Smith Act, the federal sedition law.

"We do not think the government of Pike County or the government of Kentucky can be overthrown without in part overthrowing the government of the United States," the majority said.

Judge Bert Combs, of the U.S. Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, and Judge James Gordon, of the U.S. District Court for Western Kentucky, constituted the majority. Judge Bernard Moynahan dissented, saying the federal court did not have jurisdiction in the suit.

Five Laud Court's Decision

The three Pike County anti-poverty workers who filed the suit and Mr. and Mrs. Carl Braden, director and associate director of the Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF), hailed the court's decision as a triumph for civil liberties in Kentucky.

The Bradens were indicted Monday on sedition charges in Pike County. Plaintiffs in the federal court action, Mr. and Mrs. Alan McSurely, SCEF field workers, and Joe Mulloy, a field worker for the Appalachian Volunteers, were arrested on the same charge by Pike County officials after raids on their homes the night of Aug. 11-12.

The federal court enjoined the state courts from taking any further action against the McSurelys, Bradens and Mulloy and ordered that the Bradens be released from Pike County Jail. The McSurelys and Mulloy have been free on bail, while the Bradens had refused to post bond.

"It was an act of great courage by the federal court," McSurely said. He and his wife, he said, will return within a month to Pike County to resume their work among the poor.

"This is the greatest victory for civil liberties since Dombrowski vs. Pfister," Braden said, referring to a similar case decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1965.

It improves the climate, Mrs. Braden said, for "peaceful" efforts at correcting social abuses.

Attorney Robert Sedler, representing the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union (KCLU), also hailed the decision.

"While this is a victory for these people who have been indicted under the law," he said, "the real victors are all the people of Kentucky, because a law which could be used to suppress free expression was declared unconstitutional."

The KCLU intervened in the case as a friend of the court.

Commonwealth attorney Thomas Ratliff, of Pikeville, a defendant in the suit, indicated he will review the court's ruling before deciding on whether to appeal.

He said that if the statute is not constitutional, the 1968 General Assembly will have to deal with the "problem of radical groups that are trying to in-

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The Courier-Journal

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1967.

SEDITION LAW

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filtrate anti-poverty programs in Kentucky" and . . . "that are trying to overthrow the governments of Kentucky and the United States."

Conviction of Braden Overturned

The court's ruling was handed down, much to the surprise of all parties, at the close of a day-long hearing into a motion by the plaintiffs calling for the court to enjoin Pike County officials from any further criminal proceedings against the McSurelys and Mulloy.

The specific statute struck down was KRS 432.040, a law that prohibits the teaching, publishing, suggesting and circulating of "seditious" material. It carries a maximum penalty upon conviction of 21 years in prison and a fine of $10,000.

Braden was convicted under the statute in a Louisville case in the early 1950s but the conviction was overturned by the Kentucky Court of Appeals.

The federal court did not rule on two companion laws, KRS 432.020 and KRS 432.030. But both, said an attorney for the plaintiffs, for all practical purposes, were set aside by the court's ruling.

Runs Afoul of Constitution

Of the statute struck down, the court said it was "upon its face, overbroad, so vague and of such sweeping application as to run afoul of the provisions of the U.S. Constitution, which requires narrow and specific regulation in the field of protected activity."

It also held, rejecting an argument advanced by the defendants, that the federal court did have jurisdiction and, in effect, said proceedings had not commenced in the state courts against the McSurelys and Mulloy until the three were indicted by the Pike Couty Grand Jury.

In other key rulings handed down in connection with the suit, the court also:

Denied a plaintiffs' motion calling for federal contempt proceedings to be initiated against Ratliff for his alleged role in the indictment of the three anti-poverty workers.

The indictment was returned after Ratliff had indicated in federal court that the charges against the three would not be submitted to the grand jury until the federal court had had the opportunity to decide whether it could take jurisdiction in the case and decide on the constitutionality of the law.

Placed in Own Recognizance

The Bradens, McSurelys and Mulloy were placed under a $5,000 bond by the federal court on their own recognizance, pending further orders of the court and a decision by the defendants on whether they will appeal.

The court further ruled that books, papers and documents seized by officers in the raiding parties be held by Ratliff pending any appeal.

The court's ruling stemmed from a controversy that erupted in Pike County early last month when "10 to 12" Pike County officials, armed with arrest and search warrants, raided the homes of the three anti-poverty workers. They went to the McSurely's house about a mile from the city around 7:30 p.m. and to Mulloy's house, 14 miles away, around midnight.

Confiscated during the raids were materials which Ratliff described as "communistic."

The warrants were obtained as a result of statements and affidavits made before Pike County officials by local residents, Ratliff testified.

Most of Ratliff's questioning of the McSurelys yesterday was intended to associate them with "communism." He also questioned Mulloy on his knowledge of the McSurelys activities.

The McSurelys denied under oath that they had written or circulated material in the county advocating the "violent overthrow of" any government.

Ratliff, testifying as a defendant, told the court he had been told the "seditious" material would include "Russian" wall posters, anti-Vietnam war literature, and articles supporting the riots in the ghettos.

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3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

There are
40 million
white people
in the South

WHO
WILL
ORGANIZE
THEM ?

THE KU KLUX KLAN?

GEORGE WALLACE?

OR THE FREEDOM MOVEMENT?

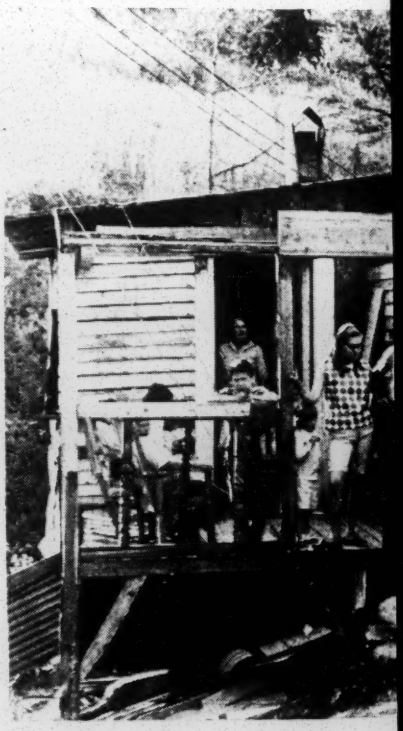
The answer to these questions may decide the fate of this country and perhaps the world. The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) has an expanded program which we believe will help answer the questions in the right way. We ask you to read about it — and join us in our efforts.

An Old Problem....

Eleven million, or more than one fourth, of the 40 million white people in the South are poor—that is, existing on incomes below the government poverty figure of $3,000 a year. Seven million, or almost two thirds, of the South's 11 million black people are poor. They all stay poor because they have not been able to organize effectively to take control of the South out of the hands of the few and distribute power among the many.

Except for a powerful few, even those Southerners above the poverty level have little or no influence in the decisions that affect their lives. The South has never had real democracy, for it has always been controlled by a small minority.

In recent years, Southern black people have begun to organize to win political power. But the majority of the South's white people remain powerless because they have not yet united with black people to gain strength. Instead, many still listen to the false call of those who say they are better than black people because of the color of their skin.



A SCEF organizer (right) ta
Eastern

.... A New Hope

But today there are new signs of hope.

In **North Carolina,** white mill workers join black workers to build a stronger union. ("That's a black power picket line, you don't want to get on that," one worker says to another. "Black power — white power — who cares?" replies the other. "We need power. I'm going to join that picket line.") . . . In **Louisiana,** white parents join black parents to keep racists from closing their schools . . .

In the **Mississippi Delta,** poor white farmers seek out the Negro liberation movement looking for opportunity for their children to attend Headstart centers . . . In **Appalachia,** poor white people organize and study the way black people in Lowndes County, Ala., organized to seek county political power . . .

There is a new factor operating in the South today . . . the strength of the new black movements. Here and there, powerless white people are coming to see that they *need* the black man more than they need their age-old prejudices.

The Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) has developed a program to seize on this new awareness — and out of it to build a movement that can unite white Southerners with black ones to build a new South.

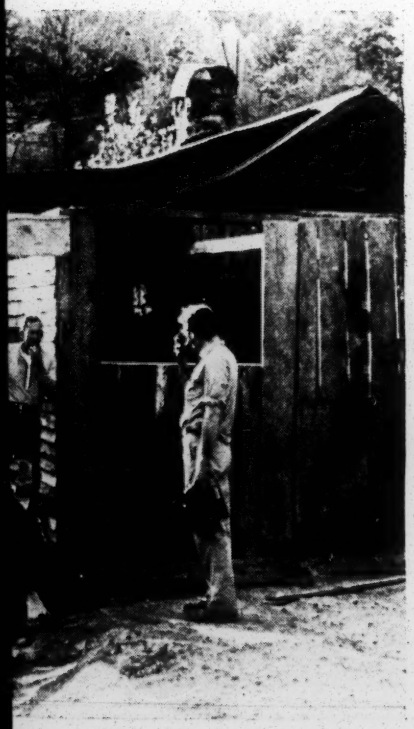
It brings to this moment of opportunity the experience of almost 30 years of work in the South. The Southern Conference was organized in 1938 after the New Deal government issued a report calling the South the "nation's No. 1 economic problem." Its purpose was to organize the South's powerless people so they would have the strength to effect change. But it was three decades ahead of its time.

What SCEF Is Today....

In its early years, the Southern Conference organized around the South's economic problems — supporting union efforts, helping poor farmers find a voice. But it soon became apparent that there was a fatal road block to change in the South. This road block was racial segregation enforced by law.

So, for 20 years after World War II, SCEF along with other militant organizations worked at a single task — the ending of segregation. It spread information, held interracial conferences, broke the silence, enlisted white people in freedom movements.

New mass movements arose, court decisions came, new laws were passed. By 1964, the legal back of segregation was broken. Racism still poisoned the region, but the South's closed atmosphere was cracked open and now there was new freedom to organize. The Southern Conference then decided to concentrate again on its original objective — organization of the South's people, white as well as black, to tackle economic problems and distribute political power.



lks with a miner's family in Kentucky.

Community of Organizers

This effort received new impetus in 1966. Important groups in the black community (like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) declared that black people would have to organize themselves and that white people should reach and organize other white people.

Suddenly many young white people realized that, while they were organizing black people, white Southerners were hearing mainly the voices of the Ku Klux Klan and the White Citizens Council. The most able and talented of these young people turned for a rallying point to SCEF, the organization that had long been working at the task of reaching the white community.

Thus, SCEF has changed from being a lonely voice crying in the wilderness to a new community of young organizers. Today we have a staff of 26 people, over half in the field. Our organizing efforts center in three major projects:

The Southern Mountain Project, in Appalachia, where our organizers are helping some of the poorest people in America build on the experiences of the Southern freedom movement to organize for political and economic power.

The GROW Project (Grass Roots Organizing Work), in the Deep South, where Bob and Dottie Zellner, young veterans of the Southern student movement, are helping white people find common cause with black people.

The Southern Peace Education Program, through which our Southwide travelers stimulate discussion of our foreign policy and help local groups organize action for peace. Our objective is to build a Southern anti-war movement that unites black and white.

We believe we are beginning a massive new organizing effort that can shake the South and the country. We invite you to help us now — when we need you most.

It's Your Future

The Southern power structure still controls this country through the stranglehold of Southern senators and representatives on Congress. These men cripple laws to improve social security and medicare, to raise minimum wages, and to help small farmers, labor unions, cooperatives, and credit unions — and they are a roadblock to world peace. Southern racism also threatens the nation with a mass base for American fascism, and George Wallace is carrying this campaign northward.

Wherever you live, your future may depend on whether the racists or the freedom movement can organize more effectively among Southern whites.

SCEF does not claim it can organize all of those 40 million white Southerners, but we are making a beginning — and as people in small areas organize effectively, new movements will spread.

Whether you live in the South or elsewhere, we need your time and talent to help us — and your financial support. $250 pays salary and expenses, including travel, for one field organizer for one month; some groups are raising that amount to "adopt" a worker. $25 pays a month's rent for a cabin for one mountain organizer. A contribution of $20 will print 3,000 copies of one issue of a magazine-size community newspaper. (We use our own press.)

SCEF is an entirely independent organization, receiving no support from the government or big foundations. Our money comes from concerned individuals who believe that democracy means people organizing for themselves. Write us for more information and send contributions to:

SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND (SCEF)

3210 W. Broadway, Louisville, Ky. 40211

President:
Fred L. Shuttlesworth

Executive Directors:
Carl and Anne Braden

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

127 CHERRY STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA, 70501
PHONE 232-1165

December 4, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council,Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony and Mr. Dunbar:

On behalf of all of us at Southern Consumers' I want to thank all of you from Soutern Regional Council, for your tremendous support and encouragement. We are deeply indebted to you for the grant which made the leadership course possible. We are still working hard at the follow up and determined to work even harder at the possibilty of getting government aid and push our programs now. I think you would agree fully that we must and will succeed only if we get outside help. The power-structure on state level are almost impossible to break through. Therefore we count heavily on groups such as yours, and again thank you for your interest and contribution. We assure you we shall keep in touch with the progress and plans of our cooperative.

This booklet gives you some details of the actual week-end as well as reports and evaluation that have come out of the course discussion. We have another meeting set for December 17th, in another attempt to get government aid. Thanking all of you from Southern Regional Council and looking forward to working closely with you, I am gratefully,

Yours Sincerely,

Rev. A. J. McKnight

Rev. A.J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

EVALUATION OF SOCIAL LEADERSHIP COURSE HELD OCT. 25-27th, 1963

I.
Dr. Williams listed the two basic needs of our area as:
1. unemployment and education; 2. rural deterioration.
We must motivate our people to recognize their particular needs and act upon them. The cooperative approach - economic betterment through continous education can be the answer to our rural problems and needs.

II.
Dr. Rennie sessions dealt with social leadership as well as the basic economics of cooperation. He stressed the quality of understanding people, their similarities and differences, as basic to a good leader. The new ideas on leadership now emphasize persuasion, satisfaction and reward. If we are going to learn to lead in a new way, we are going to have to change our ideas about leadership. We cannot look at ourselves as people who do not require change. An ability to change denotes maturity and wisdom.

III.
Dr. Gloster classes were on the basic principles and ideas for begining a finance company. He stressed the need for dedicated organizers to make it succeed. Since Southern Consumers' Cooperative has agreed to plan to begin a Finance Company as the first type of business; Dr. Gloster spent some time in detailed classes on needs and techniques of manager and board of directors for a finance company.

IV.
Evaluation session - Where do we go from here?
We felt strongly the need for an all day session of the board of directors to think through the short term and long term objectives of the cooperative. A meeting was set for Dec.1st. to work out these objectives. More communication between the board and the membership seems to be our key problem at the moment. It was suggested that in order to improve communication and rekindle interest and loyalty to the cooperative movement the board of directors should visit each of the local 16 councils, and bring them up to date, in communication and dialogue.

We gained many new insights into the modern concept of leadership but it will take time to apply and work out these new insights into terms which our membership will understand and apply.

The educational committee has assumed the task of attempting to translate these concepts of leadership into an educational program fitted to our needs.

We have become firmly convinced that we need generous transfusions of governmental, financial assistance, and the technical and business know-how of private business if we are to overcome our economic back - wardness.

Perhaps the biggest contribution of the week-end was a renewed determination that continous education was to key to successful and effective cooperative endeavors. Our people come first, before plans and programs. All must work hand in hand remembering our goals and objectives.

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

SOCIAL LEADERSHIP COURSE

Southern University
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

October 25-27
1963

Friday October 25	7:30 pm	Registration
	8:00 pm	Keynote address: LEADERSHIP FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS by Dr. T.T. Williams, Agricultural Economist, Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.
	9:00 pm	BEGINNING A FINANCE COMPANY, by Dr. J. Gloster, Economist, Texas Southern University, Houston
Saturday October 26	7:00 am	Breakfast
	8:00 am	BEGINNING A FINANCE COMPANY by Dr. J. Gloster
	10:00 am	SOCIAL LEADERSHIP by Dr. Robert A. Rennie, Vice President, Nationwide Insurance Company
	12:00	Lunch
	1:30 pm	BEGINNING A FINANCE COMPANY, continued Dr. J. Gloster
	3:45 pm	SOCIAL LEADERSHIP Dr. Robert Rennie
	Evening	Southern University Homecoming
Sunday October 27	7:00 am	Breakfast
	9:00 am	SOCIAL LEADERSHIP, Dr. Rennie
		Lunch
	1:00 pm	SOCIAL LEADERSHIP, Dr. Rennie
	2:00 pm	Evaluation
	3:30 pm	Closing

All sessions will be held in the Moot Court Room of the Law School.

If you plan to eat in the campus cafeteria, please pick up your meal ticket at the Registration Desk.

For further information or services call at the Registration Desk.

The course is sponsored by Southern Consumers' Cooperative and a Southern Regional Council grant.

CO-OP NEWS

of the

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

VOLUME II, NUMBER 5 OCTOBER 1963 LAFAYETTE, LA.

SOCIAL LEADERSHIP COURSE THIS WEEKEND OCT 25, 26, 27

The success of any cooperative is its educational program. Here is an opportunity for all Co-op leaders - a workshop especially for you.

This past summer some of the members received study grants to learn more of the cocperative principles and techniques.

Carol Prejean, our editor, attended a course held at the University of Wisconsin for editors of Co-op news papers.

Susan Lies and Una Mae Hargrave attended a five week course on social leadership in cooperatives at an International center in Canada. They will help to broaden our educational program, and they will participate and assist at the weekend workshop.

This workshop is being subsidized by a grant from the Southern Regional Council. We are grateful for their assistance.

We urge each area to send at least 3 representatives. Enclose fee with application and send immediately to Central Office.

Three experts are coming to lead the workshop:

Dr. R. A. Rennie	Vice President of Research for Nationwide Insurance Company. "Social Leadership"
Dr. J. Gloster	Economist from Texas Southern University, Houston, Texas; Board Member of The Riverside National Bank in Houston. "Beginning a Finance Company"
Dr. T.T. Williams	Agricultural Economist at Southern University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. "Keynote Address"

YOU CAN BE A FIRST CLASS CITIZEN

REGISTER AND VOTE

Deadline — November 6

To register in Louisiana, you must appear in person before the Registrar of Voters of your parish and establish your identity. (Any identification, such as a drivers license, will do.) You must be a citizen of the United States by birth or naturalization (if naturalized, bring naturalization paper with you,) and you must be at least 21 years of age. In addition, you must be a resident of Louisiana for one year, of the parish for six months, of your precinct for three months, and of your municipality for four months.

You will be required to:

1. Read and write a portion of the preamble to the Constitution of the United States. (A printed copy is shown on the registration form.)

2. Choose one of ten face-down cards and correctly answer at least four of the six multiple-choice questions shown on your card.

3. Choose at random one of the 5 application cards and correctly fill in all of the blanks

4. Mark through the word "have" or "have not" as the case may be on 6 statements dealing with morals and good character.

Voting is a privilege and a responsibility of everyone. If you would like further information before registering, contact Central Office in Lafayette, Ph. Ce 21165.

Lafayette site of Finance Company

Lafayette was chosen at the last Congressional meeting as the location for the Finance Company, the first proposed business of Southern Consumers' Co-op.

The Lafayette area can provide a rent-free building and a part-time manager for the loan company. The personnel in mind is qualified in accounting and business management.

Since Lafayette is the home of the Central Office of the Co-op, the personnel there can work jointly with the Finance Company.

Central Office Nears Completion

The office building for the Southern Consumers' Cooperative is nearly completed. More volunteer workers are needed on week ends.

The Co-op is a growing organization, which means the wouk is increasing while the working space remains the same. The present housing of the Co-op business and management is the private home of the Grail.

The Central Office personnel are anxious to move into the new office building in order to provide more efficient service.

Come and give your help, so we can move in soon.

CO-OP Adopts By-Laws

Southern Consumers' Cooperative discussed and adopted the by-laws proposed by the Board of Directors at the last Congressional meeting, Sunday, Oct. 13th.

The Co-op will continue as the Central Body functioning under these newly adopted laws. Its main purpose will be to solicit new members, continue education among members, and to collect capital for business investments.

According to these by-laws, the cooperative principles will be maintained in any chosen business of Southern Consumers'.

The by-laws of Congress are relevant only to Southern Consumers' Cooperative, the non-profit organization. Any chartered business of the Co-op will adopt its separate by-laws upon organization.

Members may obtain copies of the by-laws by writing to the Central Office, 127 Cherry St., Lafayette Louisiana.

New Subscriptions

Many of of our friends expressed preference to wait for signing subscription contracts until we had our first business. Now we are ready to begin the first business. This is an appeal to all who are interested in large investments in this business. We now have contracts to be signed for investments over $1,000. We need many large investments in order to accumulate needed goal for the Finance Co. Contact the Board of Directors or write to the Central Office for subscription blanks.

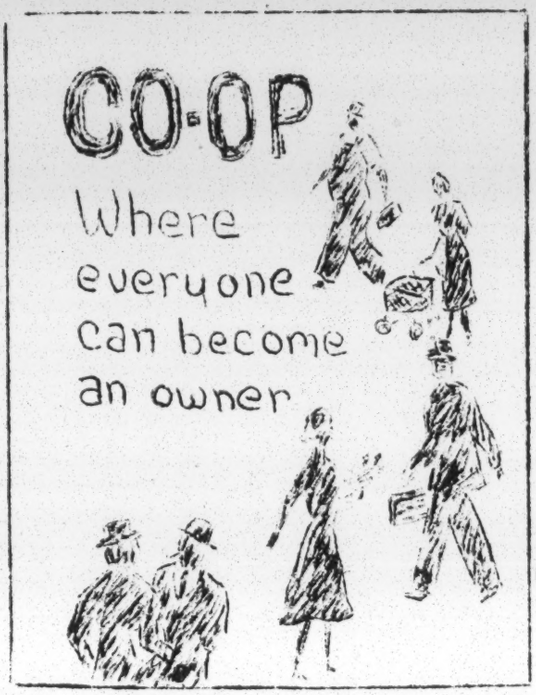
Editor's Note...

This article is an excerpt from, "My Last Will And Testament," by the late Mary McLeod Bethune. From Ebony, September -- 1963.

I leave you the challenge of developing confidence in one another. As long as Negroes are hemmed into racial blocs by prejudice and pressure, it will be necessary for them to band together for economic betterment. Negro banks, insurance companies and other businesses are examples of successful, economic enterprises. These institutions are made possible by vison and mutual aid. Confidence is vital in getting them started and keeping them going. Negroes have got to demonstrate still more confidence in each other in business. This kind of confidence will aid the economic rise of the race by bringing together the pennies and dollars of the people and ploughing them into useful channels. Economic separatism cannot be tolerated in this enlightened age, and is not practicable. We must spread out as far as we can, but we must also help each other as we go.

I leave you a thrist for education. Knowledge is the prime need of the hour. More and more, Negroes are taking advantage of hard-won opportunities for learning, and the educational level of the Negro is at its highest point in history. We are making greater use of the priveleges inherent in living in a democracy. If we continue in this trend, we will be able to rear increasing numbers of strong purposeful men and women, equipped with vision, mental clarity, health and education.

I leave you faith. Faith is the first factor in a life devoted to service. Without faith, nothing is possible. With it, nothing is impossible.



"Millions of people in many countries around the world today are organized to provide them - selves with goods and services in a cooperative way....."

We are forming a cooperative because we are a people faced with a common need. This need embraces wonership in business, job opportunities, means of saving money.

In cooperatives there must be democracy. Laws or principles must be set up to promote this. Here's where our Co-op principles come in.

Membership: Anyone who can use its services may join the Co-op. Membership is open to any one regardless of race or creed.

Democratic Control : One person, one vote. Regardless of the volume of business or the amount of capital invested every member of the Co-op will abide by this.

Limited returns on capital: This limits the rate for dividends which may be paid on shares, and leaves the surplus for patronage refunds payments.

Patronage Refunds: Savings returned to the members or patrons on the basis of the amount of business they have done with the Co-op.

If these principles are properly developed then joint planning and management will come easily by the members, Board of Directors, and staff.

The principles of cooperation also embrace the duties of the members. In order to be loyal members and patrons of their co-op, the corporators must supply the finances necessary for its operation. They must know as much as they can about their Co-op. This can be done by attending their area and Congressional meetings, and participating in the special educational programs sponsored by the Co-op.

"Co-ops are people organized to serve themselves." If we abide by our principles, our Co-op will serve us by raising our economic standards as a people; give us more real buying power; provide better jobs; build our community prosperity and encourage participation in commnnity life.

Co-op dollars are the best guaantee in reaching our goals.

Carol Prejean

CONGRESS MEETS NOVEMBER 10
IN LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA
PAUL BREAUX SCHOOL
SOUTH MAGNOLIA STREET

2 P.M. COMMITTEES MEET
3 P.M. GENERAL SESSION

SUPPORT YOUR PAPER

Buy an Ad in the CO-OP NEWS

Sign Waiver Notice

An important step in obtaining the charter for the Finance Company is that each member who has invested money in the Co-op must sign a waiver notice so that the money may be legally used in the Finance Co. - if the charter is secured.

If you have not signed the papers, please see your custodian today.

Co-op Patrons

Mr. Lester Scurlock

Mr. Jim Primeaux

Cooperative action by people in their own home communities can help them solve many problems that none can solve alone. Whatever common needs may be, you'll find cooperatives in some countries filling them.

Tear on dotted line...

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

$5.00 registration _____

$5.00 room and board _____

Please check the following:

( ) I plan to attend the full session.
( ) I plan to attend Friday.
( ) I plan to attend Saturday.
( ) I plan to attend Sunday.

SOCIAL LEADERSHIP COURSE -- OCTOBER 25, 26, 27.

Leaders Air Farm, Employment Problems

By Peggy Siegmund

Baton Rouge — "Leaders of today face the frustration of a rapidly changing world," began Dr. T. T. Williams, agricultural economist at Southern university, Baton Rouge, in his keynote address at the Social Leadership course, Oct. 25-27, sponsored by Southern Consumers cooperative.

At Leadership Course

Looking over national co-op literature at a recent social leadership course are (left to right) Dr. Robert A. Rennie, vice president of research for Nationwide Insurance company; Lester Scurlock, New Iberia, board of directors member of Southern Consumers co-operative; Una Mae Hargrave, Lafayette, educational committee of SCC; Ocie Smith, Sr., field representative for National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc.

Dr. Williams cited the two major problems to economic progress in our time as unemployment and rural deterioration.

Part of the unemployment problem stems from change in the labor market, Dr. Williams said, with automation requiring more and more skilled laborers. He explained that 5½ per cent of the working population was unemployed according to general averages of the past five years. The trend of school dropouts Dr. Williams traced to lack of motivation because of the unemployment problem among young people.

"One out of ten people on the farms will stay there," he explained, referring to the second major economic problem of rural deterioration. "Farm employment dropped a half million last year," he continued. "Four million people in the rural areas are unemployed all or part of the year. The cooperative approach can help to revitalize our rural areas."

Held at Southern university, the social leadership course was sponsored by the Southern Consumers cooperative, and aimed at developing leadership and helping members acquire a basic knowledge of economics as related to cooperatives. Southern Consumers co-op is a statewide cooperative movement to help Negro families raise their economic standard of living.

Over twenty leaders in the co-op attended the weekend, including board of director members and chairmen from various towns throughout Louisiana.

Besides Dr. Williams, speakers for the weekend course included Dr. Jessie Gloster, economics professor, Texas Southern university, Houston, and Dr. Robert A. Rennie, vice president of research for Nationwide Insurance company.

Dr. Rennie conducted several sessions on social leadership as well as the basic economics of cooperation. He stressed the quality of understanding people, their similarities and differences, as basic to a good leader.

"The old concept of authority and leadership," Dr. Rennie said, "involved fear, force and authority. The new ideas on leadership now emphasize persuasion, satisfaction and reward."

In the old concept, Dr. Rennie explained, the leader said "I have a right to lead," while the new leader says, "I have a responsibility to guide."

Since Southern Consumers co-op plans to begin a finance company in the near future, as their first cooperative venture, Dr. Gloster spoke on basic principles and ideas for beginning a finance company. He stressed the need for dedicated organizers to make it succeed.

Southern Regional Council, Inc., awarded a $700 grant to help finance the cost of the leadership course.

Southern Consumers cooperative traces its source back to 1950 when Father Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp., assistant at Our Lady of Lourdes, Abbeville, organized a credit union in the mission parish in Kaplan.

Once established, Father began to reach out for other ways of making an impact on raising the economic level of the Negro. It had been proved that "little business" was not the answer. "Big business" had to be the goal, with many people pooling their resources.

Thus, in 1961, through ideas from an already existing Investment club and study courses in the Antigonish (Nova Scotia) cooperative movement, Father McKnight began plans for forming some kind of cooperative business. In September, 1961, the first meeting of the Southern Consumers cooperative was held to lay the groundwork for this cooperative effort.

Executive, educational, membership and by-laws committees were formed. A monthly congressional meeting was formulated to keep members informed so that each could take active part in the work of the co-op.

In the following months, the co-op took on a more definitive shape. Leaders came forward; the cooperative spread to surrounding areas until, at present, it has expanded to 20 towns in Louisiana with 850 members.

For the past few summers, leaders in the co-op have studied cooperative principles at Coady International institute in Antigonish, Nova Scotia, as well as visiting national cooperative headquarters in the United States.

The social leadership course held at Baton Rouge was the first weekend attempt at holding local courses to enable a larger number of people to attend and benefit from national experts in the field of cooperatives and economics.

EVALUATION SESSION --- Where do we go from here?
Members of Southern Consumers' Education Comm.

Dr. Rennie - Nationwide Insurance Co. - Guest speaker - looks over National Co-op literature with leaders from Southern Consumers' Co-op

Rev. McKnight(founder of Southern Consumers'), Dr. Williams - guest speaker and Miss Una Mae Hargrave - Education Committee.

Dr. Gloster - Texas Southern University - gives a class in Economics.

Dr. Rennie talks to Miss Carole Prejean and Miss Una Mae Hargrave; Editors of the Co-op Newsletter.

Co-Op Plans Leadership Course

Baton Rouge -- Southern Consumers Co-op is planning a three-day course on social leadership to be held at Southern university, Baton Rouge, October 25-27.

Southern Consumers Co-op is a cooperative movement to assist Negro families in Louisiana. Father Albert McKnight, C.S.Sp. assistant at Our Lady of Lourdes, Abbeville, was instrumental in the formation of the organization and has guided the education of members. He studied at St. Xavier university, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

Dr. Jessie Gloster, professor of economics, Texas Southern university, Houston; Dr. Robert A. Rennie, vice president of research for Nationwide Insurance Co.; and Dr. T. T. Williams, agricultural economics professor of Southern university will be the speakers for the weekend.

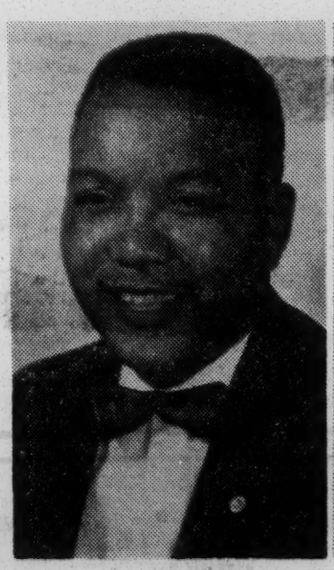
Dr. Gloster will hold sessions on finance and savings and loan companies, since this is the immediate goal of Southern Consumers Co-op.

Dr. Rennie will conduct an intensive leadership training course and present the basic economics of cooperation.

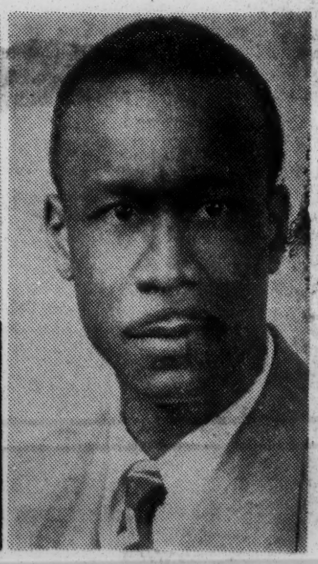
Dr. Williams will be the general consultant.

The main objectives of the course are to develop leadership, to disseminate knowledge concerning finance and savings and loan companies, and to help the members acquire a basic knowledge of economics as related to cooperatives.

Southern Consumers received a $700 grant from Southern Regional Council, Inc. This will finance the cost of the speakers and subsidies will cover other expenses.



Dr. Jessie Gloster



Dr. T. T. Williams

PURPOSE AND HISTORY OF SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

CENTRAL OFFICE: SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
127 CHERRY STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA Phone: CE 2-1165

BASIC PRINCIPLES: A cooperative is a corporation of a group of people who have organized to provide themselves with goods or services, and it is run completly by and for its members. All adhere to the following principles:

1) one member, one vote.
2) membership open to all.
3) political, religious, racial and social neutrality shall be observed.

OBJECTIVES: To help Negroes become owners of BIG BUSINESS, such as:

Financial Institutions	Retail Chain Stores
Credit Unions	Food Stores
Finance Companies	Supermarkets
Savings and Loans	Appliances
Banks	Discount Stores
Industry	**Others**
Sugar Mills	Mechanic Shops
Cannery	Funeral Homes
Factories	Housing Projects

CAPITOL WILL AND MUST BE RAISED COOPERATIVELY.

LONG RANGE OBJECTIVES: Ownership of big business will result in more economic independence which lays the foundation for social, political, educational and religious improvements.

Economic independence results in greater security, growth of self respect; and allows people to exercise civil rights without the fear of reprisal. Ownership brings about interest in all business, wise use of money power of money, as well as teach people to save, invest and sacrifice immediate consumption for future gains. Ownership will help make more jobs available. The success of this cooperative will have significant consquences on any type of venture among Negroes. in the South.

BRIEF HISTORY:

1959 - Father McKnight, with leaders in the area began to search for ways and means for economic betterment. Credit Unions were the first step.

1961 - Plans were made for a Cooperative to be formed with six towns in rural area of Lafayette. Realization that this must expand if right leadership was to be found and effort to pool resources became a necessity.

1961 - September - Southern Consumers' Cooperative was begun. Committees formed as follows: Membership, Educational, Board of Directors and By-laws.

1961 - October-- Board of Directors were elected, by-laws presented to members. Agreed that Congressional Meetings would be held monthly; Each town would elect and send delegates to this monthly Congressional Meeting. Education programs serve the Congressional meetings and in turn delegates serve on educational program for local towns.

1962 - August -- Members signed Stock Subscriptions Contracts, in order to accumalate capitol.

1963 - Total membership is now 550 members, capitol is $13,000.00. Functioning groups in 16 towns in Louisiana.

1963 - Congress voted to begin a Finance Co. as the first step to many other types of business. This was done after an attempt to get one common credit union charter to make large loans was refused on grounds of common ground. We are now in the process of getting first business - Finance Company - underway. We are still working at begining credtt unions in each of the 16 towns. Other types of cooperative business are still in the planning stages.

RURAL PROGRESS
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RURAL AREA DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

SPONSORED BY: SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

DATE: DECEMBER 17, 1963

PLACE: HEYMAN RECREATION CENTER
E. ORANGE STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

TIME: 4 P.M.

PROGRAM

AVAILABLE GRANTS, AIDS AND LOANS FOR R.A. D. PROJECTS
..... Mr. Thomas Delton
R.A.D. Technican
Washington, D.C.
Fort Valley, Ga.

RURAL LOUISIANA: IT'S ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS
..... Dr. T.T. Williams
Mr. C.H. Chapman
Southern Univ.,
Baton Rouge, La.

PANEL DISCUSSIONS .....EXISTING PROGRAMS IN THE SOUTH

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
..... Mr. Ocie Smith

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
..... Rev. A.J. McKnight
Mr. Vincent Coco

.....

For information call or write: SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
127 CHERRY STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

PHONE: CE 2-1165

REPORT ON THE PURPOSE AND NEEDS OF SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

Southern Consumers' cooperative is:

A service organization set up to carry on continous educational programs, with the purpose of initiating and setting up self-help projects in needy areas of Louisiana. These projects will lead to cooperatively owned and controlled business enterprises by the people and bring about economic independence among Negroes in needy rural areas of Louisiana.

I. Long-range planning

Objectives: Business ownership will result in more economic independence which will lay the foundation for social, political, educational and religious improvements in Louisiana and throughout the South.

Economic independence will instill greater security and growth of self-respect among the members and will allow people to exercise their civil rights without fear of reprisal. Ownership will bring about interest in all businesses, more understanding and better use of money, as well as teach people to save, invest and sacrifice immediate consumption for future gains. Ownership will help make more jobs available to Negroes. The success of this cooperative program will have significant consequences on any type of venture among Negroes in the South.

The above plan is important in terms of the following statistics available in census reports for the state of Louisiana:

1. The average income per Negro family is $1,900.
2. The median of high school years compleded in Southwest La. for persons 25 years and older --- Whites 10.6, Negroes 8.4, total population 9.0.

II. Immediate planning

Objectives: To help Negroes primarily become economically independent through: credit unions, research, techincal assistance, and business ownership.

Credit unions are the easiest and most effective self-help programs with which to begin. This type of cooperative teaches members the value of cooperation, savings, and lays a foundation for more complicated enterprises.

The Southern Consumers' Cooperative, founded in 1961, is active in 16 rural communities in Southwest Louisiana. Plans are to extend this service to other communities in the state and surrounding areas.

We are limited because of finances, but with help from R.A.D. and other groups we feel confident that within a year we could reach many more communities.

Membership now numbers 550. The cooperative has saved and pooled $13,000.00 to begin a Finance Company within the next three months which will serve all sixteen towns. This Finance Company will be owned and controlled by and for the members, based on cooperative principles of: 1) democratic control, one member, one vote; 2) voluntary membership, open to all; 3) political, religious, racial, and social neutrality observed by all.

Organizational set-up consists of: Board of Directors, educational committee, chairman of each local group, and monthly congressional meetings consisting of delegates representing each of the sixteen towns.

III. Needs

A grant for two full-time field representatives to assist and intitiate credit unions among Negroes in needy rural areas of Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama in cooperation with National Sharecroppers Foundation and Southern Regional Council.

In order to accomplish the above programs, personnel and office equipment are essential. It has become evident that a full time person must be employed to coordinate educational programs throughout the area, and manage the central office located at 127 Cherry St., Lafayette, La.

Research: In order to determine what type of industry would best fit in with the agricultural condition, a research gurvey, conducted by an agricultural economist, will be needed. A report is being prepared by Dr. T.T. Williams of Southern University, Baton Rouge, as to the required grant.

A survey of economic and unemployment problems in also needed.

Technical assistance: With regrads to a survey of unemployment problems and the fessibility of financial institutions, technical assistance in this area will be needed, as well as immediate assistance to work out details of specific programs which pertain to A.r.A and Job Retraining Acts. We have obtained as many O.E.D.P. programs as are available in this area in order to work out possible industrial projects.

A grant to subsidize a monthly Co-op Newsletter which informs all members of events and programs; it also serves as an educational media.

CO-OP NEWS

of the

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

VOLUME II, NUMBER 6 DECEMBER 1963 LAFAYETTE, LA.

Here We Stand

Here we stand - and may we help our selves!

Such were my thoughts after Dr. T. T. Williams delivered his keynote address in the opening session of the Social Leadership week end held at Southern University in Baton Rouge.

Dr. Williams' talk dealt with the responsibilities of the good leader. He said that a leader must have the desire to be productive. To be productive - here is the essence of all our efforts. This is probably the only torch that stays lit when everything goes wrong, and defeat and despair bang on our doors. We want to be productive. (So maybe we are on the right track after all.)

According to Dr. Williams the most important task of responsible leadership is promoting economic growth. Now our desire for productivity must be put to practical use. Just how do we go about promoting economic growth? This means facing the needs of the people in the area.

Dr. Williams lists these needs under two basic headings; 1. unemployment and education; 2.rural deterioration.

continued on page 2

Co-ops are People

Cooperatives cannot exist without cooperators. Cooperatives must be important to people before they can be useful. They must be made concrete before people will respond.

This response will not come until cooperatives meet or stand for a definite need - a need that is felt by the people.

Dr. Rennie pointed this out in his talk at the Leadership Course, "People are the most important ingredients of cooperatives."

People can make cooperatives successful if they recognize their needs - if they just admit that there is one.

Dr. Rennie said that cooperative spirit comes not so much from leaders recognizing the need and then getting the members to fulfill them or provide for them - instead, the members must acknowledge the needs and then work towards their betterment.

This issue carries highlights of the talks given at the Social Leadership Course held in Baton Rouge, October 25 - 27.

Here We Stand - continued

Responsible leaders cannot leave rural America to solve its own problems alone. Dr. Williams explained that cooperatives can be the salvation of rural America. Through cooperative effort farmers can get jobs, and useless cropland can be put to other uses.

Leaders must motivate their followers to recognize their particular needs and act upon them.

We need to be motivated toward higher education, cooperative efforts, and joint capital.

Here is where we stand and may we promote ourselves to economic growth.

by Carol Prejean

CONGRESSIONAL MEETING

DECEMBER 8, 1963

PAUL BREAUX SCHOOL
SOUTH MAGNOLIA STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

2 P.M. Committees meet
3 P.M. General session

Since the meeting of the board of directors, changes have been made concerning the work of the custodians. Please plan to attend.

Fr. A. J. McKnight, president of the board of directors has been named Credit Union Director for the diocese of Lafayette.

Bishop Maurice Schexnayder has recently made the appointment.

"In a statement issued Monday, November 25, on behalf of the Cooperative League, Jerry Voorhis, excutive director, expressed "grief and shame" over the death of the late President John F. Kennedy.He pledged loyalty and support to President Lyndon B. Johnson, and asserted the strong support of the Cooperative League for unity in the nation."

We have taken a few excerpts from our late Presidents inaugural address which express his strength and his determination to build a better world.

"The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliels for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe--the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

" We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans-- born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace,proud of our heritage--and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world."

We hope all Americans will take to heart the message of President Johnson "to continue" what President Kennedy has begun.

Where Do We Go From Here?

The evaluation session following the weekend social leadership course was entitled "Where do we go from here?" We felt strongly the need for an all day session of the board of directors to think through the short term and long term objectives of the cooperative. A meeting has been planned with the board of directors for Sunday, December 1st, in Kaplan.

More communication between the Board and the membership is necessary. It was suggested that in order to improve communication and to rekindle interest in the Co-op, the Board should visit the local councils. This suggestion was adopted by the Board. After December the members of the Board will be available to attend the local council meetings and carry on a dialogue with the membership.

We gained many new insights into the modern concept of leadership but it will take time to apply these insights to our needs.

The educational committee has assumed the task of attempting to translate these concepts of leadership into an educational program fitted to our needs.

We have become firmly convinced that we need generous transfusions of governmental, financial assistance, and the technical and business know-how of private business if we are to overcome our economic back wardness.

In the words of Whitney Young, executive secretary of the Urban League:

..."For nearly four hundred years the Negro has been consciously and deliberately excluded (from the American mainstream). During this time he has been denied even the barest minimum in health, education housing, and cultural outlets.

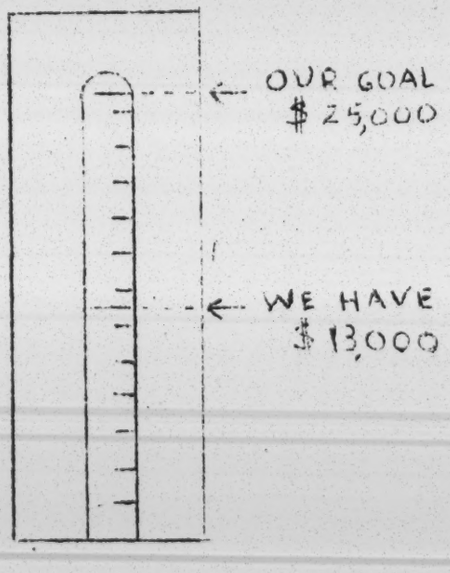
For him to catch up will require a few years of deliberate inclusion and special programming within the integrated framework to offset the scars which were inevitable under the kind of environment which America subjected him to. There is no way for the back wheels of a car to catch up with the front wheels even though they are going at the same rate of speed unless something special happens."

by Fr. A. J. McKnight

Watch for the Progress Chart

$25,000 is the financial goal of Southern Consumer's Cooperative.

The chart below will appear in each following issue, indicating our progress in attaining this goal.



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The leader too, wants to experience a sense of belonging, of being loved. This is the thing that has led all of us to be like those upon whom we have depended. From this we get a comfortable feeling of security and competence.

The battle of independence comes with the need to possess a unique personality, "We want to be somebody."

Therefore, the leader too, has this independent side that has to be reckoned with. The products of his feelings are felt not only within himself but are impressed on other people.

Dr. Rennie said if we are going to learn to lead in a new way, we are going to have to change our ideas about what leadership is, 1.what is required of the leader, 2. and what the leader does.

We cannot look at ourselves as people who do not require change. If so, this will hinder good leader ship. An ability to change denotes maturity and wisdom.

Peace on Earth

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

127 CHERRY STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA, 70501
PHONE 232-1165

December 6, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony and Mr. Dunbar:

Thank you so much for your letter of November 12th. We fully understand that you were unable to make the November 14th workshop, and are grateful for your best wishes and immediate response. We feel this was only a prilminary step to many more meetings to discuss the details with them, and so another date has been set; December 17th, to get advice from one of the R.A.D. technicans. Enclosed program for details. We feel confident that we will be able to get assistance -- but only for specialized projects, and it will take time.

In the meantime we have made the decision to keep pushing our needs and feel it is urgent that we get help now! It has been suggested that we appeal to foundations and insurance companies for immediate help with grants. Any suggestions or experience in this type of an appeal would be greatly appreciated from your office.

Grateful for your continued support and interest, I am,

Sincerely,

Rev. A.J. McKnight

Rev. A.J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

RURAL PROGRESS
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RURAL AREA DEVELOPMENT WORKSHOP

SPONSORED BY: SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

DATE: DECEMBER 17, 1963

PLACE: HEYMAN RECREATION CENTER
E. ORANGE STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

TIME: 4 P.M.

PROGRAM

AVAILABLE GRANTS, AIDS AND LOANS FOR R.A. D. PROJECTS
..... Mr. Thomas Delton
R.A.D. Technican
Washington, D.C.
Fort Valley, Ga.

RURAL LOUISIANA: IT'S ECONOMIC AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS
..... Dr. T.T. Williams
Mr. C.H. Chapman
Southern Univ.,
Baton Rouge, La.

PANEL DISCUSSIONS .....EXISTING PROGRAMS IN THE SOUTH

NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND, INC.
..... Mr. Ocie Smith

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
..... Rev. A.J. McKnight
Mr. Vincent Coco

.....

For information call or write: SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
127 CHERRY STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

PHONE: CE 2-1165

CO-OP NEWS

of the

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

VOLUME II, NUMBER 6 DECEMBER 1963 LAFAYETTE, LA.

Here We Stand

Here we stand - and may we help our selves!

Such were my thoughts after Dr. T. T. Williams delivered his keynote address in the opening session of the Social Leadership week end held at Southern University in Baton Rouge.

Dr. Williams' talk dealt with the responsibilities of the good leader. He said that a leader must have the desire to be productive. To be productive - here is the essence of all our efforts. This is probably the only torch that stays lit when everything goes wrong, and defeat and despair bang on our doors. We want to be productive. (So maybe we are on the right track after all.)

According to Dr. Williams the most important task of responsible leadership is promoting economic growth. Now our desire for productivity must be put to practical use. Just how do we go about promoting economic growth? This means facing the needs of the people in the area.

Dr. Williams lists these needs under two basic headings; 1. unemployment and education; 2.rural deterioration.

continued on page 2

Co-ops are People

Cooperatives cannot exist without cooperators. Cooperatives must be important to people before they can be useful. They must be made concrete before people will respond.

This response will not come until cooperatives meet or stand for a definite need - a need that is felt by the people.

Dr. Rennie pointed this out in his talk at the Leadership Course, "People are the most important ingredients of cooperatives."

People can make cooperatives successful if they recognize their needs - if they just admit that there is one.

Dr. Rennie said that cooperative spirit comes not so much from leaders recognizing the need and then getting the members to fulfill them or provide for them - instead, the members must acknowledge the needs and then work towards their betterment.

This issue carries highlights of the talks given at the Social Leadership Course held in Baton Rouge, October 25 - 27.

Here We Stand - continued

Responsible leaders cannot leave rural America to solve its own problems alone. Dr. Williams explained that cooperatives can be the salvation of rural America. Through cooperative effort farmers can get jobs, and useless cropland can be put to other uses.

Leaders must motivate their followers to recognize their particular needs and act upon them.

We need to be motivated toward higher education, cooperative efforts, and joint capital.

Here is where we stand and may we promote ourselves to economic growth.

by Carol Prejean

CONGRESSIONAL MEETING

DECEMBER 8, 1963

PAUL BREAUX SCHOOL
SOUTH MAGNOLIA STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

2 P.M. Committees meet
3 P.M. General session

Since the meeting of the board of directors, changes have been made concerning the work of the custodians. Please plan to attend.

Fr. A. J. McKnight, president of the board of directors has been named Credit Union Director for the diocese of Lafayette.

Bishop Maurice Schexnayder has recently made the appointment.

"In a statement issued Monday, November 25, on behalf of the Cooperative League, Jerry Voorhis, excutive director, expressed "grief and shame" over the death of the late President John F. Kennedy.He pledged loyalty and support to President Lyndon B. Johnson, and asserted the strong support of the Cooperative League for unity in the nation."

We have taken a few excerpts from our late Presidents inaugural address which express his strength and his determination to build a better world.

"The world is very different now. For man holds in his mortal hands the power to abolish all forms of human life. And yet the same revolutionary beliels for which our forebears fought are still at issue around the globe--the belief that the rights of man come not from the generosity of the state, but from the hand of God.

" We dare not forget today that we are the heirs of that first revolution. Let the word go forth from this time and place, to friend and foe alike, that the torch has been passed to a new generation of Americans-- born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace,proud of our heritage--and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of those human rights to which this nation has always been committed, and to which we are committed today at home and around the world."

We hope all Americans will take to heart the message of President Johnson "to continue" what President Kennedy has begun.

Where Do We Go From Here?

The evaluation session following the weekend social leadership course was entitled "Where do we go from here?" We felt strongly the need for an all day session of the board of directors to think through the short term and long term objectives of the cooperative. A meeting has been planned with the board of directors for Sunday, December 1st, in Kaplan.

More communication between the Board and the membership is necessary. It was suggested that in order to improve communication and to rekindle interest in the Co-op, the Board should visit the local councils. This suggestion was adopted by the Board. After December the members of the Board will be available to attend the local council meetings and carry on a dialogue with the membership.

We gained many new insights into the modern concept of leadership but it will take time to apply these insights to our needs.

The educational committee has assumed the task of attempting to translate these concepts of leadership into an educational program fitted to our needs.

We have become firmly convinced that we need generous transfusions of governmental, financial assistance, and the technical and business know-how of private business if we are to overcome our economic back wardness.

In the words of Whitney Young, executive secretary of the Urban League:

..."For nearly four hundred years the Negro has been consciously and deliberately excluded (from the American mainstream). During this time he has been denied even the barest minimum in health, education housing, and cultural outlets.

For him to catch up will require a few years of deliberate inclusion and special programming within the integrated framework to offset the scars which were inevitable under the kind of environment which America subjected him to. There is no way for the back wheels of a car to catch up with the front wheels even though they are going at the same rate of speed unless something special happens."

by Fr. A. J. McKnight

Watch for the Progress Chart

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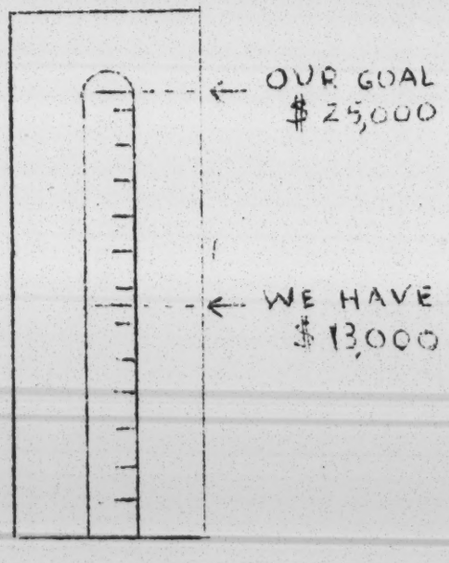

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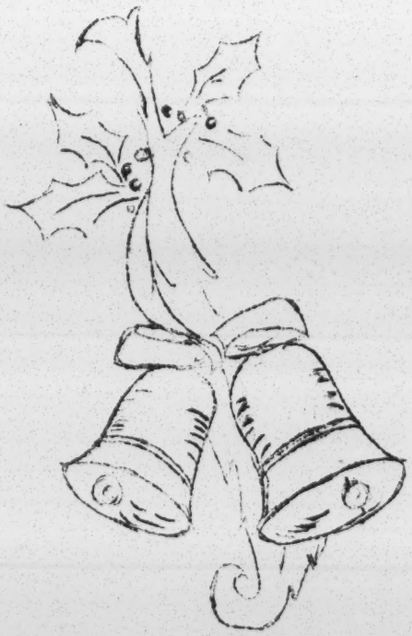


Peace on Earth

Cr. ref. - New World Fd. (Contingency Fund) LWD PW PA
charged
Free Southern

CO-OP NEWS

of the

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

VOLUME III, NUMBER 1 JANUARY 1964 LAFAYETTE, LA.

Editor's Note
The following excerpt is taken from a speech given by Dr. Martin L. King Jr. at a famous conference on on Race and Religion in Chicago.

Segregation is morally wrong because it deprives man of freedom, that quality which makes him man. The very character of the life of man demands freedom.

What is freedom? It is, first, the capacity to deliberate or weigh alternatives. "Shall I be a doctor or a lawyer? Shall I vote for this candidate or the other candidate?" Moment by moment we go through life engaged in this strange conversation with ourselves.

Second, freedom expresses itself in decision. When I make a decision I cut off alternatives and make a choice.

The third expression of freedom is responsibility. This is the obligation of the person to respond if he is questioned about his decisions.

The absence of freedom imposes restraint on my delibrations as to what I shall do, where I shall live, or the kind of task I shall pursue. I am robbed of the basic quality of manness.

continue on page 2

COOPERATIVES AND EDUCATION

A cooperative is **a business** of people. People cannot be separated from education therefore you cannot separate education from business.

Often we tend to think of this as business and that as education. They are not separate compartments. A co-op may sell soap and fertilizers, grow corn and beans, or arrange loans and credit, and we say that is business.

Then this co-op may have a meeting, conduct a week end course and we say this is education.

But in truth the selling of soap and fertilizers, the growing of corn and beans, and lending money is educational. Education in cooperatives becomes effective in the realities of trade and commerce and other economy raising ventures.

A second point to bring out about cooperatives and education is involvement. In order to be educated in cooperative thinking, you must get involved.

The opportunities for involvement in good cooperative education are endless. But with this there must be a great number of voluntary workers.

continue on page 2

CO-OPS - EDUCATION continued

In the cooperative system, voluntary work is the only means thru which a larger membership can be reached and in turn get involved in the everlasting educational process which is an important part of cooperative growth and development.

CENTRAL OFFICE - STILL UNFINISHED

The staff members of the Co-op News and the office personnel for Southern Consumers' had hoped to move into a new spacious office building before the new year began.

But apparently we are disappointed. The Central Office of the Co-op is still not completed.

There is very little to be done, yet, the least little things will never get finished unless there is some one to do them.

We are still asking for and depending on volunteer help and of course on money.

CONGRESSIONAL MEETING

January 12, 1964

PAUL BREAUX SCHOOL
SOUTH MAGNOLIA STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

2 p.m. Committees meet
3 p.m. General session

''Willingness to increase one's knowledge and to contribute one's thoughts, as well as the ability to work with others, are three qualities of a good cooperator.''

Editor's Note continued

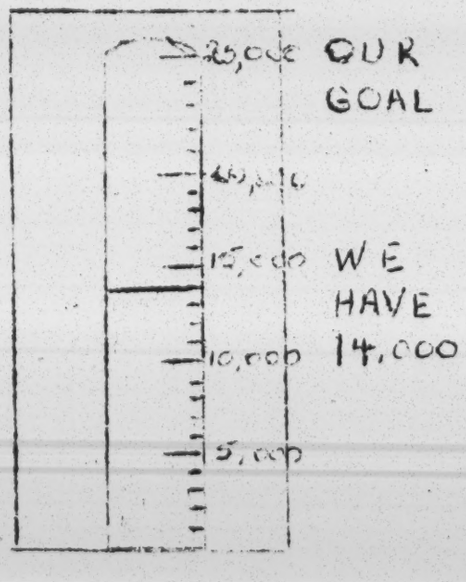
When I cannot chose what I shall do or where I shall live it means in fact that someone or some system has already made these decision for me, and I am reduced to an animal.

Nothing can be more diabolical than a deliberate attempt to destroy in any man his will to be a man and to withhold from him that something that constitutes his true essence.

PROGRESS CHART

The chart below was introduced in our last issue. It's the progress chart which indicates the amount of money we have now and the amount we need.

$25,000 is the present financial goal of Southern Consumers' Co-op. At present we only have $ 14,000.



BOARD VISITS AREAS

Southern Consumers' Board of Directors has invited itself to visit each area group on a date designated by the particular area.

The purpose of these meetings will be to stimulate coordination between the Board and the different localities, according to Father Albert McKnight, board president. Fr. McKnight said by these visits they hope to reactivate and rededicate the groups.

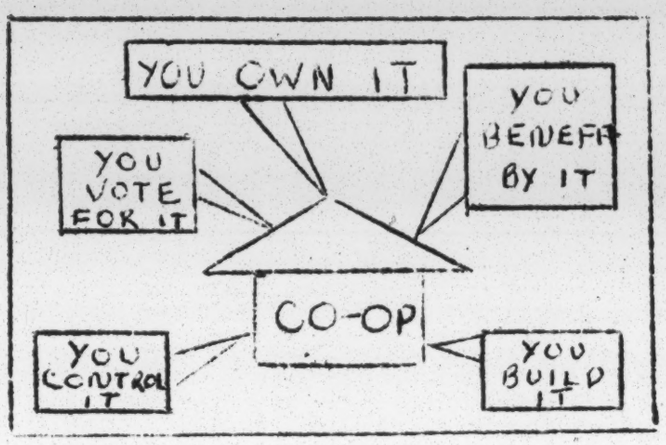
Below is a tentative schedule of the places and dates of the Board's visits.

The areas not listed may call or write Central Office and propose a date convenient to them.

January-----	Lake Charles Lafayette
Febuary-----	Abbeville Kaplan
March-------	Rayne New Iberia
April-------	Jennings Gueydan
May---------	Simmesport Mansura
June--------	Sulphur

BOARD MEMBER ELECTED

Mrs. Herman Spikes, Lake Charles, has relinquished her membership on the Board of Directors. Her husband, Mr. Herman Spikes, will take her position. He was elected by the Board at the last meeting, Monday, Dec 30.



COOPERATIVES AND COOPERATION

The following quesions and answers were provided as a servide by the CO-OP NEWS staff to the members of Southern Consumers'.

These are just reminders of what this business of cooperatives is all about.

Q. How can an individual be guided to improve his economic conditions?

A. This can be done by enkindling the hope that something can be done and by showing him the steps which we think can be taken - by forming a cooperative.

Q. What is a Cooperative?

A. A cooperative is a group of people faced with a common need, who decide that the best or only way to meet that need is by organizing a new business and to supply directly t themselves. This they do by joining voluntarily to pool their resources and thus own, control and patronize their own enterprize.

continue page 4

CO-OPS AND COOPERATION continued

Q. What are the common needs of our people today?
A. The common needs today are:
1. Ownership in business
2. Job opportunities
3. Means of saving money

Q. Why is ownership a common need of our people today?
A. Ownership is a common need because it gives:
1. A feeling of independence
2. A means of security
3. A way to progress
4. Allows people to exercise the right to vote without fear or reprisal.
5. Creates an interest in business.

Q. Why is cooperation necessary to gain ownership in business?
A. In the economic situation as it is today, it is almost impossible for an indivual to succeed in business on a large scale because of lack of capital. Therefore by working in groups more capital can be pooled.

Q. What are the most important factors necessary for the success of a cooperative?
A. Good cooperators, sufficient capital, and good management.

Q. What is sufficient capital?
A. Sufficient capital is the amount of money necessary for us to obtain our goal.

Q. How is sufficient capital obtained?
A. Sufficient capital is obtained by many people of little means putting their money together, thus accumulating the large sums necessary.

Dear Cooperators:
As 1964 slips in we, the staff of the CO-OP NEWS wish to bring Holiday Greetings and a sincere "thank you" for your cooperation throughout the year.

A GREETING

I salute you: There is nothing I can give you which you have not; but there is much, while I cannot give you, you can take.....

No heaven can come to us unless our hearts find rest in it today. Take Heaven.....

No peace lies in the future which is not hidden in the present. Take Peace.....

The gloom of the world is but a shadow; behind it yet within our reach is joy. Take Joy.....

Written in A.D. 1913
by Fra. Giovanni

FOUNDING OF CREDIT CO-OPS

Alphonse Desjardins, 1854 to 1920, founded the first credit cooperative in North America, in 1900.

This Co-op set the example for all America, and soon farmers, fishermen, and poeple in all walks of life were able to get short term loans at reasonable rates from their own credit co-ops.

Support your credit co-op.

NEW INSTRUCTIONS FOR CUSTODIANS

At the last Congressional meeting, the Board members announced that beginning Dec. 5 the custodians will be given 4% on money collected, providing the report is in the Central Office by the 5th of the month.

Only 2% will be given if the report is delinquent.

20% will be given on any "new membership" fee.

Custodians must meet monthly. If they miss two consecutive meetings, they are subject to removal by the Board.

This is on a trial basis of three months.

FR. O'ROURKE MEETS THE CO-OP

Southern Consumers' Cooperative will meet with Father Edward W. O'Rourke, director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Sunday, Jan. 12 at the Congressional meeting. Father O'Rourke will give the keynote address.

The purpose of the meeting with Father O'Rourke will be for information and ideas in acquiring necessary information for federal assistance for Southern Consumers' through the Rural Areas Development program.

Father O'Rourke will be in the Diocese from Jan. 5-12.

COPY OF LETTER SENT BY Mr. Voorhis
(NATIONAL DIRECTOR OF THE CO-OP LEAGUE)

March 25, 1964

Mr. Sargent Shriver
Director of Economic Opportunity
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Shriver:

This time I am writing you in your new capacity of Director of the drive against poverty rather than as I have done before as Director of the Peace Corps. I only hope that you will be able to continue in both these jobs since I feel both of them need so very much your special talents.

I am writing this letter to make a specific proposal with respect to the War on Poverty. It is my firm conviction, as I am pretty sure it will be yours, that a demonstration of a succesful attack on poverty in a selected area and a specific group of poor people, will do more to dramatize and gain acceptance for this program than any other single action could possibly do.

In this connection I want to propose that the membership of the Southern Consumers' Cooperative in Southwestern Louisiana together with the communities where this organzzation is at work be selected as d demonstration area. I should not be at all surprised if you have already heard about the work of the Southern Consumers' Cooperative. For Monsignor Edward W. O'Rourke, Executive Director of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, has interested himself and that outstanding organization very deeply in the work of the Southern Consumers' Co-op, and has in fact written to Mr. L.A. Potts of the Office of Rural Area Development in the Department of Agriculture on the subject.

Southern Consumers' Cooperative has its principal headquarters at 127 Cherry St., Lafayette, Louisiana, and the virtually unpaid secretary of their work is Miss Una Mae Hargrave of the Grail. Miss Hargrave has visited us here in our office and we have talked to her at great length. There is no finer person of our acquaintance. The leading spirit and organizer of the Southern Consumers' Cooperative is Father Albert J. McKnight. The membership of Southern Consumers' Cooperative is largely, though not entirely Negro. The average yearly family income of these members is less than $2000 per year. Despite these facts, the 540 present members oftthis cooperative association have raised a tatal capital of $17,300.

This capital they are endeavoring to build up still further and they have had the rare wisdom not to start some business venture until they have adequate capital to succeed. This group has been working with the Rural Areas Development committees in the various parishes where it has membership. They have organized a number of credit unions in several of the parishes in the area. But because of this poverty of the people it is difficult, indeed, to build up the capital of these credit unions to a point where they can be of signicicant help.

One of the first projects which the group would like to carry out would be a canning factory which would employ local people, and provide a far better income for the farmers who now sell their vegetables at distressed prices.

The sort of assistance which is needed to enable this fine, already organized group of people to make real progress toward overcoming their poverty and other problems includes the following:

.. a grant for office supplies and equipment of perhaps $3000.
.. a grant for $5000. to enable their secretary and education director to work full time.
.. a grant for other necessary operationg expenses of a really efficient headquarters, amounting to proably another $7000.

.. and of critical importance -- avvery low interest loan which should be made to a central agency, either Southern Consumers' Cooperative or a subsidiary thereof, which could in turn make loans to sound credit unions; and also loans to supplement the capital already raised by this organization so that they could go forward with their canning project.

Such loans would certainly be entirely in line with the President's stated purposes in the War Against Poverty. For one of his own proposals was " loans for grants to cooperatives to provide services not otherwide available."

Here is a chance to fight poverty by enabling a group of highly deserving people to combat their problems through the responsibilities of ownership.

I enclose herewith a brief history of the Southern Consumers' Co-op and a list of their advisors.

I might add that the Cooperative League itself has rendered some financial assistance to this group already. But the amount of it, because of our other commitments, was woefully small.

Any advice or assistance whcch the Cooperative League can give to this matter will be very, very glad to do.

Sincerely,

Jerry Voorhis, Executive Director.

CO-OP NEWS

of the

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

VOLUME III, NUMBER 3 MARCH 1964 LAFAYETTE, LA.

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Board Urges Local Attendance

The Board of Directors as announced previously is in the process of visiting all the local councils. The purpose of these visits is to revitalize and effect a rededication of the members on the local level. To devote ourselves to a cause demands knowledge. We must know and understand the why, the what, and the how. Becoming convinced of the worthwhileness and necessity of our goals will generate the devotion and perseverance necessary to achieve these goals.

So far the Board of Directors has visited three local groups, Lake Charles, Lafayette, and Kaplan. These meetings have been stimulating and instructive for those who have attended but sad to say only a handful have been present.

Much more groundwork in preparing for these meetings must be done on the local level to get the membership out. We have a Board member traveling two hundred miles and more to attend these meetings while those at home are indifferent to take the extra trouble to attend.

We do hope that the local leaders will make a greater effort to get the members to turn out in those places which we have yet to visit.

Fr. McKnight

Editor Writes...

THE ART OF PEACE

"Lord make me an instrument of Thy peace...," begins the prayer said at every meeting of Southern Consumers' Cooperative. We say these words together,but do we live them? Only people can bring about peace. Peace in the world of the home and family, school, office, industry, community and world-wide peace, depends upon each one of us putting into action the "art of peace."

What is the art of peace? It is "putting God on both sides of the table in a conference."

We practice the art of peace when we put to work the power of goodwill. Peace comes through using common sense in human relationships. When we are open-minded, willing to listen as well as speak,and able to veiw the situation objectively, we insure peace in our dealings with other people.

Peace comes through practicing self control, especially when it comes to patience. With a little effort in keeping our tempers and rising above petty irritations, we can bring about pleasant living for many.

Continue on page 2

Art of Peace, continued

It may seem rediculous to count to ten in the middle of a heated argument, but this may be the device necessary to avoid hasty and impulsive decisions. And too, it may spare another many unkind words.

Peace comes with straight thinking. We must be able to break through the barriers within ourselves in reaching others. This means recognizing these "iron curtains" as woven objects of fear, prejudices and mistrust.

Now let us live together the prayer we say together. For peace "is a quality of the heart..., a magnetism that reaches out and draws people together in understanding and love. It is a mighty faith in the goodness of God and the potential greatness of man."

Carol Prejean

NOTICE

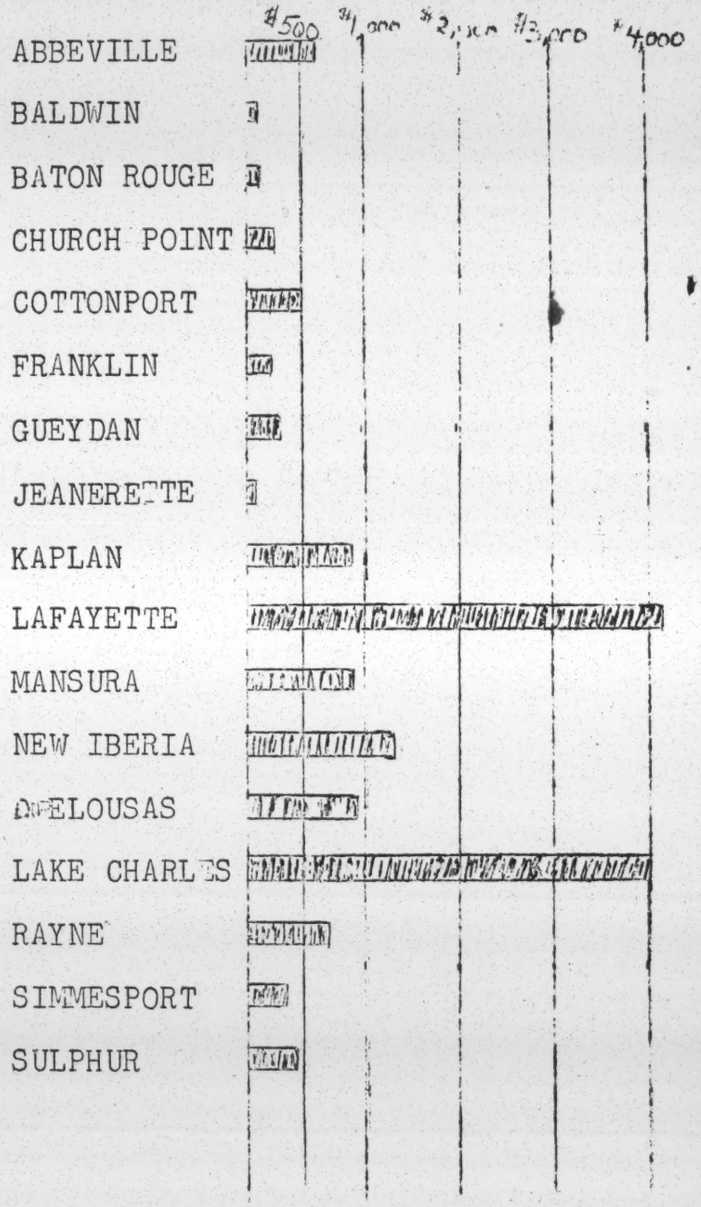
The basic purpose of Southern Consumers' CO-OP NEWS LETTER is to keep the people in the different areas informed on what's happening in their organization.

The editor and staff would like to have each area represented in the NEWS LETTER.

This would be much easier for us to do if the area groups would send in their local news. We suggest they send us a copy of the minutes from their monthly meetings.

The area chairman or secretary can send the minutes to the CO-OP NEWS Editor, Central Office, 127 Cherry St., Lafayette.

PROGRESS CHART



New Iberia is the next area the Board of Directors will meet with. Mr. Scurlock informed us that the date is Sunday, March 15. The time and place will be announced later.

CONGRESSIONAL MEETING-March 8, 1964-
Paul Breaux Elementary, Lafayette
2 p.m. Custodians
3 p.m. General Meeting

CENTRAL OFFICE GETS BOOKKEEPING HINTS

Dr. Bernard Bienvenu, professor of Management at the University of Southwestern Louisiana, was guest speaker at the last custodians' meeting, Sunday, Feb. 9.

Dr. Bienvenu said that there are too many mistakes in the reports sent to the Central Office by the custodians. He said this is because the report forms are too complicated.

"Less complicated reports mean fewer mistakes," he commented. He also brought out that in our present system of bookkeeping, the custodians duplicate much of the work done by the Central Office staff.

Rex Houser, also of USL, was sent in by Dr. Bienvenu to assist the staff in re-arranging and simplifying the books.

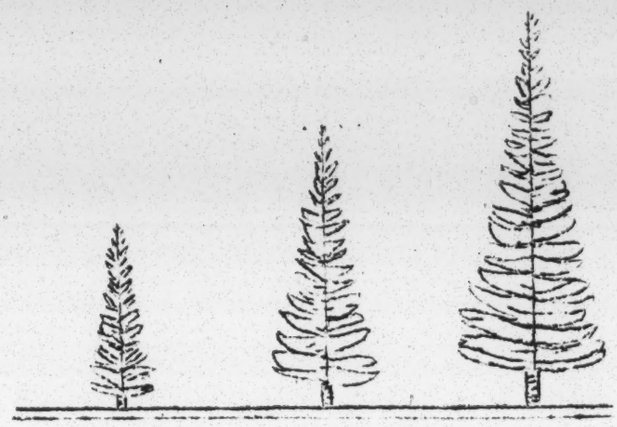
WASSERMAN VISITS AREA FARMERS

Jac Wasserman, National Sharecroppers Fund, visited tenant farmers in several communities in Southern Louisiana.

Wasserman said that farmers should supplement their income by growing vegetables, small truck crops. "There is plenty of money in this type of farming," he said.

The National Sharecroppers Fund with the United States Department of Labor is responsible for instituting programs for re-educating unemployed people. Such programs are being instituted in six southern states including Louisiana.

Wasserman was in this area at the invitation of Southern Consumers' Cooperative.



SMALL BUSINESS TO BIG BUSINESS

Our experience over the past year in following various leads on what sort of interprise to begin has crystalized into definite guidelines.

The business must be small enough so that we would have the managerial know-how and yet it must have growth potentialities so that we can grow with it. It should be a specialty involving three or more articles where the competition is not too keen. It would not involve too much fixed capitol.

With these guidelines we gathered ten experts in various fields at Southern University last month for a brain storming session. There were many ideas and suggestions made by the group. Dr. Robinson of Southern University who is in horticulture volunteered to study the various proposals and see whether he could put three or four of them together into a workable project.

A second meeting is scheduled for Tuesday March tenth at Southern to receive Dr. Robinson's report and make a detailed study on the economic feasibility of his report.

Fr. McKnight

Editor's Note....
The following excerpt is taken from, "The Negro Revolution To Date," TIME: Aug. 30, 1963.

"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitations, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its waters."

-Abolitionist Negro
Frederic Douglas, 1857

Negroes helped blaze the trails in America, sometimes as slaves but often as scouts and valued aids to many of the famed explorers. They were with Columbus, Balboa, Ponce de Leon, Cortez, Pizarro, De Soto.

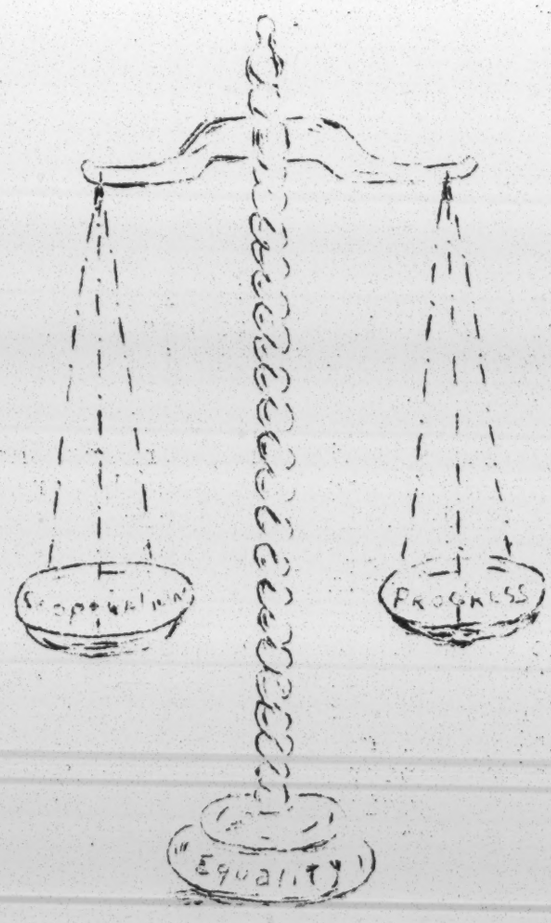
Free Negroes were among the first pioneers to settle in the Mississippi Valley in the 17th century. In Virginia, Negroe colonists knew no inferiority of status, owned land, voted, mingled with whites. Some 5,000 Negroes fought the British as troops in Washington's army.

Many of the first slaves in America were in fact, Indians. In bondage however, the Indian proved sickly, often died. Indentured white servants were used for a time, but too often they broke away and easily lost their slave identity among white colonists.

Only after such failures did the white man begin large scale enslavement of the Negro, who possessed two ideal qualities- he was strong, and if he fled, his face stood out in a crowd.

Contrary to the notion that his revolution is of relatively recent origin, the Negro has always fought against his servitude.

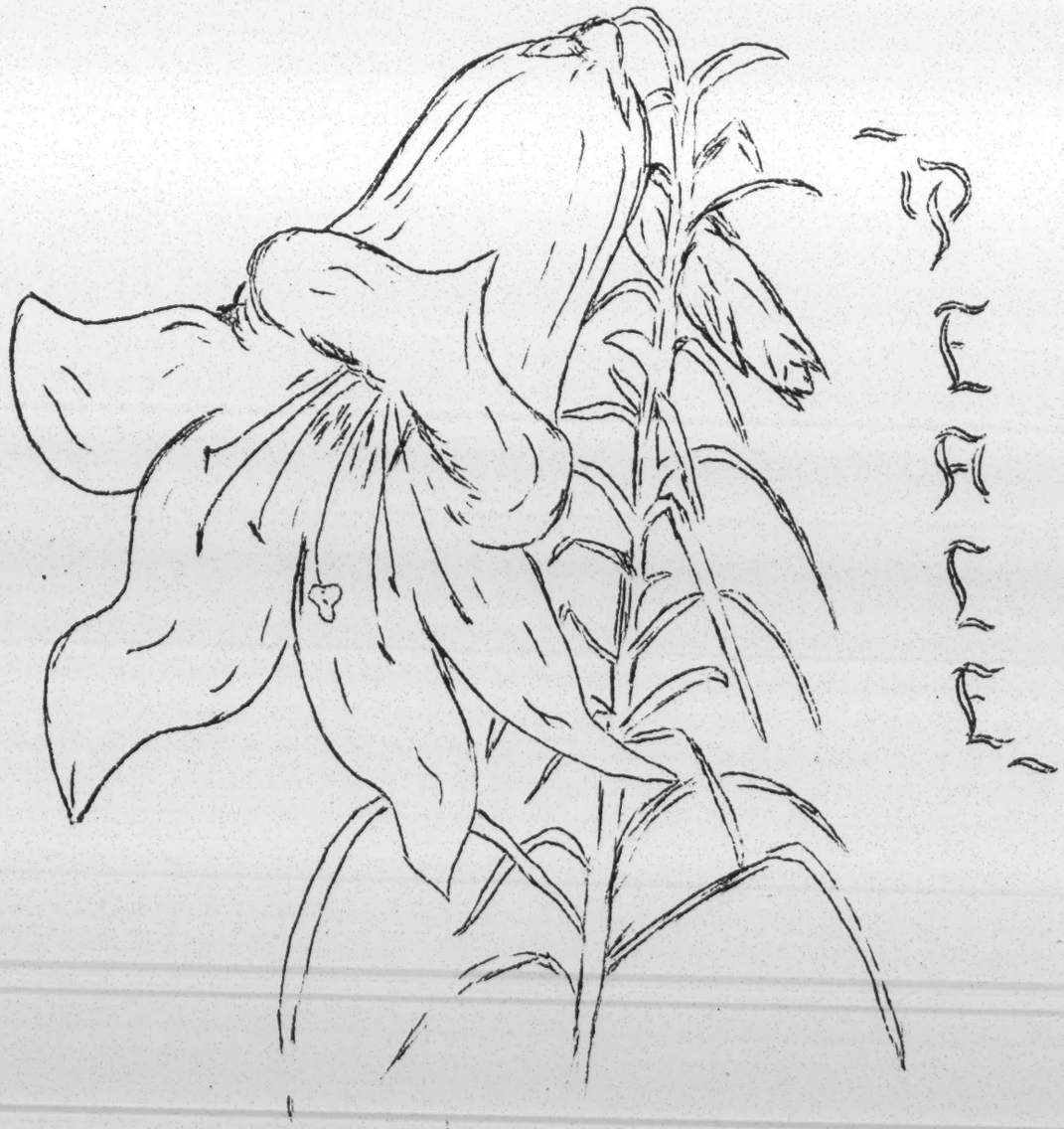
In 1905, Dr. William E. B. Du Bois, one of the founders of the American Negro Academy, declared, "We claim for ourselves every right that belongs to a freeborn American - political, civil and social - and until we get these rights, we will never cease to protest and assail the ears of America with the story of its shameful deeds toward us."



Lord, make me an instrument of Your Peace
where there is hatred, let me sow love;
Where ther is injury, pardon;
Where there is doubt, faith;
Where there is despair, hope;
Where there is darkness, light;
Where there is sadness, joy.

O Divine Master,
grant that I may seek not so much
to be consoled as to console;
to be understood as to understand;
to be loved as to love;

for it is in giving that we receive;
it is in pardoning that we are pardoned,
and it is in dying that we are born to Eternal Life.



Make a check out please
to the attached
for $1,000
(memo follows)

MMJ

File

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

127 CHERRY STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA, 70501
PHONE 232-1165

DA
PW
M.I. file

May 4, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar and Mr. Anthony:

I wish to thank you for all your help and kindness, and most of all for your deep concern and interest in our work. Thanks for making it possible for me to be in New York and for all your advice and suggestions. We of Southern Consumers' are greatly indebted to your office and especially to the two of you for the many steps forward, for the assistance you have given us has allowed us to advance. For all we are most grateful.

We shall keep you informed as you hear from the foundations in New York. Please, assure Mr. Watters that we shall sent him information he needs very soon.

For all we are most grateful and we shall keep you informed of the steps and progress. I do hope to see you soon and looking forward to that time. Much success in your work.

Sincerely,

Fr. A. J. McKnight

Rev. A. J. McKnight, CSSp.

REPORT ON THE PURPOSE AND NEEDS OF SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' EDUCATION FOUNDATION .....

Southern Consumers' Education Foundation is:

A non-profit organization set up to carry on continous educational programs with the purpose of initiating and organizing self help projects in the needy areas of La. These projects will lead to cooperatively owned and controlled business enterprises by the people and bring about economic independence among low-income groups.

Basic principles: A cooperative is a corporation of a group of people who have organized themeselves to provide goods or services for themselves. It is run completely by and for its members. All adhere to the following principles:

1) one member, one vote.
2) membership open to all.
3) political,religious, racial and social neutrality shall be observed.

I. Long-range planning

Objectives: Business ownership will result in more economic independence which will lay the foundation for social, political, educational and religious improvements in Louisiana and throughout the South.

Economic independence will instill greater security and growth of self-respect among the members and will allow people to exercise their civil rights without fear of reprisal. True integration can best occur by Negroes and Whites working toward the solution of a common felt need, economics.

Ownership will bring about interest in all businesses, more understanding and better use of money, as well as teach people to save, invest and sacrifice immediate consumption for future gains. Ownership will help make more jobs available to Negroes. The success of this cooperative program will have significant consequences on any type of venture among Negroes in the South.

II. Immediate Planning

Objectives: To help Negroes and other low income groups become economically independent through: credit unions, research, technical assistance, and business ownership.

Credit unions are the easiest and most effective self-help programs with which to begin. This type of co-operative teaches members the value of cooperation, savings, and lays a foundation for more complicated enterprises.

The Southern Consumers' Cooperative founded in 1961, is active in 16 rural communities in Southwest La. Plans are to extend this service to other communities in the state and surrounding area.

We are limited because of finances, but with help, we feel confident that within a few years we could reach many more communities.

Membership now numbers 550. The cooperative has saved and pooled $19,000. to begin a loaning service which will be available to all members.

III. Needs:

1) Southern Consumers' Cooperative has reached the point when a full time education director is urgently needed to co-ordinate the work and programs of education, through the central office which is located at 127 Cherry St. For one year--$5,000.

2) A grant for two full-time field representatives to assist and initiate credit unions among Negroes and low-income groups in needy rural areas of Louisiana. Salary and travel expenses -- $17,000.

3) A grant for office equipment and supplies, for more effective co-ordination and operation...$3,000.

4) A grant to subsidize a monthly Co-op newsletter which informs all members of events and progress; it also serves as an educational media. $1,000.

5) A grant or a loan to Southern Consumers' Cooperative which could, in turn, make loans to small, sound credit unions; and also loans to supplement the capital already raised by this organization so that we could go forward with other projects.

file

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

127 CHERRY STREET
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA, 70501
PHONE 232-1165

PAV

June 5, 1964

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar & Mr. Anthony:

Wish to thank you for the check of $700 to be used for summer scholarships.

Shall be in touch with you as to exact studies and so on.

Thought you might like to see enclosed copy of letter to Mr. Fontaine.

Thanking you for all your help and assistance.

Sincerely,

Fr. Albert McKnight, C.S.Sp.

Rev. Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

May 28, 1964

Mr. Edgar L. Fontaine
Managing Director
Louisiana Credit Union League
702 Baronne Bldg.
New Orleans, Louisiana 70112

Dear Mr. Fontaine and Staff of the League Office:

Another year and another state convention is passed, yet the theme Take Another Step Forward remains only as a false front to many of us. We, the Negroes of the small credit unions from the rural areas, have many comments, complaints and suggestions and would, therefore, like to call your attention to a few facts. Much of this will be as well known to you as it is to me, but for the sake of an accurate overall picture, please bear with me as I list them.

As you well know, early in April you called me asking that I call a meeting of a few of the leaders from our Negro credit unions around Lafayette. And so you and I met with your entire staff, chapter officers from Lafayette and our local leaders. At that meeting you asked our advise on a number of important decisions which had to be made before the state convention convened. You went to great lengths to assure us that you wanted to discuss this with us before making any decisions or taking any steps. Because of this meeting, we thought we had a working relationship with each other.

The first issue that evening was housing. We explained that Lafayette has no integrated hotels or motels; but certainly this is the fault of the Lafayette Negroes and the Lafayette community, not the fault of the Credit Union League. We understood your problem and volunteered in the name of Miss Hollier and Miss Hargrave to house any Negroes who might attend the convention in private homes.

Your next point was the social events which are usually connected with the convention. You stressed this was a chapter sponsored event not sponsored by the League. Friday night was to be a social of free boiled crawfish for everyone and open house, a taste of Lafayette Hospitality. Saturday night was a banquet dinner-dance. The whole point of Saturday was a benefit to pay for Friday's free social which would cost about $900.

Mr. Bill Flowers went to great detail explaining why Saturday night could not be integrated, but that Saturday night allowed us to have Friday night. I think you remember the majority of us there said that we were not happy with the compromise but we would go along with it, under this condition: If Friday night were cancelled, then Saturday night would either be cancelled or integrated. If I remember correctly we stated that condition at least three times and your entire staff and chapter officers seemed to agree that it was a fair agreement.

You well know the story. Friday night was cancelled with out a word said to any of us. We should have brought this up at the chapter meeting, but I was out of town on urgent business and Mr. Coco did not bring it up since he thought, perhaps, the chapter wanted to keep Friday night quiet. But Friday night there was no social. The dinner-dance on Saturday therefore should have been integrated, but was not.

Our members and some Negroe members from the credit unions in New Orleans tried to get tickets and were told that it was segregated. Two of our outstanding members did get tickets and attempted to attend Saturday night, but were turned down at the door by Mr. Flowers and another officer. There are many who may feel (we have heard rumors) that we were pushing our way, or demonstrating; but frankly Mr. Fontaine they had every qualification and right to attend that dinner.

Somehow once an agreement is broken it becomes even more serious. We don't like demonstrations; we don't like outside interference. But it is events like this which leave us no choice except to use the most drastic means to be heard. If a working agreement cannot be kept, then we are left no other choice than to turn to other means for our rights.

True, this was a chapter sponsored event and I'm sure you will assure us that this was a chapter decision. But, Mr. Fontaine, I don't hold the chapter responsible, I hold you and your staff responsible, for you called this meeting at our office, you asked for our advise, heard our terms and politely agreed to all the decisions, then you let this weekend go on completely against our terms with out a word to us. Even a phone call from your office or some acknowledgment would have been a more workable solution, at least a beginning, to our agreement. I hope you understand why we feel you are responsible, for you called this meeting, not the chapter.

Let me point out one other thing. During the entire convention, announcements concerning the Saturday night social were given. "All delegates and guests, are urged to get tickets for the Saturday dinner-dance, the entertainment is for everyone." Certainly, this was the tone of the announcements, if not the exact words. Yet all it did was give a lovely front to all the members, guest from C.U.N.A. and the Federal Credit Union people.

Some will say, and I agree, that we should have made a fuss right then and there, not now that the convention is over. But sometimes one holds back hoping beyond hope that perhaps you will keep your agreement; perhaps they will let us in tonight. And one keeps hoping beyond hope that for once we will keep our promises, and that we must trust one another for a good working relationship. One keeps hoping beyond hope that the spirit and aims of the credit union movement will be kept.

For once we thought that the hopes and aspirations which we have long anticipated and waited for would become a reality; since you and your staff seemed to understand that evening. We had great hopes of working together.

Yet we have not given up. We still want that working relationship, but believe me, it will be harder to achieve now after the effects of the past week. But we are willing to try again.

Many other events have been held at the Muncipal Auditorium and have been integrated, so that certainly could not be the reason for your hesitation. We have much more to achieve, but we have great hopes for the future in this area.

I'm sure you are concerned that the credit unions in North Louisiana will disagree and not allow integration. You pointed out at that first evening meeting, that there are more credit unions in North Louisiana and we must be careful. But isn't there something wrong when we let North Louisiana influence us, and control us? Surely, there is something we can do.

I frankly disagree with your approach that credit unions are primarily a money-making institution, and, therefore, we must be careful not to offend North Louisiana. If that were so, then we should let our credit unions become small banks, and not carry the name of credit union.

Credit unions are a means of education, a spirit, a powerful tool which can unite and change human beings into a powerful force working together for the good of every man no matter how small. We have never given the little man of little means a chance to prove himself. Working with the low-income group is no small task, but certainly if we fail to do it we are not being true to the spirit and ideals of the movement.

Unless the state league begins to get concerned and interested in the great pockets of low-income within our state, you will leave us no alternative but to work outside your structure. This would indeed be a great pity, but we are determined to do something for our people and are begging you to reconsider the whole approach and structure of the league office. Let's stop letting the large, industrial credit unions guide and control us, since they, too, must be educated to the true spirit and approach of the credit union movement.

Your job is not an easy task, and I fully appreciate the number of problems and complications which such a responsibility carries with it. But realize that a working relationship entails respect and consideration on both sides, and not a series of fronts to pacify one group in hopes that things will work out.

We are sending our complaints to you, the National Office and the Federal Investigators, in a hope that we can come to some understanding of the needs and problems of the small credit unions here. I do feel you should know that we are getting tired, discouraged and irritated by the lack of understanding of our needs in the league office. This may seem like a little thing to you, compared to the so-called progress you will point out, such as integrated meetings, and integrated lunch counters. These are our God-given rights and, to us, they are something which we want and need, and we must be heard now. There is no time for little steps or little compromise. This is indeed a time to Take Another Step Forward, but let those steps be true and real steps, not a front or cover up.

We are willing to discuss this with you. We are always open for discussion, but it must be a fair and open working relationship. Hoping to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Rev. A. J. McKnight

CO-OP NEWS

of the

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

VOLUME III, NUMBER 5 JUNE 1964 LAFAYETTE, LA.

JULY CONGRESS MEETS AT WAR MEMORIAL BUILDING

The Lafayette War Memorial and Civic Building will be the next site for the July 12 Congressional meeting, announced the SCC Board of Directors.

At this meeting the stock certificates will be issued to all members of Southern Consumers' who have invested at least $50 in the co-op.

Every member who has $50 invested will receive a class A stock subscription, which is the voting stock.

After a member has bought his $50 voting stock, he will then receive a class B stock subscription for every additional $12.50 he has invested. He will receive a certificate listing the number of Class B stocks he has bought. The Class B stock is the non-voting stock.

Now that Southern Consumers' is incorporated, members will be required to buy a Class A voting stock before they can exercise their power to vote in the cooperative.

All members who have not invested at least $50 are asked to do so during the month of June so that they may receive their certificates at the July meeting.

continue on page 4

SPOTLIGHT ON MANSURA LEADER

"I want to keep up with the co-o and keep the Mansura group infor ed," was the quick reply of Rev. Charles Guillory when I asked hi why he comes to the Congressiona meetings. "My area depends on m to tell them what the co-op is doing," continued Rev. Guillory.

Rev. Charles Guillory of Mansura who will celebrate his 65 birthday July 29 is one of the oldest active members of Southern Consumers'.

He attended his first co-op meeting in Cottonport. This meeting was led by Fr. August Thompson o Ferriday and Fr. A.J. McKnight n of Lake Charles. "From there a meeting was called in Marksville which I attended," said Rev. Guillory. "I then called togeth a group in Mansura." At this meeting he was elected local cha man and custodian.

Since then he has attended every Congressional meeting.

Rev. Guillory is a retired schoo bus driver, and he is owner of 90 acres of farmland in Hessmer, which he rents out to tenant farmers.

continue on page 5

Credit Procedures For Peoples' Enterprise

The Board of Directors for People's Enterprise, the first business of Southern Consumers' Co-op, has drawn up credit procedures by which the discount co. will operate.

Credit Committee Prodedures:

1. The credit committee will consist of three members. The names and qualifications of persons chosen for a committee must be submitted to the Board of Directors for approval. The area chairman or any members of a local group may send in this information.

2. The meetings of these credit committees will be centered around the business of the discount co.

3. The credit committees will chose from their groups of three a chairman and a secretary. The secretary must be capable of keeping complete and correct records of all actions taken by the committee.

4. All members of the committee present must sign a submitted application. The number of those approving and disapproving the application must be written on the application blank. The reasons for disapproval must be given.

5. This committee will decide along with the applicant how much the latter can repay each month and the length of time for the payments. This committee must ascertain the borrower's ability to repay fully and promptly. It must also determine whether the loan sought is for a provident or productive purpose, and will be of probable benefit to the borrower.

Loan Procedure:

1. Loans may be made up to $300 discounted.
2. All business firms approved b the Board may make application fo loans.
3. The applicant must fill out the blank on both sides using in
4. The applicant must present a list of debts, if any, other than house notes.
5. If the loan is in the wife's name both the husband and the wi must sign the application and the note. The husband must fill out the space on the back of the application for co-maker's statement. The wife's first name must be used.
6. All loans to minors must be co-signed by parents or guardians
7. All loans from $1 to $50 require a co-signer.

Note:
1. Fill in the amount on the not and make no changes or erasures.
2. The maker of the note must sign, and the co-maker must sign the note before it is mailed to the office.

Payments of Loans:

1. Payments will be made by mail
2. Payments must be made promptly
3. Payments must be mailed on or before date due.
4. Payments made before date due and loans paid out before time w receive an interest refund.
5. Payments mailed 15 days after the date due will be charged 10% more than the regular payment.
6. If the payments are collected by the custodian after 15 days deliquent, 20% more than the regular payment will be paid to the custodian.

DEBATE SCHEDULED FOR NEXT CONGRESS

At the last Congressional meeting in May, a question arose from the floor concerning whether Peoples' Enterprise, the new discount company, would lend money to persons who did not belong to Southern Consumers' Co-op.

A Board member suggested that the cooperators be allowed to express their views on the matter.

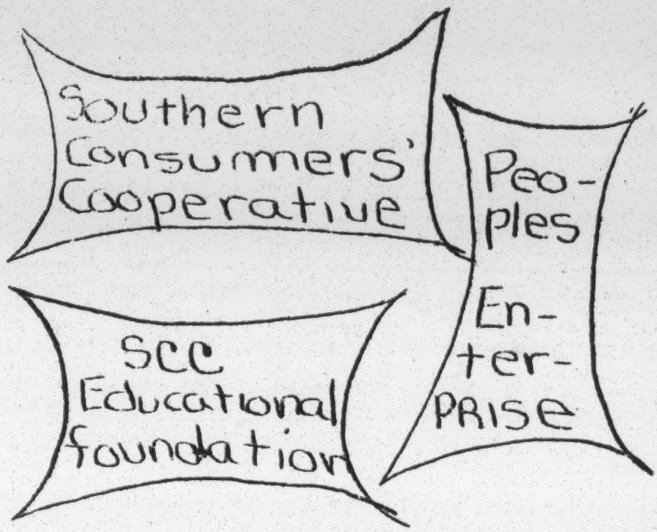
A debate team of voluntary members was formed. The team that will argue for lending money to non-members consist of Stanley Beverly, Franklin; Peter Davis, Jennings; Coley Bellamy, Rayne; and Carol Prejean, Lafayette. The team members who will argue against lending money to non-members are Luscius Guillory, Lake Charles; Lester Schurlock, New Iberia; and Rita Joseph, Lafayette.

DR. WILLIAMS RECEIVES STUDY GRANT

Dr. T.T. Williams, agricultural economist at Southern University, Baton Rouge, received a grant from ARA, area redevelopment association, to study and survey the underemployment and unemployment in six Southern states.

This grant will allow him to take a 14 month leave from his university.

Dr. Williams said he hopes to work closely with Southern Consumers' during this time, since our organization is pursueing a definite means to combat these problems.



CO-OP RECEIVES CHARTER

Southern Consumers' Co-op has received three state charters which now authorizes us to begin operation of our first business.

The first charter is under the name of Southern Consumers' Educational Foundation. Such a charter enables us to receive grants and other financial aids. The Educational Foundation is a non-profit organization responsible for the education of all SCC members.

The second in under Southern Consumers' Cooperative. This organizes us as a cooperative. It give the official "O.K." to go into business.

The third is the business permit for the discount company, Peoples Enterprise. Each individual business of Southern Consumers' Co-op will have a separate charater. This is necessary, because if one business fails it will not affect any of the others. Peoples' Enterprise is ready to begin lending money. Members may contact their custodians for application forms.

JULY CONGRESS CONTINUED

This meeting at the War Memorial Building will also be an open house for the co-op. There will be displays to reinform old members and interest new ones.

The Board of Directors for Southern Consumers' will be officially installed. The ceremony will be similar to the one used for the installation of the Congressional officers.

July Congressional Meeting
Sunday, July 12
Time: 2p.m.
Place: War Memorial and Civic Building.
2100 Jefferson St.
Lafayette, La.

CONGRESSIONAL OFFICERS INSTALLED

Congressional officers for Southern Consumers' Co-op were installed Sunday, May 10.

Ned Robbinson, Gueydan, became the new Speaker of the House; Luscius Guillory, Lake Charles, assistant speaker; Mrs. Coley Bellamy, Rayne, secretary; Mrs. Warren Philips, Lafayette, assistant secretary.

The new officers recited together a pledge to uphold their officies according to their abilities and following cooperative principles.

Each officer received a green co-op pen bearing the twin pine emblem. Fr. A.J. McKnight officiated at the ceremony.

NOTICE!!!

MEETING SUNDAY - JUNE 14
2PM - BOARD OF DIRECTOR
4PM - CUSTODIANS
PLACE: 127 CHERRY STREET

URGENT MEETING!!!

CO-OP SENDS MEMBERS TO STUDY

With the help of a second grant o: $700 from Southern Regional Counc: three co-op members are able to take cooperative courses this summer. Una Mae Hargrave and Cly Coco will attend a two-week course from July 19-31, sponsored by CUNA Credit Union National Association.

This course will include studies : sociology, psychology, communications, economics, consumer credit and personal finance. The course is held in Madison, Wisconsin.

Carol Prejean will attend the Social Leadership course offered by the Coady International Institute of St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia.

This five-week course will be designed to give an understanding of the history, principles, techniques, and application of the Antigonish Movement - a program of self help and mutual help.

MANSURA LEADER CONTINUED

In 1938 he entered Leland College to study to become a Baptiste minister. He was ordained in 1945 amd made pastor of New Jerusalem Baptiste Church which then had 11 members. He now has 80.

Rev. Guillory was the first Negro to cast a vote in Avoyelles Parish. He was also the first to qualify as a candidate for public office. In 1963 he was a candidate for the Democratic-State Central Committee..

He has made his wife and his son, who attends Southern University, paying members of the co-op.

Rev. Guillory is a true cooperator. He puts forth time, efforts, and money. His time is coming to all the Congressional meetings; his efforts - the distance he drives to attend these meetings and the information he brings back to his area; his money - $300.

SCC NOW HAS "COOL CENTRAL OFFICE

George LeBlanc, owner of J.A. LeBlanc's Commercial Refrigeration Co., has donated an air conditioning unit to Southern Consumers' Central Office.

The staff members now enjoy cool working conditions.

LeBlanc is also active in Family Life work along with Una Mae Hargrave and Fr. A.J. McKnight.

MSGR EDWARD O'ROURKE AND MR. ED COLLINS VISI SCC

Another wonderful experience was shared by all who attended the last co-op Congress in May.

Msgr. Edward O'Rourke, national director of Catholic rural life and Ed Collins , RAD department spoke to the members and urged all to rally together and push for SCC. Msgr. O'Rourke said that in his estimation SCC is one of finest economic organizations serving the small person the South. He said it could be a most important local instrument for implementing the coming war on poverty.

Since their visit to Lafayette, we have heard from both stating that they have heard from two different sources that SCC would be considered for some part in the War on Poverty program, either under the Title II in Community Action Programs or under Title III which entitles cooperatives to receive help.

We have been urged to begin preparing now to meet this challenge if and when it comes. The next two months may be the most eventful in the entire history of our organization.

Una M. Hargrave

Peoples' Enterprise
513 South Pierce Street
Lafayette, Louisiana

October 20, 1964

The Reverend Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.
Southern Consumers' Cooperative
127 Cherry Street
Lafayette, Louisiana

Dear Father McKnight:

We are very pleased to be enabled to forward to you at this time our check in the amount of $1,000 in support of the educational program of the Southern Consumers' Cooperative. This contribution is made possible by a grant to us from the Aaron E. Norman Fund. From the many conversations we have had with you and from the numerous reports and other communications you have sent to us, we are convinced that no better use of these funds could be made than through supporting the work you and your associates are engaged in.

We ask that you continue to keep us regularly informed, not only as to the use made of this particular contribution, but also as to your general program.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1. (Check - $1,000)
Bc: Miss Deborah Cole

CO-OP NEWS

of the

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

Volume III, Number 8 November 1964 Lafayette, La.

FRUIT CAKES READY

Orders are now being taken for fruit cakes made by Southern Consumers' fruit cake and pastry shop.

This fruit cake production is a Louisiana project, and Southern Consumers' is making a special effort to utilize some of the resources of this area.

Some of the ingredients used are: glazed fruits, nuts (local pecans), hydrogented shortening, sugar, flour, leavening agents, preservatives, whole eggs and flavor.

These cakes may be purchased by contacting central office at P.O. Box 3005, Lafayette, or phoning, CE-50567.

WE NEED PECANS

We need pecans for the fruit cake project in Lake Charles. This is one of the chief ingredients for the fruit cakes, and an insufficient supply is presently holding up production.

We would like to buy shelled or unshelled pecans.

If anyone has pecans to sell, or can arrange with someone to sell pecans to Southern Consumers', please contact central office immediately at the following address or phone:

425 General Mouton Ave.
Lafayette, La.
CEnter 50567

This is an urgent request. Any immediate response will be appreciated.

ORDER BLANK FOR FRUIT CAKES

Fill in number of fruit cakes desired and mail order blank to central office, or bring it with you to the November Congressional meeting in Lafayette.

I will need _____ number of 1 lb. fruit cakes at $1.50 each.
I will need _____ number of 3 lb. fruit cakes at $3.00 each.

Name _____
(please Print)
Address _____
I will need this order for:

(Check One)
Thanksgiving Holidays _____
Christmas Holidays _____
Now (give date) _____

Address: SCC FRUIT CAKES
P.O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LA.

Peoples' Enterprise, the first business of Southern Consumers', is in operation, and its purpose is to service the members of SCC.

Any member desiring a loan may see their local custodian for an application blank, or they may visit the office of Peoples' Enterprise.

The loan office is in the same building as the central office.
(425 General Mouton Ave., Lafayette).

WHO WANTS US?

Read & Raise your head up HIGH!

Jerry Voorhis, executive director of the Cooperative League of the U.S., has invited SCC to attend their biennial congress.

The League has offered to help finance the trip to Chicago for one represntative from SCC.

This congress is being planned as a learning experience, a social experience, and a cooperative responsibility.

The congress is scheduled for Nov. 13-20.

Can you imagine! Now - they're asking us

BECAUSE SCC is the best way ALL THE WAY

OFFICIAL NOTICE

The following is the list of towns that have submitted the members of their credit committees to the central office.

Any area that is not included below should inform central office immediately.

Each local area should have a credit committee. These committees are authorized to approve loans from Peoples' Enterprise.

Abbeville
1. Peter Vallot
2. Simon Comeaux
3. Herbert Myles

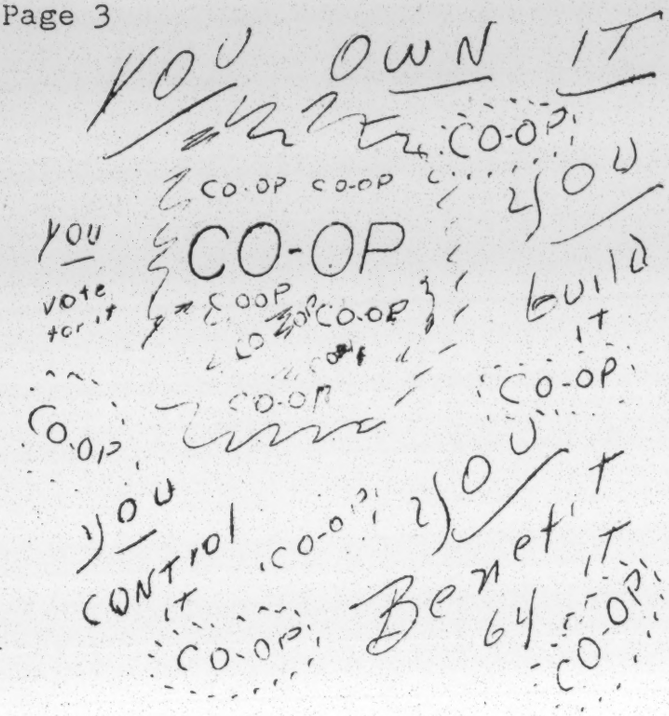
Jennings
1. Peter Davis
2. Harry Gilbeaux

Lake Charles
1. Alvin Biagas
2. John Toussand
3. Lowell Guillory

Lafayette
1. Norris Broussard
2. Alfred McZeal
3. Clayton Arceneaux
4. Mrs. Christiana Smith
5. Clayton Bourges

New Iberia
1. Fred Lognion
2. Murphy Henry
3. Alvin Dominique

Rayne
1. Coley Bellamy
2. Sidney St.Julien
4. Mrs. Naomi Rochon



Mr. Brown and Mr. Smith are consumers. They buy for themselves in small quantities and pay high prices.

One day Mr. Brown and Mr. Smith, along with others, get together and discuss this problem.

They pool their resources and form a co-op enterprise of their own.

Through this co-op they are able to pool their buying power, get quantity discounts, and save money.

Working cooperatively, they also gain ownership and control of their own business.

Their co-op gives them real buying power. It creates greater economic stability, and makes them more efficient businesswise.

In addition it help raise their standard of living; builds their community prosperity and encourages participation in community life.

CONGRESSIONAL MEETING

SUNDAY - NOVEMBER 8th

Place: Lafayette,
War Memorial Building -
corner of Jefferson and
General Mouton.

Time: 1 p.m. Board of Directors
3 p.m. Congressional meeting.

Keynote Speaker:
Mr. J. Carlton James

November 8 "Y'all Come"

WE'RE IN SHOWBUSINESS

Three co-op films were ordered for rental by Southern Consumers' Educational Foundation.

One film, "Men of Rochdale," tells the story of how 28 weavers open their store in England in 1844 and struggle to make it succeed.

Another film, "The People of Kolevu" shows how credit unions bring economic betterment to Fiji fishing villages.

The third film, Help Yourself To Ownership," is about two families and how they experience the savings of cooperatives and mutual business. It emphasizes democratic ownership and discusses co-op taxes.

These films will be shown at the bi-monthly Congressional meetings.

The Foundation has also subscribed to a co-op magazine, "Co-op Report."

See you soon:
Congressional Meeting.
Sunday Nov 8
keynoter:
Mr. J. Carlton James

we need

VOLUNTEERS

for

AUDITING JOB

Southern Consumers' is planning a general auditing of its books. Volunteers are needed to help with this.

Their job will be to prepare forms which will be sent to all members. The forms will include the amount of money the member has invested in the co-op, and how much he still owes in fulfilling his contract of $300.

The purpose of this is to make sure that the central office records coincide with the member's receipt book.

SCC now has over 600 members. It will take a long time to prepare a personal form for each member. For this reasn the central office staff ask the members to give a little of their time and efforts. Just one hour's work makes a great difference.

Any volunteers may contact central office at CE. 50567.

VISIT YOUR CO-OP OFFICE

Coffee's

YOU OWN IT

423-425 Gen. Mouton Lafayette

"see ya"

Editor's Note....

The following is an excerpt from a speech given by Msgr. O'Rourke at a seminar at the United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. Oct. 22, 1964.

"The Southern Consumers' Cooperative is prepared to make a substantial contribution to the war on poverty in Louisiana and may indirectly influence programs in other parts of the South.

The leadership and professional counsel enjoyed by SCC are outstanding. Several officers have received training at the Coady International Institute, Antigonish, Nova Scotia; at the Credit Union National Association, Madison, Wis., and at the University of Wisconsin.

Valuable counsel and assistance has been contributed by agencies of USDA and other governmental departments.

SCC qualifies for participation in the Economic Opportunity Program. Many of its members are poor. Its leaders are competent. During three years of education and organizing they have proven their preseverence and their acceptance by members of the cooperative.

SCC is now seeking a Community Action Program loan to finance a manufacturing operation which will complement the seasonality of their fruit cake operation. I am confident that, if this loan is granted, it will help strengthen SCC and enable them to serve their members better.

Many leaders of Southern Negroes have studied SCC organization and programs. The successes or failures of SCC will indirectly affect the failure of the poor in many parts of the South.

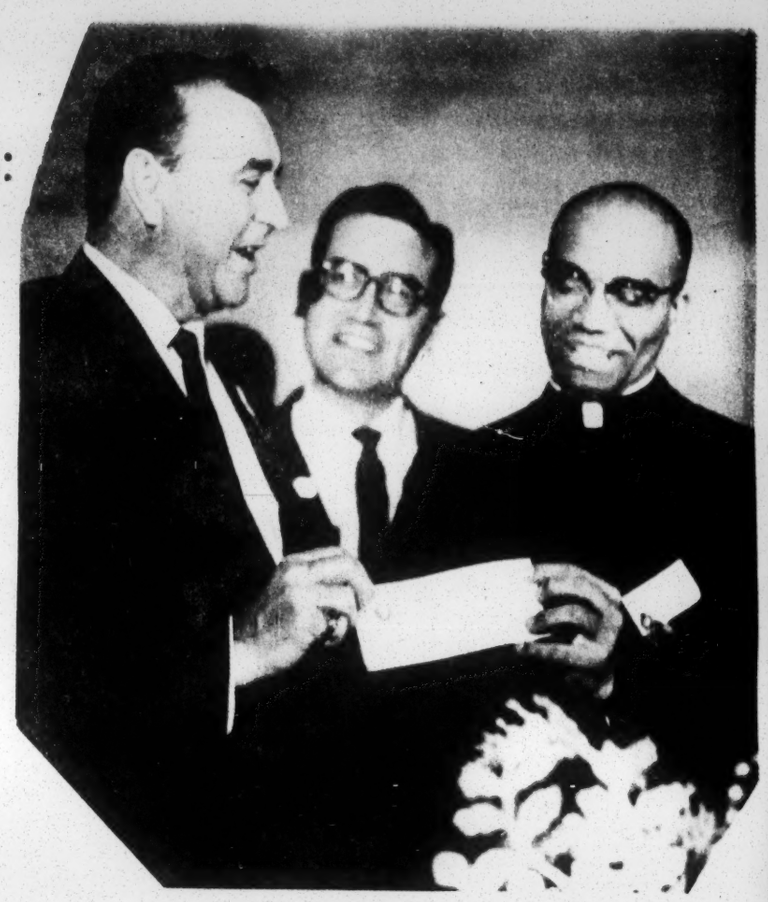
Southern Consumers' Co-op

Monthly Statement
Ending September, 1964

Current Assets:				
Cash	$5,611.12			
Total Current Assets				$5,611.12
Investments:				
Peoples' Enterprise Inc.		$14, 818.28		
Fruit Cake Project		2, 550.00		
Saving & Loan & Credit Union		1, 263.90		
Total Investments				$18, 632.18
Fixed Assests:				
Unarmortized Org. Cost		$625.00		
Furniture Fixture Equipt.		310.90		
Office Supplies		148.69		
Total Fixed Assests			$1,084.59	
Total Assests			$25,327.69	
Liabilities Capital				
Libilities				
Accounts Payable		$123.73		
Total Libilities			$123.73	
Capital:				
Class A Issued, 142 Shares		$1,775. 00		
Class B Issued, 1,025 Shares		$12,812.50		
Gain or Loss		$807.30		
Paid in Surplus		$9,804.30		
Total Capital				$25,198.96
Total Liabilities & Capital			$25,327.69	

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

in **NEWS** stories like these:



Rev. Albert McKnight, President of Southern Consumers' Co-op receives check from Congressman T.A. Thompson of Lake Charles, marking the first of its kind in La. under the War against Poverty. Mr. Harold Galloway from Washington, D.C. looks on.

First Help in Poverty War to Lafayette Firm

LAKE CHARLES (AP)—The first salvo in President Johnson's highly publicized war on poverty was fired here Tuesday in the form of $10,000 check to the Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc. of Lafayette.

The check, representing the first of several totaling $25,000, was secured through the Small Business Administration and will be used to purchase a building and buy equipment to expand the cooperative's baking operations. The firm makes fruit cakes.

Presenting the check to the Rev. Albert J. McKnight, SCC president, was Rep. T. A. Thompson, D-La. The SBA was represented by Harold Galloway, assistant deputy administrator, and Samuel Klein, director of trade, both of Washington.

It was announced that subsequent funds will be used to develop new operations to include the shelling and marketing of pecans and the baking of Louisiana pralines.

20 New Jobs

Father McKnight, who founded the cooperative in 1959, said it is anticipated that 20 new jobs will be created when the new plant is completed. Baking operations now provide employment for eight persons.

The two SBA officials here for the ceremonies said they will review the cooperative's operations and will make recommendations to assist in expanding operations into export markets.

SBA funds are scheduled to be used to purchase a pecan sheller, a walk in freezer, a cooking stove, a marble slab for pralines and a strip packaging machine.

Father McKnight and a group of area leaders formed the cooperative when the priest was serving as an assistant pastor of Our Lady of Lourdes Catholic Parish in Abbeville.

In 1961, the first board of directors was selected and bylaws were drawn up. Monthly congregational meetings were held for all members and a continuous education program was begun.

Since that time, SCC membership has increased to its present 650 families with capital now totaling more than $19,000.

The cooperative became a holding company in 1963 when it began its first business venture with the formation of the People's Enterprise, a discount loan company which enables members to borrow money at low interest rates over a long period.

Fruit cake production was begun in 1964 at the present site in Lake Charles.

Other presentations made during the ceremonies included gifts of fruit cakes to President Johnson and to Sargent Shriver, director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. A cash presentation was made to the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library fund by Alvin Biagas Jr., a local high school student.

Morning Advocate
Dec. 23, 1964

CLASS OF SERVICE — This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM
W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS: DL = Day Letter; NL = Night Letter; LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

NSA168 RA220 WD211 W 1964 NOV 24 PM 5 02

W SNA073 GOVT DL PD=SN WASHINGTON DC 24 526P EST=
REV ALBERT MCKNIGHT, PRESIDENT=
SOUTHERN CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE INC LAFAYETTE LA=
HAVE JUST BEEN INFORMED BY SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION OF $25,000 LOAN TO THE SOUTHERN CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE, INC, OF LAFAYETTE. THIS IS FIRST ANTI-POVERTY LOAN ANYWHERE IN THE NATION UNDER THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT, AND WILL BE USED TO ENABLE COOPERATIVE TO PURCHASE A BUILDING AND BUY EQUIPMENT IN ORDER TO EXPAND BAKING OPERATIONS. REGARDS.=
ALLEN J ELLENDER USS
RUSSELL B LONG USS
EDWIN E WILLIS MC==

$25,000=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE WAR ON POVERTY

America -- Sept.,1964

Grass-Roots War on Poverty

John Jones is a resident of Evangeline Parish (county) in Louisiana. His average annual income is $1,399—less than half the figure set by the U. S. Census Bureau as a minimum adequate family income. To that extent he is a statistic. Fr. Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp., also a Negro, felt the human indignity and pain behind this statistic and went to work to do something about it.

He organized 600 small farmers and workers in the area into a Southern Consumers' Co-operative, which he had started as a small credit union. A group of concerned citizens raised $25,000 in capital, and after three years of hard ground-breaking the S.C.C. has been chartered as a holding company. It can now lend up to $300 to co-op members at low interest rates, and is doing a great deal about employment and education in an area with one of the lowest literacy rates in the nation.

The S.C.C. is being studied by leaders all over the South. It has been helped by the National Co-operative League, the Credit Union National Association and the Southern Regional Council. Its aim rises above politics: it is to help people help themselves to secure a life of equality and true freedom—people who have never been able to experience the American dream, indeed the human dream. (Address: P. O. Box 3005, Lafayette, La.)

AMERICA December 1, 1964

Although it may seem invidious to single out any one private group, nobody should mind too much if we hail the achievement of Southern Consumers Co-Operative, Inc., in southwest Louisiana. Founded in 1961 by Fr. Albert McKnight, C.S.Sp., a Negro, SCC has brought new hope and improved material conditions to over 600 poverty-stricken families. Its fruit cake factory badly needed funds for expansion. From the Small Business Administration, under the direction of OEO, it received a loan of $25,000. Now the co-op can expand its line, adding doughnuts, pralines and sweet potato products. In many cases, with a little help, the poor themselves can become the most effective troops in the antipoverty army.

TIME, DECEMBER 18, 1964

Self-Help in Louisiana

Sir: The fruit-cake manufacturer you mentioned in regard to the Poverty Program [Dec. 4] is the Southern Consumers' Cooperative. A majority of its members and officers are Negroes. For five years, S.C.C. has carried out an intensive program of education in cooperation and economic matters among the extremely poor people, colored and white, of southwestern Louisiana. Eight hundred S.C.C. members have recently raised from their meager incomes the capital to finance a small fruit-cake factory at Lake Charles, La. Since this is a seasonal operation, S.C.C. sought from the Office of Economic Opportunity a $25,000 loan with which it is purchasing equipment for the production of other confections during the off-season. The valiant effort, against great odds, by officers and members of S.C.C. to help themselves out of poverty may be among the standards that prompted Sargent Shriver and his staff to approve the $25,000 loan.

EDWARD W. O'ROURKE
Executive Director
National Catholic Rural Life Conference
Des Moines

OFFICE OF ECONOMIC
OPPORTUNITY

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

Board of Directors and Members of
Southern Consumers' Cooperative
425 General Mouton - P. O. Box 3005
Lafayette Louisiana 70504

Gentlemen:

Mr. Shriver has asked me to thank you for your letter of thanks for the assistance which we were able to grant you. I am glad too that the press coverage was so inclusive and pleasing to you

Our aim in this program is to eliminate poverty by helping the disadvantaged people to help themselves If the grant has succeeded in giving them hope, we are glad, as this is a beginning. We are confident that you and the other members of the Southern Consumers' Cooperative will develop a comprehensive, far reaching program.

We wish you success in your efforts and hope to hear of your progress in the near future.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Boone
Acting Director
Community Action Program

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

425 GENERAL MOUTON — P. O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70504
PHONE 235-0567

Rec'd 1/25/65

January 20, 1965

P
SW-file

Mr. Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Edley:

Mr. Leslie Dunbar from Southern Regional Council in Atlanta, Georgia gave me your name and address in reference to your interest in our type of work for the low-income.

I am a Catholic Negro priest working in Southwest Louisiana and for the past four years I have been working with self-help projects of cooperatives and credit unions for my people.

Those of us involved in Southern Consumers' Cooperative are very much aware of its potential in helping with the economic development of a substantial fraction of our population. However, it is our opinion that additional benefits can accrue if we can advance at a faster and more effective program of group action towards solving the economic and social conditions of our area. We feel that true integration can best occur by Negroes and whites working jointly towards the solution of a common problem, one which is an urgent and felt need - economics.

As you may have heard, our cooperative received a loan from the Office of Economic Opportunity to expand our production plant in Lake Charles. This, however, is not answering our educational program - a most vital part of our work. We still need help with this phase of our work.

I would greatly appreciate having some time with you to discuss our present aims and objective and needs. I will be in New York on February 1st through the 4th and would appreciate it if I could have an appointment with you on

either of those four days. Until January 28th I can be reached at the above address. After that time I can be reached at the following address:

c/o Mrs. A. J. McKnight
829 Greene Avenue
Brooklyn 21, New York

Telephone: GL 5-0078

Looking forward to meeting you and thanking you for your interest and concern.

Sincerely,

Rev. Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

425 GENERAL MOUTON — P. O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70504
PHONE 235-0567

January 20, 1965

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Executive Vice-President
The Field Foundation, Inc.
250 Park Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hahn:

Much time has passed since I last corresponded with you. At that time you stated that The Field Foundation could not consider giving assistance to Southern Consumers' Cooperative until we obtained a tax-exemption from the United States Treasury Department.

After many months of filling out forms and details we now have the tax-exemption, as shown in enclosed letter from the Treasury Department. Needless to say, we are most grateful for our needs continue to number.

I suppose you have heard the good news - that we have received a loan through the War on Poverty Program. This, however, is not answering our educational program needs. We still need help and leads on this angle.

Once more I find that I must be in New York. I will be there February 1st through 4th and would appreciate an appointment with you at that time. Until January 28th I can be reached at the above address. After that time:

c/o Mrs. A. J. McKnight
829 Greene Avenue
Brooklyn 21, New York

Telephone: GL 5-0078

Looking forward to seeing you and thanking you for your interest and concern.

Sincerely,

Fr. Albert J. McKnight
Rev. Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

425 GENERAL MOUTON — P. O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70504
PHONE 235-0567

January 20, 1965

Mr. Vernon Eagle
The New World Foundation
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, New York

Dear Mr. Eagle:

Much time has passed since I last corresponded with you. At that time you stated that The New World Foundation could not consider giving assistance to Southern Consumers' Cooperative until we obtained a tax-exemption from the United Stated Treasury Department.

After many months of filling out forms and details we now have the tax-exemption, as shown in enclosed letter from the Treasury Department. Needless to say, we are most grateful for our needs continue to number.

I suppose you have heard the good news - that we have received a loan through the War on Poverty Program. This, however, is not answering our educational program needs. We still need help and leads on this angle.

Once more I find that I must be in New York. I will be there February 1st through 4th and would appreciate an appointment with you at that time. Until January 28th I can be reached at the above address. After that time:

c/o Mrs. A. J. McKnight
829 Greene Avenue
Brooklyn 21, New York

Telephone: GL 5-0078

Looking forward to seeing you and thanking you for your interest and concern.

Sincerely,

Fr. Albert J. McKnight

Rev. Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

January 29, 1965

Rev. Albert J. McKnight, C. S. Sp.
Southern Consumers' Cooperative
425 General Mouton
P. O. Box 3005
LaFayette, Louisiana

Dear Father McKnight:

In response to your request of Leslie Dunbar, we are enclosing the board list of the Council and the names and addresses of the executive directors of our State Councils on Human Relations.

The SRC board is certainly informed of the good work of the Southern Consumers' Cooperative and many of them, we think, will be delighted to respond to your funds campaign.

We suggest that you request of each state council director the names and addresses of his board members. On the state council boards and the SRC board are some of the finest people in the South. We cannot think of a better starting point for you than these persons.

If we may be of further help, please call on us.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

Recd 1/19/65

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

425 GENERAL MOUTON — P. O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70504
PHONE 235-0567

√ - data bank for cooperative please check with Paul

January 18, 1965

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Once more I turn to you for help. Trying to get a mailing list we find is most difficult thing to do. Here is our plan, we are trying to capitalize on all the publicity and news which Southern Consumers' Co-op has received. We plan to mail out within the next week, to wealthier Negroes and others who might be willing to donate to the educational program, and if they don't want to donate then we are asking them to invest in our cooperative. Would you know where I can get such a mailing list, any names and addresses you can send will be greatly appreciated.

Thanking you again for your help and looking forward to hearing from you. There is some possiblity that I will stop in to see you briefly on Feb. 5th, I will be returning from New York (short visit) and if time permits I will stop in. Thanking you again for all.

Sincerely,

Fr. Albert J. McKnight

Rev. Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

LWD

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

425 GENERAL MOUTON — P. O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70504
PHONE 235-0567

February 9, 1965

Fine - except budget seems too low - director's salary too high

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My trip to New York was most encouraging and promising. I am certain that Norman Fund and Field will come through. They suggested that we send in our formal request, especially now that we have our tax-exemption papers.

So the enclosed is our formal request as sent to: Field, New World, Stern, Taconic, and Norman Fund. We will also be sending this with a cover letter to individuals and other groups, stating that whatever contribution they can make towards this goal will be greatly appreciated.

Do thank Mr. Vernon E. Jordan for sending me list of councils and his response. We will write to all the councils and begin working this out.

If you have time, do look over the request and give us your comments. not included

My visit with Mr. Edley of Ford Foundation was most interesting. As things stand, Ford can not give small amount, however, within six months or so, he says the policy may change. When it does, he wants us to be ready with our request. (Enclosed is copy of letter to him.)

Thanking you again for all your help and constant support.

Sincerely,

Fr. A. J. McKnight C.S.Sp.
Rev. Albert J. McKnight, C. S. Sp.

February 8, 1965

Mr. Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Edley:

Wish to thank you for your time and assistance while I was in New York. Your interest and encouragement is of great help to keep us going.

May we ask that you keep us posted on the Policy of the Ford Foundation. We will begin to think in terms of a Research and Adult Education center. In the meantime, the enclosed request has been submitted to other foundations in New York City. Thought you might like to look it over and give us your suggestions and comments.

Thanking you again for all your help and interest, I am,

Sincerely,

Rev. Albert J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

Rec'd 2/11/65

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' EDUCATION FOUNDATION
425 General Mouton St. -- P. O. Box 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana
Phone: 23 5-0567

I. PURPOSE:

Staff for the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation

II. TAX-EXEMPTION NO.

Under section 2055 2106 and 2522 of the Code. Form M-4280 T:R:EO:3 RLK.

III. OBJECTIVES AND PURPOSES FOR SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' EDUCATION FOUNDATION: (As detailed in Charter and Articles of Incorporation.)

1. To educate members in the purpose of co-operatives and the principles of cooperatives, and to carry on general educational programs through adult educational activities.
2. To educate members to function more efficiently as individuals, citizens, parents, and as workers. To live more intelligently with themselves and with others
3. To educate members that in a real democracy, people must share the responsibility for the creation and distribution of wealth.
4. To educate members to the thrill of feeling that they are masters of their destiny and that they can do something for themselves, through group action and true cooperative philosophy
5. To achieve through education a change of quality of individuals and to instill a desire and necessity to help their fellow man.
6. To improve education, economic and political interests through group action and motivate a desire to change.
7. To share ideas, attend meetings, work together, learn together to make their communities better places to live and work.
8. To educate members in the wise use and handling and management of money.
9. To educate members to respect differences of opinion, to seek common ground and to work to put their own thinking into the good of the group, to bear criticism, to subdue jealousy.

The Foundation assures the Cooperative members of a continuous educational program which works hand in hand with the business phase, yet separate and on its' own. This was done to avoid the mistakes of other cooperatives of relegating education to a secondary position. The Foundation gives assurance of better educational programs helping the poor to enter the mainstream of American life through economic ownership and control of various cooperatively owned and controlled business.

IV. JUSTIFICATION:

A. The business phase of Southern Consumers' Cooperative is well underway, and recently received much publicity and acknowledgement through the War of Poverty program. The first loan under the Economic Opportunity Act, Title IV administered by the Small Business Administration was administered to Southern Consumers' Cooperative to expand present Fruit Cake production plant to include other pastry items and candy. Mr. Lewis Wall of New Orleans, a nationally known pioneer in developing new food products and retired executive of the Pillsbury Company, has offered his services to help the Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc., in its business activities under SCORE.

However, the Foundation has received little assistance and therefore has not been able to carry on necessary educational program, because of lack of funds, which results in lack of an adequate staff. We find interest is keen and motivation is alert at this time because of the poverty program and the recognization we have received. There seems to be a spark and a light of hope on the part of members since the news and publicity which has been nation-wide. We feel certain that with an adequate staff we can accomplish in one year what it took us five years to do.

B. With the necessary funds the following programs will be put into effect:

Three fieldworkers

1. Will conduct in each of the 16 towns where members live the following workshops:

   a) Cooperatives and cooperative principles.
   b) Money management workshops, financial counseling, how to keep a budget, advantage of checking accounts, and efficient money habits.
   c) Home management classes to include: child care, shopping and purchasing, etc.
   d) House meetings: small groups discussions in the homes, on subjects of interest and needs of the people.

2. Will travel around the state acting as resource persons for the other interested groups. Giving advice and assistance to the many appeals which we receive daily from throughout the state.

Managing Director: will conduct the following courses:

1. For all employees and directors of the cooperative: management courses, public relations and cooperative principles.

2. For custodians and directors: business course in simple bookkeeping and recording, public relations and communication course.

3) For directors and officers: Parliamentary procedures, how to conduct meetings and techniques in group dynamics and leadership.

Seminars (which will be open to all members) on following subjects:

Leadership --- How to be a leader, modern leadership and responsibility (certificates will be given at the end of the sessions).

Public Speaking and Debating --- Training of community leaders to take active part in civic, school and church activities.

(Other classes will be conducted as need and possibilities are created)

C. Information and Counselling Services: There is an urgent need for added staff to provide information and counseling to members and other groups - small credit unions, small groups thinking about entering a business. At the moment our secretary is doing this, but she will need added staff to be more efficient and to coordinate the work of the fieldworkers. The service will help people who are in small businesses better their own business, and help them in applying to right agencies for help. Many groups and individuals are coming to us for information and help through the Economic Opportunity Program, and other self-help programs. Individuals stop in for other information as to which agency to apply for individual and health needs. There is a great need for a service which would be able to direct the seeker to the correct city and state agency. Part-time help will enable us to more efficiently work this out.

V. FOUNDATION WILL USE THE GRANTS AS FOLLOWS:

Budget Plans

(See attached Tentative One Year Budget)

TENTATIVE ONE YEAR BUDGET

Office Supplies - $200/month	$2,400.00
Utilities (gas, light, and water)	300.00
Miscellaneous	200.00
Secretary	3,600.00
3 Traveling Field People at $5,200.00 each	15,600.00
Managing Director	12,000.00
Telephone	600.00
Scholarships	
To send 3 to Cuna School in Madison, Wisconsin for 2 weeks at $350.00 each	1,050.00
To send 2 to St. Francis Xavier, Nova Scotia for 6 weeks at $750.00 each	1,500.00
For 2 state-wide Leadership Course week-ends at $700.00 each	1,400 00
	$35,650.00
Traveling Expenses for 4	8,000.00
	$43,650.00
For part-time help for 2	720.00
	$44,370.00
For added office equipment	4,000.00
	$48,370.00

U. S. TREASURY DEPARTMENT
INTERNAL REVENUE SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20224

IN REPLY REFER TO
Form M-4280
T:R:EO:3-RLH

JAN 15 1965

Southern Consumers' Education
Foundation
425 General Mouton -- P.O. Box 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana

PURPOSE	
Educational and Charitab	
ADDRESS INQUIRIES & FILE RETURN DISTRICT OF INTERNAL REVENUE	
New Orleans, Louisiana	
FORM 990-A REQUIRED	ACCOUNTING PE ENDING
[X] YES [ ] NO	September

Gentlemen:

On the basis of your stated purposes and the understanding that your operations will continue as evidenced to date or will conform to those proposed in your ruling application, we have concluded that you are exempt from Federal income tax as an organization described in section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code. Any changes in operation from those described, or in your character or purposes, must be reported immediately to your District Director for consideration of their effect upon your exempt status. You must also report any change in your name and address.

You are not required to file Federal income tax returns so long as you retain an exempt status, unless you are subject to the tax on unrelated business income imposed by section 511 of the Code, in which event you are required to file Form 990-T. Our determination as to your liability for filing the annual information return, Form 990-A, is set forth above. That return, if required, must be filed on or before the 15th day of the fifth month after the close of your annual accounting period indicated above.

Contributions made to you are deductible by donors as provided in section 170 of the Code. Bequests, legacies, devises, transfers or gifts to or for your use are deductible for Federal estate and gift tax purposes under the provisions of section 2055, 2106 and 2522 of the Code.

You are not liable for the taxes imposed under the Federal Insurance Contributions Act (social security taxes) unless you file a waiver of exemption certificate as provided in such act. You are not liable for the tax imposed under the Federal Unemployment Tax Act. Inquiries about the waiver of exemption certificate for social security taxes should be addressed to your District Director, as should any questions concerning excise, employment or other Federal taxes.

Your District Director is being advised of this action.

Very truly yours,

R O Blaho

CO-OP NEWS

of the

Southern Consumers' Cooperative

VOLUME IV, NUMBER I FEBRUARY 1965 LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

NEW LOAN PROCEDURES

Peoples' Enterprise, SCC's discount loan company, has initiated new loan procedures which are in effect now.

Each member borrowing $100 or more from Peoples' Enterprise is required to invest $1 per month, per hundred dollars in Southern Consumers.

These dollars invested will be toward their investment in the co-op.

Example: If a member wishes to borrow $100 for one year, he would have to borrow $112. But he would only be charged interest on $100. He would pay the $12 back without interest.

There is a dual advantage in this new procedure. Now Peoples' Enterprise not only provides loan services to members but it teaches them to save.

SCC GETS TAX-EXEMPTION

Southern Consumers' Co-op has been informed by the U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, that the Educational Foundation is exempt from Federal tax.

Now that the Educational Foundation has been legally tagged as a non-profit organization, SCC is qualified to receive grants and other financial gifts from various foundations.

SCC Educational Foundation has already received $1,000 grant from the Aaron E. Norman Fund, Inc. This money will be used for salaries.

The Norman Fund was established to support intercultural and interracial relations, to protect those means which strive to protect civil liberties. Some of its other interests are the problems of social adjustment of children from economically and socially deprived backgrounds.

NOTICE

Central office now has an off-set press. Co-op members are offered the services of having their personal stationary or other items printed at a low cost. Contact us if you want such services.

425 General Mouton
Lafayette, Louisiana

BOARD MEETS WITH NEW IBERIA MEMBERS

SUNDAY ---- FEBRUARY 14

PLACE: New Iberia
St. Edwards School
Auditorium
Corner of French Street
and Lombard Street

TIME: 1 PM - Board Members
3 PM - General Session

NEW COMMITTEES

In the process of reorganization, the board has devised a plan of six committees.

The executive committee consists of Rev. A. J. McKnight, board president, Dr. T. T. Williams, first vice-president, Coley Bellamy, second vice-president, and Misses Una Mae Hargrave and Rita Joseph, secretary and treasurer respectively.

This committee is authorized to take care of any business or problems that arise before a scheduled meeting of the board and needs immediate attention.

Ned Robinson, Rev. Ed. Bourg, and Susan Lies are on the audit committee.

The education and public relations committee is composed of Miss Una Mae Hargrave, Miss Carol Prejean, and Rev. Ivan Arceneaux.

Alvin Biagas, Clyde Coco, and Rev. August Thompson form the committee in charge of the custodians and the membership drive.

Finance and expansion committee include Miss Rita Joseph, Mrs. Roberta Portlock, and Mrs. Christiana Smith.

Dr. Williams, Rev. McKnight, Mr. Wallace Decluses, and Mr. Biagas are on the business committee for the fruit cake project. Mr. Bellamy and Clyde Coco are on the business committee for Peoples' Enterprise.

As president of the board of directors, Rev. McKnight is the co-ordinator of all the committees.

The board members are responsible for turning in to the central office a listing of what they think their responsibilities are on their respective committees.

CO-OP ADVANTAGES

The main reasons why a cooperative is a unique device for cultural improvements and community action can be summarized as follows:

1. Co-operative participation develops people. Supervisory authority can be exercised, as may be necessary at the start, but gradually withdrawn as the understanding of the participants grows.

2. Co-operatives strengthen communities. They also provide a channel through which all kinds of extension services can be more effective because people can be reached as a group.

3. Co-operatives increase income. The largest possible portion of the ultimate selling prices of products can be left in the community.

4. Co-operatives teach responsibility. For example, credit restrictions are more likely to be understood and financial committments honored as the people learn the significance of the fact that it is their own money that is involved.

However, co-operatives cannot solve all the problems of a community, by any means. It is only part of the institutional machinery serving the community. There is no magic in the word "Cooperative." Co-operative organizations will not suddenly create on the part of its members the necessary means to solve all problems. It can only be a service to the community.

Natural resources, a need responsibility and the willingness to work together must exist in order to make the co-operative what it is meant to be.

Co-ops are People.

(This article was reprinted from "Co-op Report")

The following stock certificates will be issued to co-op members.

The following members from New Iberia and Jeanerette may receive their certificates February 14, at St. Edward School in New Iberia.

Class A and Class B Certificates:
Mr. Harvey Cormier
Mr. Alvin Dominique
Mr. Leonce Stewart
Rev. John Simmons
Mrs. Annie L. Moore

The following may receive their certificates March 14, in Lake Charles.

Class A and Class B Certificates:
Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Porch
The Sampia Grandchildren
Mr. Joseph Dugas
Miss Genevieve B. Vann
Mr. and Mrs. George Bowles
Mr. Herman Olivier
Mr. Simon Comeaux, Jr.
Mrs. Berta Winters
Mr. Morris M. Martin
Mr. Alex Shalvin
Mrs. Lillian W. Whitt
Mr. Daniel Auzenne
Mr. Allen D. Maxile
Mr. Harry O. Gilbeaux, Jr.
Mr. Albert Joseph
Mr. James Cox
Mr. Shields G. Gilmore, Jr.
Mr. Felix Richard, Jr.
Mrs. Lydia Ross
Mr. Joseph Ross
Mr. William R. Lyman

At the last congressional meeting, Sunday, January 10, Lafayette, the board decided to hold its regular meetings in a different town or city each month. The purpose of this is to encourage the members of the particular area to attend and participate in the re-evaluation session that will follow the meeting.

New Iberia has asked the board to hold its next meeting there. This will be Sunday, February 14, at 1 PM. The place is St. Edward's School Auditorium, corner of French Street and Lombard Street.

All New Iberia, Jeanerette and Franklin members are urged to attend.

Reorganizational Meeting Scheduled For Following Areas:

Cottonport
Marksville
Bunkie
Mansura
Simmesport
Moreauville

When: Sunday, February 28

Time: 3 P.M.

Place: Holy Ghost School
Preston Street
Marksville, Louisiana

ATTENTION
OPELOUSES MEMBERS

Area Meeting

When: Friday, February 12

Time: 7 P.M.

Place: Washington's Insurance Co.
348 So. Academy Street
Opelousas, Louisiana

LITTLE PEOPLE AND POVERTY

Everyone's interest is keen and alert on a certain subject which of course is of deep interest to all of us from SCC, that of Poverty and our role as a Co-op and as individuals in the War on Poverty. The key to the Poverty Program is local participation. It is up to us the little people to come forward and bind ourselves together in our communities and parishes and pool our thinking together as to what would help solve the root causes of poverty in our area. We must ask ourselves, "What would do the best and quickest job to help solve this problem? What can we do?" Again and again we must remind ourselves this is a self-help program and we must do it.

Therefore, it is important that we begin discussing and thinking about these things. This is a wonderful program with great potentials so lets make use of it and help ourselves. Books and information on this subject are rather numerous and interesting. If there are enough Co-op members who might be interested in purchasing some of these books, we can get large supplies and charge small fees for a package of this type of information.

So look over the bibliography below and if you want copies of any of these, write us at the Central Office and we'll be happy to help.

Bibliography:

A handbook: "The War on Poverty"--- gives a summary of each title and the purpose of each.
The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Act as it was passed in Congress.
The Poor Among Us -- Challenge and Opportunity . . . by Maxwell S. Stewart
The Other America, Poverty in U.S.A. by Michael Harrington
Journal of Marriage and the Family, Nov. issue, all excellent articles and research papers on poverty.
In the Midst of Plenty by Ben H. Bagdikian
Progress or Poverty by Leon H. Keyserling
Schools and the E.O.A. of 1964 . . . . Phi Delta Kappan Magazine.
Give Slum Children a Chance. . by Charles E. Silberman, Harpers' Magazine.
A Newsletter . . The War on Poverty, to be published by N.C.W.C., Washington, D.C.
The Message of the Bible on Poverty, Msgr. Edward W. O'Rourke, N.R.L.C. Director.

We at the Central Office have had experience in writing up proposals and applications for help through the Poverty program. We offer our services and experience to any groups or individual who would like help. Just contact us.

Una Mae Hargrave
Education Committee

PRALINES--ANYONE?

Praline production is the next proposed business of Southern Consumers. It is still in the "proposal" stage, because we are encountering many difficulties. One of these is mass production of the pralines.

Recipes donated by both members and non-members of SCC have been experienced. Several were found to be excellent. But these praline recipes are excellent only when prepared in family-size amounts. This cannot serve our purpose.

Our bakery needs a recipe that will produce quality pralines on a large scale. If anyone has a recipe that complies with these qualifications, we would be more than anxious to try it out.

They would receive credit accordingly.

SCC RECEIVES $10,000 CHECK

A $10,000 check, representing the first anti-poverty money given out by the Small Business Administration, was presented to Southern Consumers' Cooperative at the Lake Charles bakery, December 22, 1964.

A loan totaling $25,000 was granted Southern Consumers' by SBA, on November 25th. The $10,000 check is just the first of several disbursements to SCC.

This money will be used to pay for the Lake Charles bakery and to purchase necessary equipment to expand our baking operations.

The next proposed business of SCC is the production of pralines. Later funds to be received from SBA will be used to purchase a pecan sheller, a walk-in freezer, a cooking stove, a marble slab and a strip packaging machine.

During their one-day visit, SBA's Washington officials made recommendations to assist in expanding our baking operations into export markets. Their specialists will continue to counsel Southern Consumers' on our management problems and offer up-to-date techniques and methods.

Rev. A. J. McKnight, SCC Board President, and Lewis B. Wall, SCC Business Counselor, exchange greetings over an Arcadiana fruit cake.

SBA RECOMMENDS BUSINESS COUNSELOR

The Small Business Administration has appointed Lewis B. Wall as business counselor to SCC.

Mr. Wall is a retired executive and former president of a division of the Pillsbury company. He was recommended by the SBA branch in New Orleans, who said that his organizational experience would be of great value to us.

He will act as advisor to Southern Consumers' in our future business endeavors.

PEOPLES' ENTERPRISE
THE DUAL-BENEFIT LOAN COMPANY

IF YOU BORROW MONEY FROM PEOPLES' ENTERPRISE YOU GET THE BENEFIT OF A CONVENIENT LOAN, AND YOU ALSO HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO START AN INVESTMENT.

SO COME IN AND VISIT YOUR LOAN COMPANY NOW

PEOPLES' ENTERPRISE
425 GENERAL MOUTON
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA
CE 5-5067

mJ

CO-OP NEWS

of the

file Southern Consumers' Cooperative

VOLUME IV, NUMBER 8 SEPTEMBER, 1965 LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA

ANNUAL MEETING SET FOR NOVEMBER

The annual membership meeting of Southern Consumers' Cooperative is scheduled for November 14. An important feature of this meeting is the election of new board members of the co-op.

At the September 12 congressional meeting the Speaker of the House will appoint a nominating committee of three from among the congressional delegates. This committee will nominate persons to run for the board seats that are open. Again, these nominees must be congressional delegates.

There will be a special congressional meeting in October at which time the nominating committee with present its nominees. At this same meeting other delegates may make nominations from the floor. At the end of the October meeting nominations for SCC board members will be closed.

The voting members present at the annual meeting may cast individual votes - one member, one vote. Voting in this election will be by secret ballot and there will be no proxy voting. But a voting member who is unable to attend the November meeting may request an absentee ballot and vote by mail, provided that his request is made by registered letter 20 days prior to the day of the meeting.

As a reminder: Voting members are defined as those who have purchased in full at least four ($50) of the 24 ($300) shares they have subscribed for. Only stockholders who are recorded as voting members 30 days before the annual meeting are eligiable to vote in this November meeting.

A WORD OF THANKS TO HEAD START WORKERS

The board of directors of Southern Consumers' Education Foundation wishes to express their sincere thanks and congratulations to all who have helped to make the head start programs such a success.

Without the cooperation and assistance of all involved head start could not have reached so many in Louisiana as it was able to. SCEF sponsored head start schools in six parishes in Louisiana, involving some 2000 pre-school children.

We wish to express a special word of thanks to the volunteers, totaling about 500 from the six-parish area. Their contribution will be long remembered. They helped to make head start possible by donating their time, thus helping SCEF to make up the 10% non-federal share.

To the medical and dental staff, our word of thanks. In many parishes much of their time was donated or half cost. Due to their thorough examinations, many serious medical cases in the children were brought to light. There were illnesses discovered that needed immediate attention. An example is the six tuberculosis cases which will be followed up.

SCEF is applying for another head start program which is to begin in the fall. If we are granted this we will again seek your assistance and cooperation.

Miss Una Mae Hargrave
Education Foundation President

SCEF SEEKS FALL HEAD START

Southern Consumers' Education Foundation is applying for head start schools in 10 parishes of Louisiana for the fall. The parishes that will be involved are Lafayette, Iberia, Vermilion, Caddo, Claiborne, Concordia, Acadia, West Feliciana, East Feliciana and St. Landry.

Vermilion , Lafayette, Iberia, Caddo, Claiborne, and Concordia has already operated head start this summer under the sponsorship of SCEF.

The Foundation wishes to continue and extend project head start because they have proved to be a positive means in helping to wipe out poverty in our areas.

The listing below points out some of the general goals of the head start schools.

1. Head start introduces the children to experiences they are denied in the home due to poverty.

2. It teaches them to get along with others.

3. It improves the self-image of the children and helps them to combat the ideas instilled in them from birth that they are inferior.

4. The physical and mental health of the child is improved. Head start develops an appreciation of good music through listening and singing.

5. Head start develops the child's curiosity and imagination.

6. It improves language skills and appreciation of good literature.

7. It exposes the child to the workings of the community.

8. The schools provide motor skills development through the use of active games, dancing and exercise.

These are just some of the reasons why head start is needed in our areas. Head start gives the underpriviledged a chance to experience a better life outside of the poverty pocket in which they now live. If head start schools are continued the children will truly gain a new lease on life.

OUR CO-OP TODAY

Southern Consumers' Cooperative has been growing by leaps and bounds. New investment money from members grows monthly but our needs grow faster. We are preparing for our second fruit cake season. We hope to produce and market over 55,000 lbs. of cake this season. Starting next month we will be needing $9,000 a month for the next three months for operating capital.

If we had more money Peoples' Enterprise could loan more to members. Presently we are unable to fulfill the credit needs of our members.

We are now worth close to $100,000. We need to grow faster. We need our present membership to increase their investment and we need to increase our membership.

During the last couple of months we have been growing at the rate of 100 members a month. We could increase that to 200 a month if more of our members would attend local meetings, congressional meetings and become more interested and involved in the co-op.

SCEF has just completed a successful project head start program. Several other projects are now in the planning stages. We are also submitting an application for child development centers in ten parishes involving almost six thousand chilfren.

Last word we have received on our technical assistance grant application is that it is in the process of being approved. The outlook is very optimistic.

Dr. T.T. Williams is working on a Consumer Education application which we hope will be ready by the end of September.

We at SCC are caught up in a gigantic tide of opportunities. We are doing our best to take advantage of the doors which are opening. If we had more volunteer assistance from more of our members we could accomplish so much more. *Mrs. Diggs is to be commended* for the many long hours she has been working on the child development center application. The future is ours if we but reach out for it.

Fr. A.J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

SCC IS DISTRIBUTOR

Southern Consumers' Cooperative has agreed to become a distributor of Marco Brand Products produced by Marks Supply Company, New Orleans.

Some of these Marco Products are: pest control liquid, floor wax remover, window cleaner, bathroom bowl and procelain cleaner, dishwashing detergent, all purpose floor cleaner, soap powder and detergent powder.

These household products will be peddled by the local custodians. Southern Consumers' will receive a percentage of all sales, and the custodians in turn will receive a commission on all individual sales.

SCC members are asked to purchase these products from their custodians. This is another means of membership participation. It is also another means of bringing in more capital into the co-op.

Above is the site of Southern Consumers' bakery in Lake Charles. All our products are produced in this building. SCC Members are encouraged to visit their bakery at any time.

CONGRESS MEETS SUNDAY, SEPT. 12

Place: Co-op Building
2009 Moeling Street
(next door to the bakery)
Lake Charles, Louisiana

Time: 1 p.m. Board of Directors meet
2 p.m. Custodians meet
4 p.m. Congressiona. meeting

All delegates are urged to attend the congressional meeting. The Speaker of the House will apoint a committee of three delegates which will be responsible for bringing in nominees to run for the board seats at the November 14 annual membership meeting.

PECANS ARE NEEDED

The co-op is in the process of planning its second seasonal large scale production of fruit cakes.

A most needed ingredient is pecans. Pecans are necessary not only for the fruit cakes but also for the pralines, toasted-spiced pecans and brownies.

Southern Consumers' will purchase shelled or unshelled pecans. Anyone who expects to have pecans for sale in the fall or can arrange with someone to sell pecans to the co-op, may contact the central office in Lafayette or the bakery in Lake Charles.

The War Against Poverty is a "hometown fight." You can help to break the poverty cycle in your hometown by joining in the efforts of Southern Consumers' Cooperative. This war is a personal one, and each one of us is personally responsible for helping to winnow this poverty.

NOTICE

The Education Foundation board of Southern Consumers' is scheduled to meet Thursday, Sept. 9, 7:30 p.m. at the central office, 425 General Mouton, Lafayette, La.

PLIGHT OF TODAY'S CONSUMER

Consumer credit is no longer a sales tool; it is, more typically, the purpose of the sale. Where dealers used to give credit to make a profit through a sale, they now sell to make a profit on the credit. In such a deal, the sale of goods is only a pretext to get the buyer's signature on an installment contract.

The dealer can make more money on credit than he does on the goods, says CONSUMER REPORTS in its September issue. There are all sorts of opportunities for profit.

First, there is the interest pack. Most dealers finance their installment contracts with a lender---a bank or sales finance company. The lender may charge the dealer, say, 12% true annual interest---but the dealer may charge his customer 14%, 18%, 24%, or more. The difference is generally used to establish a special "dealer reserve" held by the lender to protect him form loss in case the customer defaults. The dealer collects it as profit after the account is paid off.

There are more plums: insurance, for example. The contracts may include premiums for life, accidnet, or disability insurance. The dealer gets a commission on each policy, and he would also collect any dividends.

Other possibilities for profit are late payment charges, collection fees, the possibility of more and higher interest should the borrower have to refinance the loan, and prepayment charges in casr the borrower pay ahead of time.

Few signers of installment contracts realize how completely they are pledging their total resources. Lenders and sellers take less risk than one might suppose, for they can go to court to collect even after they repossess the goods bought on the installment plan, if they don't get all that was due on a resale.

Installment buying constitutes a growing burden on American families. Currently, 14% of disposable family income is tied up in debt repayments. But only about half of the families have any installment debt: Therefore these families have pledged, on the average, 28% of their disposable income for payment. Many, of course, have pledged much more. Many are in serious trouble.

AN ADDED WORRY FOR "KITCHEN ARTISTS"

It's hard to find a reliable cooking thermometer, says *CONSUMER REPORTS*. Test of 14 candy and deep-frying models are reported in the September issue. The most accurate thermometer tested, that had range broad enough both for candy and deep-frying , had maximum inaccuracies of 2 to 4 in the samples tested. Such variations were considered acceptable but some other thermometers were much less accurate. Errors as high as 27 were found---yet an error of even 5 could spoil the consistency of homemade candy.

One way to test a cooking Thermometer at home is to immerse it in vigorously boiling water; it should read 212 at sea level (a little less at higher altitudes). It it's higher or lower than 212 , you can add or subtract that amount from your required cooking temperature. But this test may not help you in the 400 deep-fat frying range, because the error may not be consistant over the whole scale.

Besides accuracy, consider convenience. Models marked 5 apart are easier to read accurately than those marked only 10 intervals. Also, dial thermometers are easier to read tham glass-column thermometers.

The above articles are Copyright 1965 by CONSUMERS UNION of U.S., Mount Vernon, N.Y.

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
BALANCE STATEMENT
Ending July 31, 1965

ASSETS		
Current Assets:		
Cash on Hand and in Banks		9,024.30
Investment:		
Peoples' Enterprise	24,385.77	
Fruit Cake Project	9,923.15	
TOTAL INVESTMENTS:		34,308.92
Fixed Assets:		
Unamortized Org. Cost	625.00	
Pre-paid Bank	182.68	
Pre-paid Lease	50.00	
Pre-paid Insurance	450.23	
Furniture Fixture Equipt.(Laf)	2,755.80	
Equipment (Lake Charles)	1,153.08	
Building (Lafayette)	2,929,97	
Building (Lake Charles)	8,530.50	
Delivery Equipment	641.00	
Land (Lake Charles)	5,000.00	
TOTAL ASSETS		22,318.26
OTHER ASSETS:		
Postage Meter Pre-paid Rental		21.60
Total Assets		65,673.08
Liabilities And Capital		
Current Liabilities:		
Insurance Payable	197.00	
Social Security Payable	7.13	
TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES		204.13
FIXED LIABILITIES		
Mortgage Payable		21,119.20
TOTAL LIABILITIES		21,323.33
CAPITAL:		
Reserve	16.00	
Paid in Capital	50,749.71	
Gain or loss	-6,415.96	
TOTAL CAPITAL		44,349.75
TOTAL CAPITAL & LIABILITIES		65,673.08

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Southern Consumer's Cooperative, Inc.
Lafayette, Louisiana

REGARDING

Voter Education. See letter from Rev. A. J. McKnight of 3/14/66 to P. A. and reply of 3/16/66 to McKnight

DATE

3/16/66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Filed Voter Education Project 1966

file - Southern Consumers Cooperative

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS'

EDUCATION FOUNDATION

425 GENERAL MOUTON STREET · LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70504
P. O. BOX 3005 · PHONE: 232-1126

December 10, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed is a copy of the proposal for the cooperative development among the low-income southerners emanating from the " Mt. Beulah Conference ", which Southern Consumers' Education Foundation has submitted to the Ford Foundation.

We are asking you in the name of the Southern Regional Council to submit a letter of endorsement to the Ford Foundation in order to strengthen our position.

Thanking you for your assistance and wishing you all the best for the Holiday Season, I am,

Sincerely,

A. J. McKnight C.S.Sp.

Rev. A. J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

P.S. Address the letter of endorsement to:

Mr. Christopher Edley
Program Associate, Public Affairs
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

SOUTHERN CONSUMER'S COOPERATIVE

REGARDING

LETTER OF ENDORSEMENT FOR A PROPOSAL FOR COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT AMONG LOW INCOME SOUTHERNERS . ... .
See PA's letter of 12-14-66

DATE

12-14-66

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

FORD FOUNDATION 1966

CO-OP

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS'

NEWSLETTER

Volume V, Number X December, 1966 Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

MEMBERS ELECT BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Rev. A.J.McKnight

Mr. H. Gilbeaux

Mr. George Bowles

Mr. Wallace Declues

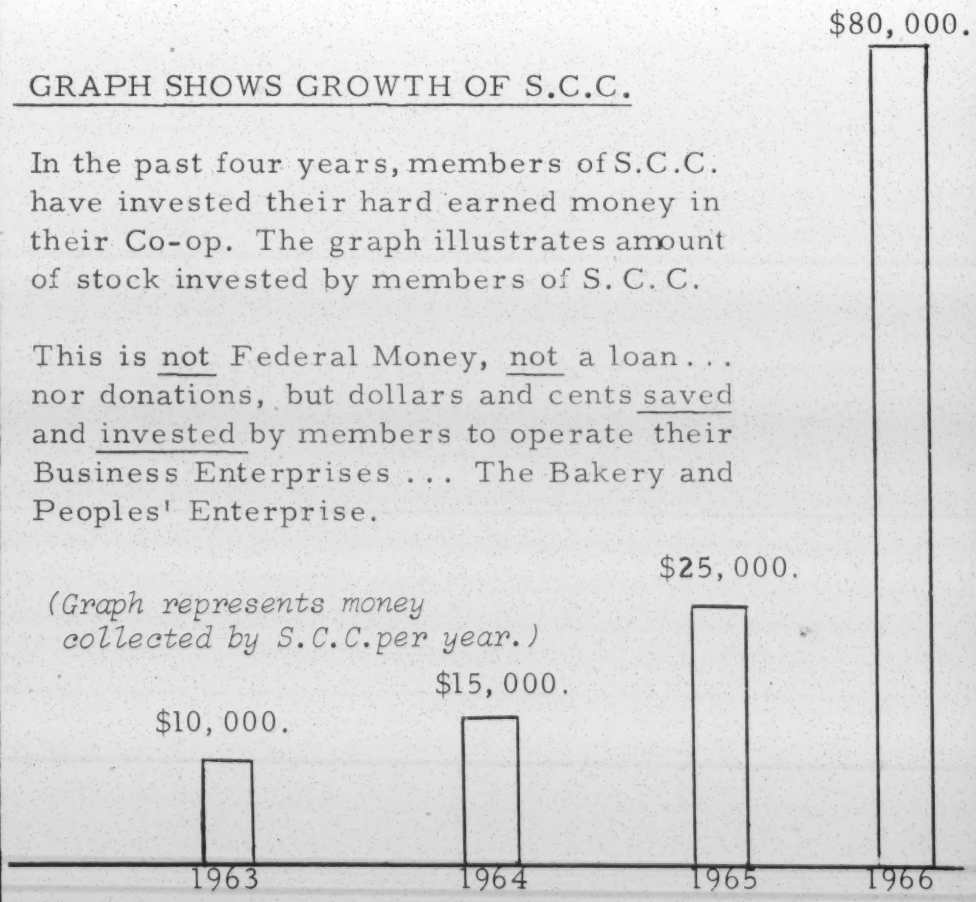
"We Help Ourselves"

GRAPH SHOWS GROWTH OF S.C.C.

In the past four years, members of S.C.C. have invested their hard earned money in their Co-op. The graph illustrates amount of stock invested by members of S. C. C.

This is not Federal Money, not a loan... nor donations, but dollars and cents saved and invested by members to operate their Business Enterprises ... The Bakery and Peoples' Enterprise.

(Graph represents money collected by S.C.C. per year.)



Rev.A.Thompson

Board Members presently serving: Mr. Alvin Biagas, Mr. C. Bellamy, Dr. T.T.Williams and Miss Rita Joseph.

Alternates elected were Mr. Lowell Guillory and Mr. Fred Lognion.

STOCKHOLDERS VOTED FOR BY-LAW CHANGES

Members attending this years' Annual Convention gave the go ahead to Lawyer Ben Voorhies, Jr. for the following amendments:

1. Authorization of Capital -- To be increased to include:
   20,000 Class A
   460,000 Class B

This new authorization will allow S.C.C. to expand and continue to reach out to more and more stockholders in the Cooperative.

Changes in By-Laws: (should read)

Article V: Sec. 2 -- Shares shall be issued in groups. The first share shall be issued after $50.00 has been paid in and shall consist of one share of Class A stock and three shares of Class B. Second group shall be issued after an additional $150.00 has been paid in and shall consist of eight Class B. The third group shall be issued after an additional $150.00 has been paid in and shall consist of twelve Class B.

Article XI: Sec. 1(a) and (b) -- Gave the Board of Directors two alternates. The two runner up for the Board of Directors who receive the most votes, shall serve as alternates. These two alternates may serve on the Board when one or two Board Members are absent.

S.C.C. MEMBERS ELECT .....

Board of Directors

EDUCATION FOUNDATION

Fr. E. J. Bourg

Dr. J. Oliver

Mr. A. Malveaux

Miss R. Joseph

Mr. A. Norman

Alternate Board Members elected were Mr. Clayton Bourges and Mr. B. Broussard.

Board Members serving at present include Mr. Carlton James, Rev. A. J. McKnight, Mr. Peter Vallot and Mrs. Rosetta Diggs. They were elected at the Annual Convention in 1965.

Annual Report

Education Foundation

PROJECT HEAD START

PARISH	No. of Children	No. of Employees	No. of Centers	Amt. of Federal Grant	Amt. of Vol. Time
Acadia	500	74	4	$79,442.00	$9,000.00
Iberia	300	48	6	816,893.00	18,000.00
Lafayette	400	72	6	135,952.00	13,200.00
St. Landry	700	144	12	197,650.00	21,000.00
Vermilion	300	35	6	78,364.00	9,600.00
St.Mary	200	36	3	62,998.00	8,400.00
E. Feliciana	260	33	6	54,615.00	100%Poverty
W. Feliciana	250	28	1	37, 255.00	100%Poverty
TOTAL	2,910	470	44	$1,463,169.00	$79,200.00

REMEDIAL PROGRAMS

Location	No. of Beneficiaries	No. of Employees	Amt. of Grant	Amout of Volunteer Time
Dunbar	800 children 40 Adults	128	$105,401.00	$22,235.00
Phyllis Wheatley	400 children	62	44,328.00	13,572.00
Lincoln Morrow	300 children	42	36,989.00	14,557.00
TOTAL	1540	232	$186,718.00	$50,364.00
Credit Union Project	Vermilion Parish, All residents.	3	$36,467.00	
Sweet Potato Alert		32	53,194.00	
TOTAL		35	$89,661.00	

A STORY OF HOPE

ANNOUNCING

November 29 -- Special call meeting for all Lafayette Members. Time -- 7:30 P.M. at Immaculate Heart of Mary School. (*COME -- Hear the facts about the law-suit and recent publicity about S.C.C.*)

December 11th -- Board of Directors Meet in Mansura. Time: 2 P.M.
All members of Avoyelles Parish who are members of S.C.C. are asked to come at 4 P.M. for a special meeting. Location: Beuthune Public School in Mansura, La.
December 15th -- Local chapter of Lafayette meet at 7:30 P.M. (*Purpose of meeting is election of officers and delegates to Congress.*)

January 8th -- Congress Meeting will be held in Lake Charles. Place will be announced later, in next Newsletter.

December 7th -- Opelousas Chapter Meeting . Time: 7:30 P.M. at the Civic Center.

SPECIAL NOTICE

All local chapters are asked to have election of officers and new delegates to Congress by the January Congress Meeting. The new delegates will be seated in Jan.

"THANKS TO THE LAFAYETTE CHAPTER"

A word of Thanks to the Lafayette S.C.C. chapter for hosting the Annual Convention this year. For a job well done we say "Thanks".

Next years' Convention will be in Lake Charles.

Southern Consumers'
Education Foundation
P.O. Box 3005
Lafayette, La. 70501

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SOUTHERN CONSUMERS

COOPERATIVE, INC.

425 GENERAL MOUTON STREET · LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501
P. O. BOX 3005 · PHONE: 232-1126

May 15, 1967

TO: Mr. Paul Anthony
FROM: Fr. A. J. McKnight, C. S. Sp.
SUBJECT: First Advisory Board Meeting

We are expecting to receive official word in the near future concerning the funding of the Ford proposal for Cooperative Development among low-income southerners.

In order not to lose any time in implementing the proposal we are scheduling the first Advisory Board Meeting for Friday, May 26th at 10 o'clock A. M. at 204 Gauthier Rd., Lafayette, Louisiana (Phone 232-9206).

The following is the proposed agenda:

1) Screen and recommend candidates for the position of Director.

2) Make suggestions and recommendations as regards to:

a) personnel

b) communities to be chosen

c) training program

d) program direction

e) discuss other possible resources to further the purposes of the proposal.

CC: Mr. Al Ulmer

CO-OP

VOLUME VI, Number 5 MAY, 1967 LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501

Calendar

May 14, 1967 -- Congressional Meeting

Place: St. Paul's School
St. John and Hopkins Sts.
Lafayette, Louisiana

Time: Board Meets 1 P.M.
Custodians 1:30 P.M.
Local Chairman - 2 P.M.
Congress Meets - 3P.M.

June -- Education Seminar on Service Station Business is still in planning stage. Watch your Newsletter for the details. We will notify you!

ANNOUNCEMENT

EMERGENCY:

We need money to help us fight the seizure of our books and to keep the Co-op books out of the hands of the District Attorney.

We ask that every member send in a dollar or more for this cause. We ask every local group to start raising money to help us in our legal battle. Send your donation to the Central Office or give it to your sale representative immediately.

Support our legal rights with actions not just words.

Reports

S.C.C. BOARD DECISIONS:

1. Proposals from local chapters of S.C.C. should be presented in the following manner: Local Chapter group should write the proposal, and send their delegates with the written report to Congress Meeting. All the Delegates listen to proposal, discuss, and either rejects it or returns it to the local group for revision to be resubmitted at next meeting or sends it directly to the Board for action. Board then reviews this proposal and takes into consideration the recommendations from Congress.

2. Policy on redemption of stocks and investments of S.C.C. -- in order to redeem money invested in S.C.C. investors must have their $300. in the Co-op for over two years to get back the exact amount of money invested. This is done so that the Co-op can regain the amount spent on collection of investments. If money has been invested for less than two years, then 30% is deducted from the amount invested, in order to pay for the cost of collecting the investment.

(April Board Meeting, 1967.)

see inside

ANSWER TO: "BAN THE AUDIT"

By: Rev. A.J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

(Following is a T.V. presentation given on April 24,1967. It is reprinted in this Newsletter in an attempt to clarify issues, and to keep all members informed.)

I wish to congratulate Channel 3 on their sense of fair play in giving me this opportunity to reply to Bob Hamm's Special Report on April 18th on "Ban the Audit".

First I would like to state categorically and emphatically that we have never objected to an audit of the books of Southern Consumers' Education Foundation. (I made the motion at the special Board Meeting of Acadiana-Neuf, in November, 1966, that all the programs of Acadiana-Neuf be audited, that motion was amended to read, "All the programs of Acadiana-Neuf be audited by an integrated firm.") Peat, Marwick and Mitchell of New Orleans was the firm chosen. Why is it that to this day Southern Consumers' Education Foundation's programs were the only ones audited by the auditing firm?

We do object, however, loudly and strongly to the manner in which Southern Consumers' Education Foundation books were seized by the District Attorney. We also object and will fight in the federal courts the demand that we hand over the books of Southern Consumers' Co-op, which is a private company distinct from Southern Consumers' Education Foundation an which has never received any grants from the Federal Government.

Early on Tuesday, April 11th, the District Attorney and a Deputy Sheriff walked into our office, threw an illegal subpoena on the desk and started rifling through our desk drawers and files and taking whatever he wanted of Southern Consumers' Education Foundation and Southern Consumers' Co-op records. It was only after he had transported everything to his car that we finally succeeded in contacting a lawyer who after having had the subpoena and search-warrant read to him over the telephone spoke to the District Attorney. The District Attorney then changed his tune and became more reasonable. The illegal subpoena mentioned only the records of the Foundation which were concerned with programs sponsored under Acadiana-Neuf, not the other records of the Foundation and none of the records of the Cooperative. The District Attorney then returned everything to the office and with the assistance of the staff separated the records, taking only Southern Consumers' Education Foundation records connected with programs under Acadiana-Neuf. Later some of our accounts at places where we do business were seized.

On Tuesday, April 18th, a week after our office was illegally raided by the District Attorney, a legal subpoena was issued to an officer of the Board of both, Southern Consumers' Education Foundation and Southern Consumers' Co-op.

On Wednesday, April 19th the Daily Advertiser carried a large front page article about a letter which the District Attorney wrote to Southern Consumers' to ask their cooperation in having their books audited. We received the letter two days later.

Why didn't the District Attorney send the letter requesting our cooperation with the audit before he raided our office or before he had it printed in the Advertiser? With so many poor people in Lafayette why ask for an authorization of $10,000. for a third audit?

(continued from page 2)

We claim that the events of the last two weeks are just another in a series of harassments and distortions of the truth against Southern Consumers' which dates back to last September.

Back in September the Daily Advertiser started carrying a series of articles on the War on Poverty in which Southern Consumers' Education Foundation and Southern Consumers' Cooperative were involved. Many half truths and distortions were printed. Not until the 19th article did the author come for a first hand interview with our staff members.

In October a law suit was filed against the Foundation. Out of the law suit charges were made that federal funds were missing. In answer an audit of Southern Consumers' Education Foundation was made.

The Auditing Firm, Peat, Marwick and Mitchell, did not discover any missing funds but did find bad bookkeeping and made recommendations which have been followed.

Then came the communist scare, created by Headline story in the Advertiser which resulted in the State Legislative Committee of Un-American Activities investigation. At that hearing an outside C.P.A. who never saw our books made his interpretations of the Peat, Marwick and Mitchell audit report. Why didn't the Committee get a member of this firm which performed the audit to testify?

On Friday, April 7th, Mr. James Howard a Federal Auditor finished his preliminary audit of Southern Consumers' Education Foundation programs. Based upon his findings, Mr. Walter H. Richter the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity Southwest Regional Office in Austin, Texas, issued the following communication: *"preliminary audit report does not reveal any conduct by Southern Consumers' Education Foundation staff which could be characterized as intent to defraud the Federal Government or misappropriate Federal funds. A final statement on this issue can be expected after a full audit report is made and the grantee is given an opportunity to respond."*

We have been accused of being communists, which the State Un-American activity legislative committee was unable to prove. We have been accused of stealing federal funds which a preliminary federal audit report does not verify.

No matter what we do to answer false charges we will be vilified.

We cannot fight, as the saying goes, *City Hall*. We do not have the same access to the Daily Advertiser and Television Stations as our opponents. We do not have a public relations staff and we refuse to consume all of our time answering false charges. We have decided to ignore the charges and follow the dictum of Christ, who today would be called a communist: *"by their actions, you shall know them."*

We have, however, called upon the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to make an investigation into the harassment which has plagued the Foundation over the past nine months.

I would like to make the plea to the two television stations, Channel 3 and 10, to give me a half hour to tell the story of Southern Consumers' and it's purpose to the general public.

This is not Federal Money, not a loan ... nor donations, but dollars and cents saved and invested by members to operate their Business Enterprises ... The Bakery and Peoples' Enterprise.

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
BALANCE STATEMENT
ENDING MARCH 31, 1967

"We Help Ourselves"

SAVINGS -- 1964-1967
TOTAL -- $128,146.00

ASSETS

Current Assets:		
Cash	$ 8,980.10	
Acc. Rec.	3,237.01	
Inventory	11,621.55	
Pre-Paid Ins.	847.81	
Total Current Assets		$ 25,645.87
Investment:		
Peoples	48,309.22	
Property	9,015.90	
Bakery L.C.	27,916.37	
Total Investment		85,240.49
Fixed Assets:		
Land, Lafayette	1,000.00	
Building, Lafayette	2,235.16	
Land, Lake Charles	5,000.00	
Building, Lake Charles	9,189.57	
Del. Equipment	577.50	
Machinery & Equipment	16,617.31	
Total Fixed		34,619.54
Other Assets:		
Unamortized Org. Cost		500.00
TOTAL ASSETS:		$146,005.90

LIABILITY AND CAPITAL

Current Liabilities:		
Foundation Payable	$ 110.00	
FICA Payable	929.10	
Federal Tax Payable	329.87	
Peoples Payable	868.70	
Accounts Payable	1,863.25	
Mortgage Payable - Short	1,786.74	
Sales Tax Payable	23.28	
Total Current Liabilities		$ 5,910.94
Long Term Mortgage Payable		20,981.81
Total Liabilities		$ 26,892.75
Capital:		
Capital	118,510.30	
Donation	325.00	
Reserve	277.85	
Total Capital		$119,113.15
TOTAL LIABILITIES & CAPITAL		$146,005.90

Southern Consumers'
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P.O. Box 3005
Lafayette, La. 70501

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NAME OR SUBJECT

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS CO-OP

REGARDING

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC. -ltr. from L. W. Dunbar to Rev. A. J. McKnight S.C.Coop P.O. Box 3005, Lafayette La. 70501 regarding grant.

DATE

6-13-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

THE FIELD FOUNDATION, INC.
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

Southern Consumers' Education Foundation
425 General Mouton Street
Lafayette, La. 70501

REGARDING

grant of $578,000 (2 yr. period)
(ltr to Father McKnight)

DATE

ltr. 6-21-67
7-25-67

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

Ford Foundation
(Chris Edley)

File Southern Cooperative Development Prog.

ES
4A
file

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS'

EDUCATION FOUNDATION

425 GENERAL MOUTON STREET LAFAYETTE LOUISIANA 70501
P. O. BOX 3005 PHONE 232-1126

July 27, 1967

SOUTHERN COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

MEMO TO: Organizations Participating on the Advisory Board and other Interested Organizations

SUBJECT: Request Publicity of Availability of Positions with Southern Co-op Development Program

As you know, Southern Consumers' Education Foundation has received a grant to demonstrate the feasability and viability of cooperatives for low-income people in four Southern States: Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama and southwest Tennessee.

There are several positions still available on the central and field staff for the program. We enclose job descriptions for these positions to assisting you in publicizing and making contacts for these openings.

We would greatly appreciate any efforts you would be able to make toward attracting capable and qualified persons to apply for these positions.

Applications are available from:

Fr. A. J. McKnight
Southern Cooperative Development Program
P. O. Box 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

The deadline for filing applications will be August 19, 1967.

INFORMATION SPECIALIST (Job Description)

Salary: $6000 and up

1. Responsible to the Director

2. Research and Develop materials - both written and audio visual for field staff

3. Research and develop new cooperative approaches, entrprises

4. Research field force efforts to determine common elements necessary for success and to avaid mistakes

5. Responsible for drafting proposals

6. Coordinate activities with assistant directors

7. Responsible for constant evaluation of results of the program

8. Various writting chores assigned by the director

9. mServe as public relations person for the project producing at least one article per month for new release

10. Develop study materials for house meetings

11. Work to develop a newsletter for co-ops on cooperative development

12. Assist with training program

ORGANIZER (Job Description)

Salary: Negotiable up to $6000/year

1. Must have familiarity and experience of living and working in a Southern community

2. Work with individuals and groups in an area towards community development

3. Work to establish lasting on-going organizations of local people particularly cooperative groups

4. Provide training and advice for local leaders

5. Assist local groups in making maximum use of available rights and programs

6. Supervise and direct the work of part time local persons hired with grant funds

7. Coordinate education and training programs on the local and state level with persons from the central staff

8. Prepare periodic and special field reports and expense vouchers as required by the Director and Assistant Director

*** Two (2) Roving Organizers will be needed. These will need to be persons with a specialized knowledge of one field of co-op development: housing, petroleum, handicrafts, feeder pig production, who could work on the above tasks throughout the area covered by the grant

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR FOR ADMINISTRATION (job description)

Salary: $6,000.00 and up.

1. Coordinate and supervise the office staff.

2. Responsible for receiving periodic written field reports from field staff and digesting them for use by the director and other members of the central staff.

3. Verify and initial all accounting reports, time schedules, travel, local help and other expenses of the field staff.

4. Be available for some fieldwork in Lafayette, Louisiana.

5. Assist Information Specialist in developing educational materials.

6. Other work the director may assign.

7. Work with the Assistant Director of Co-op Development in planning Co-op training programs.

File
Southern Consumers' Educ. Fd.
cc: Ford Fd.
re: Edley's ltr Marshall
concerning Ray
serving as consultant
to Southern Consumers' Ed. Fd.

September 29, 1967

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
The Ford Foundation
477 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

Dear Chris:

I am delighted to know that Ray Marshall will be a consultant to the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation to work with the Foundation's project there. He is a good man, and I am sure we can work with him. And, we will, of course, continue to offer Father McKnight any help we can.

John Lewis will come to work on Monday, and goodness knows we need him. Also, it is likely that Al and his wife will come off the mountain next week and that Al will work full-time for the Co-op Federation for at least several months. Both of these men will relate, of course, to Father McKnight's

program also. After our absence of this type of talent all the summer, I feel almost like we have an embarrassment of riches. But goodness knows it is good to have it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

September 27, 1967

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

This is to inform you that Dr. Ray Marshall, whom you know, is being appointed as a consultant to evaluate and monitor the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation grant.

It is my hope that, as well as providing monitoring for the Foundation, the relationship will develop so that Father McKnight will call on Dr. Marshall for advice and guidance. I am enclosing a copy of a letter I have written to Father McKnight on this. I hope you will pass on to Father McKnight any information which you think might assist him.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
Enclosure

THE FORD FOUNDATION
477 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

COPY

September 27, 1967

Rev. A. J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.
Southern Consumers' Education Foundation
425 General Mouton Street
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

Dear Father McKnight:

This is to formally advise you that the Foundation is appointing Dr. Ray Marshall as a consultant to monitor and evaluate the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation grant for the development of cooperatives. As you know, Mr. Lamond Godwin will assist Dr. Marshall in this task.

Dr. Marshall is undertaking this assignment with the understanding that his role is to be a constructive one as far as possible. His assignment includes the responsibility to give SCEF any advice and guidance which might be requested. I am confident that as you get to know Dr. Marshall and Mr. Godwin you will recognize in them a spirit of helpfulness and friendship which should be of comfort and assistance to you.

I hope to remain familiar with the activities of SCEF, but time will preclude my detailed involvement in your monthly and daily activities. Please be assured that my interest and faith in the project remain constant. If I can be of assistance to you at any time, please do not hesitate to call me.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
bcc: Mr. Paul Anthony

Make file:
~~Food Co-op~~
Southern Consumers' Cooperative
"Cooperative Development Program"

April 23, 1968

Dr. T. T. Williams
2857 - 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Dr. Williams:

Thank you for sharing with me your report. I have read it with interest.

I do hope in the not-too-distant future your schedule will bring you to Atlanta so that we can get together.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807
April 15, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am enclosing a copy of my report on the Ford Foundation Cooperative Development Program. There are some points I would like to discuss with you more in detail.

The overall activities are progressing as well as can be expected under the circumstances.

Very truly yours,

T. T. Williams

TTW/em

Enclosure

REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES
OF THE FORD FOUNDATION COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

by

T. T. Williams

I. INTRODUCTION

For approximately eighty days I have been seeking market outlets for the products of the cooperatives participating in the development program. In addition, attention has been directed toward the injection of economic thinking into the weighted social thrust of the program. The social orientation is so entrenched in the thinking and philosophy of the staff members that nothing less than a strong policy statement followed up by action will influence its direction. My observations and discussions with individuals in and outside the program have convinced me that the road ahead for staff members in the minority who behold to the economic thrust must be heeded if the hope of low-income people is to be kept alive. Even with such a change, the social thrust of past months will continue to have a significant influence on the expansion of market outlets. However, a change in orientation within the next few weeks will assure some degree of economic success.

It is my belief that the social thrust of the program, getting people to work together, has been demonstrated with reasonable success but what must be proven is that such efforts can result in a viable economic entity or business. The implementation of the latter objective will require the coordinated efforts of all persons associated with the program.

II. ACTIVITIES

Enumerated below are the four broad areas of my involvement and some specific activities under each heading. During the remaining months my efforts will be directed along these lines with the urgency of the need influencing the time allocated to any one activity.

A. Survey of the Broad Development Program

1. Participated in the Cooperative Management Short Course in Atlanta, Ga.

2. Met with cooperative officials at the Federated Annual Meeting in Mt. Beulah, Miss. to familiarize myself with their needs and problems.

3. Made some follow-up visits to cooperatives to observe their operation.

The above involvements provided me with an opportunity to study and observe the degree to which the social and economic tools were being applied both at the local and central levels. It was obvious that all cooperatives are confronted with a common problem--the need for experts who are sensitive to the problems of the less privileged and who are acceptable to the social orientation of the cooperative establishment. Some people question if such

a marriage will ever materialize. However, economic expertise must be secured and a re-orientation of the existing thrust must be changed if the emerging cooperatives are to become economically successful. This issue is so important and the people affected so large that a solution cannot be minimized. It might be necessary to concentrate all efforts on some of the existing cooperatives rather than continue to organize or form new groups.

B. Discussion with Staff Members on the Activities of the Bakery

1. Spent time at the bakery working with the staff on problems of production and marketing.

2. Helped to develop a program for up-grading the bakery to meet health standards.

3. Put in motion a cost analysis program for bakery items.

4. Developed with the manager ways in which efforts can be coordinated.

5. Started a job description procedure for employees.

Follow through will be a major bottleneck with some of the activities above. Under the best conditions it is difficult to follow through on an assignment when working in a consulting capacity. There is an urgent need for a re-dedication of some staff members to hard nose economic principles if a reasonable return on investments is to be forthcoming. Regardless of the decision to the recommendation above, the bakery investment is too large to permit an accelerated deterioration as happened during the past year.

C. Contacts with Buyers of Bakery Products

1. Letters sent to presidents of large corporations asking them to purchase the bakery products as incentive rewards to employees.

2. Appealed to season buyers to purchase the bakery products the year round.

3. Engaged in a dialogue with private and government officials who expressed an interest in the bakery products.

4. Set up a program for fund-raising groups.

5. Visited some of the large bakeries to observe and discuss their method of operation and determined under what conditions they would purchase the bakery products.

6. Began to study the economic feasibility of a Christmas basket. Such a basket should include a variety of products of several cooperatives.

7. Made preparations for the New York Premium Show. The exposure of the bakery products to buyers should result in some large orders.

The present major bakery product, fruit cake, is strictly a gourmet item. This characteristic makes it difficult to attract wholesalers. Along this line the bakery staff is in the process of developing a cheaper fruit cake to go with the gourmet item.

D. Coordinated Specific Activities of Various Cooperatives Participating in the Development Program

1. Met with government officials--OEO, EDA, and USDA--in an attempt to secure their support and cooperation relative to some of the pressing problems faced by emerging cooperatives. Very shortly the services of a vegetable marketing specialist and a bookkeeper should be available.

2. Established a working relationship with various individuals who are involved directly or indirectly with the development program.

There is a need for a plan to phase out the demonstration program into the Federation Program. Such a plan is necessary if the Federation is to effectively reflect the needs of the cooperatives as it structures its program.

III. SUMMARY

Activities enumerated above are much broader than what my responsibilities were felt to be at the time of coming with the development program. It did not take long to realize that much spade work toward economic orientation had to be made before any effective effort could be directed toward locating market outlets. Thus, assuming the broader responsibility was not out of choice but out of need.

The past eighty days have convinced me that the overall development program is in need of a re-appraisal and re-direction of policy if a representative number of emerging cooperatives are to have any reasonable degree of economic success. A decision must be made soon as to whether to pursue a policy of making those cooperatives demonstrating economic vitality the focal interest of the program or to continue to organize people with little consideration to the economic implications. Up to this stage the major thrust has been directed toward getting people working together but five months is sufficient time for this phase. Efforts must be made to shift gears and leave the social thrust in the background.

Regardless to whether the development program officials pursue an economic or social thrust the need for management and marketing expertise should not be de-emphasized. Any major economic thrust will require a re-orientation of the staff and re-direction of the resources which might not set well with some staff members.

An estimated 20,000 pounds of fruit cake are planned for this season and a 50 per cent increase in store sales. Although these goals are for the bakery, a similar upward trend should be envisioned for other cooperatives in the development program. The development staff should concentrate on those cooperatives in each state demonstrating the greatest degree of economic success and other groups should be encouraged to combine their efforts and program. The important thing is that some priority be established.

Some additional points which came to my attention after the report was typed:

On April 9 and 10, 1968 a meeting was held at the Central Office In Lafayette, Louisiana to re-evaluate the program--past, present and future. State supervisors were in attendance along with the Central staff. The state supervisors shared with the participants some of their problems and experiences. There was a dialogue on what should be done from this period on. This participant left the meeting more convinced that his earlier observations relative to the need for an economic orientation of the development program was well grounded. A lack of an understanding of basic economic principles was echoed by a number of the participants. It is questionable whether this inadequacy can be overcome with the present staff earlier enough to inject the economic thrust envisioned by some staff members as the direction the program should follow. It is my hope that the administrator of the program develop some specific policies as a result of the feed-back from the state supervisors.

JW
JK
MJ
file

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS

COOPERATIVE, INC.

425 GENERAL MOUTON STREET · LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501
P. O. BOX 3005 · PHONE: 232-1126

April 25, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Cooperatives among low-income groups are at a critical stage in their growth. They are in urgent need for market outlets for the variety of products their members are producing.

Southern Consumers', a Louisiana charter cooperative of over 300 low-income families produces a wide variety of gourmet bakery products.

We would appreciate your assistance toward getting the bakery products fruit cakes, spiced pecans, brownies and pralines into a national chain store. The modern bakery is in a position to produce products to the specification of the buyer.

In addition, we welcome a large order from your organization this year. Use the attached Order Form for this purpose. We can make delivery at the time you specify. Place your order early and avoid the holiday rush.

Sincerely,

T T Williams

T. T. Williams,
Marketing Specialist

TTW/umh

Encl: Retail price list

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' BAKERY
P. O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501

PRICE LIST AND ORDER FORM FOR THE ACADIAN DELIGHT GOURMET BAKERY ITEMS

ITEM & WEIGHT	SIZE 1 - 11 UNITS	12-23 UNITS	24 OR MORE UNITS	CONTAINER	PLEASE SHIP TO THE ADDRESS BELOW THE FOLLOWINGS
			PRICE*		NUMBER
FRUIT CAKES					
1½ pounds	$3.05	$2.75	$2.45	Cotton-Bale	_____
3 pounds	5.25	4.75	4.30	Tin	_____
5 pounds	7.95	6.95	6.00	Tin	_____
PECAN BROWNIES					
12 ounces	2.50	2.30	2.05	Cotton-Bale	_____
PRALINE					
12 ounces	3.10	2.95	2.65	Cotton-Bale	_____
TOASTED SPICED PECANS					
12 ounces	3.10	2.95	2.65	Cotton-Bale	_____
UNSHELLED PECANS					
1 pound	2.20	1.60	1.45	Cotton-Bale	_____
SHELLED PECANS					
1 pound	3.10	2.95	2.65	Cotton-Bale	_____

SHIP THE ABOVE CHECKED ITEMS TO: NAME_____ ORGANIZATION_____

STREET_____ CITY_____ STATE_____ ZIP CODE_____

SIGNATURE_____ DATE_____ CHECK ENCLOSED / / BILL WITH ORDER / /

*ONE PERCENT DISCOUNT WHEN PAID WITHIN TEN DAYS AND SHIPPED AT ONE TIME TO THE SAME ADDRESS. NET THIRTY (30) DAYS.
F.O.B. LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501, P. O. Box 3005. (PRICES SUBJECT TO CHANGE)
REMARKS:_____

file

See Personnel / T.T. Wms. / Cr. ref. re: Reports from T.T. Wms.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

May 17, 1968

COPY

Mr. T. T. Williams
2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear T.T:

Your letter of April 15th indicates that there is serious misunderstanding as to the amount of flexibility we have with regard to your position. There is no way that the Foundation can supplement its grant to Southern Consumers' Education Foundation. There is no way that a payment can be made to the University for any purpose connected with this operation.

Southern Regional Council, as an accommodation to us, agreed to pick up your salary and a few expenses. You are in effect a staff person of SRC on loan more or less full time to SCEF. We have indicated to SRC that we expect it to scrutinize funds made available for expenses such as travel. Accordingly, you should discuss this entire matter with Paul Anthony. I am sending him a copy of this letter together with a copy of your request so that he will be informed when you contact him.

We are aware of the fact that the project has and will continue to have many needs which the Foundation cannot meet. Your letter does not explain why the secretarial and administrative costs allowed in the grant to SCEF are not adequare to take care of your secretarial needs, stamps, and supplies. We see you as an integrated member of the staff operation, sharing administrative services made available to the project as a whole. Beyond that point it is our understanding with SRC that it handles certain expenses such as reasonable travel.

I have read your report on your activities and was somewhat surprised that most of your time has been devoted to the bakery as distinct from other cooperative endeavors in the region. I was also surprised that on page 2, B-5, you indicated work on job description procedures for employees. I see the tie-in but hope that your primary emphasis will be on marketing and production as it relates to marketing.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
bcc: Mr. Ray Marshall

8

RECEIVED
APR 23 1968
MAIL ROOM
THE FORD FOUNDATION
NEW YORK OFFICE

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807
April 15, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Chris:

Enclosed is a report of my activities for the past eighty days and some specific recommendations based upon my involvement and observations.

It is absolutely necessary that funds in the amount of $6000 be made available for office personnel and facilities. Breakdown of the expenditure items are enumerated below. Father McKnight has informed me that office funds (hiring a typist and stamps) included in the budget for the development proposal are committed. However, I have a backlog of correspondence waiting to be typed and mailed. The demands of other central staff members for typing will delay still longer typing of correspondence.

Up to this period I have been using my campus office and facilities and paying for typing to augment the limited secretarial help in the Central Office. While I will continue to make use of my office on the campus, when the additional office budget is made available the effective follow through with activities summarized in my report will be assured.

Along this line, I would highly recommend that these funds ($6000) be made available to Southern University. This gesture will serve to commit the University to the development program and provide me with a strong base to draw upon the professional expertise associated with the University in meeting the needs of the various cooperatives. Needless to say, in the final analysis the economic success of the program will be directly related to the degree in which resources available at such institutions can be brought to bear upon the needs of each cooperative. It is my strong belief that the distance between the Cooperative Development Program and the expertise is widening not because of oversight but the absence of an instrument to encourage and support a dialogue between the two groups. The time and condition is ripe for getting these two groups to work together here in Louisiana.

You may send the $6000 to Dr. F. G. Clark telling him that you wish same to be utilized to underwrite my office activities at the University for the remaining period in which I will be with the Cooperative Development Program. You might state to him that such responsibilities were enumerated in your letter to him of March 27, 1968.

12298

BUDGET

Secretary	$ 4200
Stamps and supplies ...	1600
Miscellaneous	200
Total	$ 6000

I will be attending the New York Premium Show (April 22-25, 1968)

Mr. Christopher Edley April 15, 1968

call to set up an appointment with you during this period.

Very truly yours,

T. T. Williams

TTW/em

Enclosure

File
Southern Consumers
Coop.

June 11, 1968

Dr. G. Ray Marshall
Department of Economics
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Dear Ray:

Chris Edley and I have had a talk about T. T. Williams. I am anxious to talk some things over with you as soon as possible. If you are going to be in Atlanta in the near future, I hope we would do so then. If not, would you, at your convenience, give me a collect telephone call?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

JL
JW

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807 ms-file
June 17, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Edley:

This is a short report on our progress with the bakery market. The first large order for fruit cakes was received a few days ago. The buyer, Barricini Candy Company of Long Island, N. Y., some months ago expressed an interest in our fruit cakes provided we could meet their specifications. After a number of exchanges of letters, telephone conversations and visits with the company officials, the quality of cake Barricini would purchase was decided upon.

With the assistance and some advice from bakery supply firms we were able to come up with a recipe meeting their request yet providing the bakery with above normal operating cost margin. Samples were taken to the company and they were quite pleased with the appearance and quality of the fruit cake. However, they did make some suggestions which were later incorporated in the production of the fruit cake. After a visit by the company Rabbi, we were sent a purchase order for 10,000 two-pound fruit cakes. (See attached order).

The Rabbi will be in Lake Charles June 16, to make final plans for the Kosher approval of the bakery. Within the next few months we should be receiving some orders for additional bakery items from a number of firms contacted.

The Barricini order doubles the bakery total production last year. It should be pointed out that the 20,000 pounds does not include other sizeable orders which I anticipate from my contacts with other buyers not counting the mail order business. Needless to say, the bakery staff will need some on and off the job experience in the immediate days ahead. Contacts have been made with some bakers and within the next few days something definite regarding such training should be available.

What the Barricini order has demonstrated is a simple marketing principle, "produce what the market will take rather than what a group would like to produce". This principle is applicable to the bakery and other cooperatives engaged in the production of goods and services. There were a number of doubters in the program concerning this approach but I feel that a number are being converted to this concept of marketing. But the bakery staff must still prove that the market outlet secured can be met

productionwise. This is why I have asked the Director to give serious orientation to the bakery staff of their role and responsibilities relative to meeting the production schedule rather than non-economic involvement.

It is my sincere belief that the success of the bakery this year will determine the future of the business. I have been assured that the bakery stands a good chance of securing other business from Barricini provided it carries out with a minimum amount of delay and problems the first order.

There are a number of things I will be engaged in from the marketing angle during the coming months. Developing a better package and label are extremely urgent. There is the issue of planning the purchase of raw materials based on anticipated sale volume. The development of a fund-raising project is another activity which will be undertaken. While the task ahead is large, cooperation from everyone will minimize the complications and bring closer to realization one phase of the Development Program.

Finally, I think there was some misunderstanding relative to my request for secretarial assistance. Needless to say, correspondence and telephone are major means of contact with buyers as well as the development of a marketing program. What I have said relative to the inadequacy of persons to type still holds but I have found other means of overcoming this factor.

I am sure you are aware that the needs and problems of these groups are large. You cannot expect overnight results from your concentrated efforts regardless of how intense. The example of working with the bakery to develop a product which a buyer would purchase though a simple task for some people is quite involved to others particularly when you must work through a group. Not only must the group be convinced that they can meet the orders but they must be assured that it is in their best interest--economic and non-economic. What I am saying is that marketing efforts spill over into a number of side issues when you are working with these organizations and groups. But I maintain that nothing succeeds like success. When the other groups see what can happen or is happening, they will be more receptive to accepting advice and reorientation of their thinking toward economic objectives.

These comments are strictly confidential and I would appreciate it if you would not quote them to others. It was pointed out that my earlier report to you was used to reflect on the program. Such was not my intention. I was merely calling the shots as I saw them.

Very truly yours,

T. T. Williams

TTW/em

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

PURCHASE ORDER

4015

BARRICINI

22-19 41st AVE. LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y. 11101 212-786-2200

Date June 7, 1968 19

Vendor Southern Cooperative Development Program
Address 208 Gauthier Road
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501
Att: Dr. T.T. Williams

Ship to BARRICINI Inc.
[X] 2219 41st AVE., LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y. 11101
[ ] 47-52 VAN DAM ST., LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y. 11101
[ ]

DELIVERY DATE | SHIP VIA | TERMS: F.O.B. OUR PLANT OR WAREHOUSE | CODE #

ITEM	QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	UNIT PRICE
		CHRISTMAS 1968	
	10,000	2 lb. Dark Fruit Cakes	1.45 ea.
		Packed 12 to a shipper, as per attached sheet. Tins to be inserted in sleeves. Cakes to take up entire diameter of tin and also height.--Better topping---Better glaze.	
		Subject to kosh ruth approval by our Rabbi Bernard Levy, 1602 52nd St. Brooklyn, New York. He is to be notified in sufficient time for supervision.	
		Delivery: 5 M week of August 19. 5 M October 1st, latest.	
		Each cake to be individually poly wrapped. Barricini will supply tins and pay for same.	
		Please send us ½ dz. samples at once, incorporating the above mentioned requests.	
		Barricini will arrange for 4M 2 lb. unprinted sleeves, pay for same and deduct from your invoices.	

INVOICES, PACKING SLIPS, B/L MUST SHOW THIS P. O. NO. PACKING SLIP MUST ACCOMPANY EACH SHIPMENT AND MUST CONTAIN COMPLETE DESCRIPTION OF ITEMS SHIPPED.

SEND INVOICE IN DUPLICATE TO PURCHASING DEPT.

DO NOT SHIP CHARGES COLLECT. All charges must be prepaid by shipper.

[X] NOT SUBJECT TO NY STATE SALES TAX. RESALE # 11 0511860 SUBJECT TO NY STATE SALES TAX [ ] 5% [ ] 3%

ALL RAW MATERIALS MUST HAVE KASHRUTH APPROVAL BY OUR RABBI.
WE RESERVE THE RIGHT TO RETURN AT VENDOR'S EXPENSE ALL MATERIALS THAT DO NOT HAVE THIS APPROVAL.

This order is not valid unless it is signed by an authorized company purchasing agent and countersigned by an officer of the corporation indicating the title of the officer.

BARRICINI Inc.

Per N. Baumgarten WC
Norman Baumgarten
Purchasing Agent Officer (Title)

THIS ORDER IS PLACED SUBJECT TO THE CONDITIONS ON THE REVERSE SIDE, WHICH ARE HEREBY MADE A PART HEREOF AND WHICH BY THE ACCEPTANCE OF THIS ORDER, SELLER ASSENTS TO AND AGREES TO BE BOUND.

THIS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT MUST BE SIGNED AND RETURNED INDICATING ACCEPTANCE OF THIS ORDER SUBJECT TO TERMS AND CONDITIONS INCLUDED HEREIN. CHANGES OR SUBSTITUTIONS CANNOT BE ACCEPTED.

COMPANY _____

PER _____ DATE _____

VENDOR'S COPY

Free Food Fd. 1968

file

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

June 21, 1968

COPY

Mr. T. T. Williams
2857 Seventy-seventh Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you for your letter of June 17th and progress report on the marketing of the fruitcake. Congratulations!

Reference is made to your last paragraph on the use which was made of your earlier report. This report was shared with our consultants and Mr. Anthony. I do not see how it could have been transmitted to any other level or area. If you would be more specific as to what happened, it would assist me in avoiding any further embarrassment.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley
Program Officer in Charge

CFE/fb
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Dr. Ray Marshall

Paul: In the light of this development, we should go slow in any discussions with T.T.

JLC
JW
MJ-/6

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807
July 9, 1968

Mr. Christopher F. Edley
Program Officer in Charge
Division of National Affairs
Government and Law
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Edley:

Thank you for your letter of June 21st. The marketing activity has been progressing quite well. In fact, we are in the process of landing a number of other relatively large orders.

You will find enclosed some materials developed relative to our marketing program. The newly introduced Evangeline Joy Fruit cake is quite popular among buyers. We plan also to use this cake in our Fund Raising Project.

Chris, you need never worry about embarrassing me. I wanted to make sure that anything I might say in my report was not interpreted as a reflection on the program or any individual--particularly when my role is limited to marketing. Naturally there are problems when people seem to place greater emphasis on the social rather than the economic importance but mature people can thrash these problems out and hopefully come up with a harmonious working relationship. The bakery staff is gradually coming around to the realization that more effort and time must be devoted to the production activity rather than so called sensitivity sessions. I have had an experienced fruit cake baker provide some intensive on-the-job training during the past week. This has helped tremendously in opening their eyes to what the business of baking can be. There is little time left for sensitivity sessions. The Barracini order has contributed enormously to this realization. It is still my belief that as more orders are consumated, the economic orientation of the program will be brought into keener focus.

I have made my services available to other cooperative groups in the program. Again, the other groups can see what can be done when concentrated efforts are directed toward the basic economic thrust of the development program and can desire to do likewise. I anticipate and will provide more of my services to these other groups.

Very truly yours,

T. T. Williams, Marketing Specialist

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

SOUTHERN COOPERATIVE

DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

204 GAUTHIER RD. - LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501
P. O. BOX 3005 - PHONE: 232-9206

1968 FUND RAISING FRUIT CAKE PROJECT

Dear Friend:

The Acadian Delight Bakery is announcing its Fund Raising Fruit Cake Project. The tasty fruit cake is manufactured for fund raising groups such as yours in mind and is made from the best quality ingredients obtainable. When you participate in this project, you will be supporting an organization that is unselfishly giving of its resources to help low-income groups.

The Acadian Delight Bakery represents the efforts of Southern Consumers' Cooperative members. The Louisiana based bakery has made it possible for over 2,000 low-income people to combine their income and efforts to produce a "Scandalously Delicious" competitive fruit cake.

From its inception in 1960, Southern Consumers' Cooperative set out to prove that economic motivation and team effort could bring about social and economic reform. The founders set out to develop an education approach to economic participation by poor people in their community knowing that such a program could not be confined solely to the classroom. These founders further believed that the new approach to education should be designed to enlist the participation of the poor and more affluent groups toward making their state and community a more decent place in which to live. Today, we can see some positive signs of our earlier approach of getting the poor and affluent people working together on common economic objectives. Southern Consumers' Cooperative members are provided with opportunities to learn and participate in the business world thus creating employment opportunities for themselves and others. In fact, the education philosophy of Southern Consumers' Cooperative has made learners of both poor and the affluent group.

You can help to continue this social and economic reform while at the same time realizing funds to support your civic and community project by purchasing a number of the fund raising fruit cakes. Such an expenditure would help the poor people continue to develop a sense of belonging and a sense of purpose in their community. The fruit cake is manufactured at the modern bakery in Lake Charles, Louisiana.

Sincerely yours,

T. T. Williams, Marketing Specialist

TTW/mlf

SCHEDULE A

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE
FUND RAISING DEPARTMENT
P. O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501

PROCEDURE FOR ORDERING

(Available all year)

1. The Fund Raising fruit cake is produced in two pounds and packed in a decorated tin.

2. Fund raising group must request at least 216 fruit cakes per order. We do not ship less than 216 fruit cakes.

3. The fruit cake sell for $3.25 per two pounds. When your group sell one order (216 fruit cakes) it will keep $220 and send Southern Consumers' Cooperative $482. To raise additional funds, your organization can:

SELL	KEEP FOR YOUR TREASURY
432 Fruit Cakes*	$ 440
864 " "	880
1,728 " "	1,760

4. Send no money and take 30 days after delivery date to complete your fund raising project before paying our share of order.

5. Southern Consumers' will pay all the original shipping costs. However, when reordering during a fund raising drive, you must accompany the new order with full payment for the original shipment regardless of whether the 30 days have elapsed. When reordering by phone, state when payment was sent to the Fund Raising Department.

6. Shipment will be made only by rail or truck. However, you must furnish the above office with an in-town address at which your order can be delivered and signed from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.

7. When damage fruit cakes are received, insist that the delivery man note the complaint on your receipt. Send this receipt to this office so that a claim can be filed with the shipping carrier and we can credit your account accordingly.

8. Prices apply to the Continental United States and are subject to change without notice.

9. Have order form (Schedule B) signed by an authorized adult, 21 years old or over.

10. Complete the information requested on the attached order form and mail to the above address.

*Packed 18 fruit cakes per box.

1/68

SCHEDULE B

FRUIT CAKE FUND RAISING ORDER FORM

RETURN TO:

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE
FUND RAISING DEPARTMENT
P. O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501

1. Name of organization: _____

2. Amount of money your organization wants to raise: $ _____
(See Schedule A - Procedure #3)

3. Ship order to: _____
(Print or type name)

Street: _____ City: _____

County: _____ Zip Code: _____

State: _____ Phone Number: _____
(Include Area Code)

5. Check location where delivery of fruit cakes are to be made:
(must be an in-town address where an individual will be available for receiving the shipment from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m.,Monday through Friday)

HOME / / CHURCH / / SCHOOL / / BUSINESS / /

OTHER (Describe) _____

6. Have you or your organization ordered fruit cakes for fund raising from us before? YES / / NO / /

If yes, supply us with the following information:

Order was shipped to: _____
(Individual)

Name of Organization: _____

City: _____ State: _____ Zip Code: _____

7. Authorized Adult Signature: _____
(21 years old or over)

8. Remarks: _____

_____

_____

1/68

Southern Consumers' Co-op

P. O. BOX 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

1968 Retail Price List for the ACADIAN DELIGHT PRODUCTS

ACADIAN DELIGHT COURMET FRUIT CAKE (Dark)

1½ lb.	$3.10	Box Container
1½ lb.	3.50	Cotton-Bale
3 lb.	6.25	Tin
5 lb.	9.60	Tin

EVANGELINE JOY FRUIT CAKE (Light)

2 lb.	$3.10	Tin

VARIETY PACK (Fruit Cake, Brownies, Spiced Pecans)

½ lb.	3.00	Cotton-Bale

BROWNIE DELIGHT WITH PECANS

12 oz	3.00	Cotton-Bale

PRALINE DELIGHT WITH PECANS

12 oz.	3.75	Cotton-Bale

TOASTED SPICED PECANS

12 oz.	3.75	Cotton-Bale

UNSHELLED ACADIAN PECANS

16 oz.	2.20	Cotton-Bale

SHELLED ACADIAN PECANS

16 oz.	3.10	Cotton-Bale

Wholesale Price List Available Upon Request. Prices Subject to Change Without Notice. Add $.75 for postage per item.

SUPPORT SOUTHERN CONSUMERS'

WAR ON POVERTY

The Acadian Delight bakery products represents the efforts of Southern Consumers' Cooperative members. The Louisiana based bakery has made it possible for over 2,000 low-income people to combine their income and efforts to produce a variety of 'Scandaloulsy Delicious' competitive bakery items.

From its inception in 1960, Southern Consumers' Co-op set out to prove that economic motivation and team effort could bring about social and economic reform. The founders set out to develop an education approach to economic participation by poor people in their community knowing that such a program could not be confined solely to the classroom. These founders further believed that the new approach to education should be designed to enlist the participation of the poor and more affluent groups toward making their state and community a more decent place in which to live. Today, we can see some positive signs of our earlier approach of getting the poor and affluent people working together on common economic objectives. Southern Consumers' Cooperative members are provided with opportunities to learn and participate in the business world thus creating employment opportunities for themselves and others. In fact, the education philosophy of Southern Consumers' Cooperative has made learners of both poor and the affluent group.

You can help to continue this social and economic reform by purchasing a number of the Acadian Delight bakery items. A small expenditure would help the poor people continue to develop a sense of belonging and a sense of purpose in the society. All of the products are manufactured at the modern bakery in Lake Charles, Louisiana.

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' ACADIAN DELIGHT BAKERY

P.O. Box 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

Phone: (318) 433-1851 Lake Charles
(318) 23-21126 Lafayette

Date of Order _____
Shipping Date _____

1968 Price List and Order Blank for Acadian Delight Thanksgiving and Christmas Products

SHIP TO: (Name and Address) _____

_____ _____

QUANTITY	Container	Suggested Retail (Each)	Pack Per Case	Net Weight (Each)	Cost Per Doz.	Cost Per Case	Total Cost
			ACADIAN DELIGHT GOURMET FRUIT CAKE (Dark)				
_____	Box	$3.10	12	1½ lb.	$22.32	$22.32	
_____	Cotton-Bale	3.50	12	1½ lb.	25.20	25.20	
_____	Tin	6.25	6	3 lb.	45.00	22.50	
_____	Tin	9.60	3	5 lb.	69.12	17.28	
			EVANGELINE JOY FRUIT CAKE (Light)				
_____	Tin	3.10	12	2 lb.	22.32	22.32	
			VARIETY PACK (Fruit Cake, Brownies, Spiced Pecans)				
_____	Cotton-Bale	3.00	12	½ lb.	21.60	21.60	
			BROWNIE DELIGHT (With Pecans)				
_____	Cotton-Bale	3.00	12	12 oz.	21.60	21.60	
			PRALINE DELIGHT (With Pecans)				
_____	Cotton-Bale	3.75	12	12 oz.	27.00	27.00	
			TOASTED SPICED PECANS				
_____	Cotton-Bale	3.75	12	12 oz.	27.00	27.00	

Terms: 1% 10 days - net 30 F.O.B. Lake Charles, Louisiana

Freight Allowance: Orders of $200.00 and up will be shipped prepaid; under $200.00 F.O.B. Lake Charles, Louisiana.

BUYER'S SIGNATURE: _____

ADDRESS: _____ _____

Phone: Area Code ( ) Number _____

Dear Customer:

These products are produced by members of Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc., a Louisiana chartered firm. Its primary aim seeks to promote economic enterprise which provides alternative employment opportunities utilizing abundant human resources of low-income families.

This product cooperatively joins many local low-income families in combining their excess labor potential with locally grown products, creating new delicacies for selective marketing.

If you enjoy our "ACADIAN DELIGHT PRODUCTS" – tell others . . . Join us in our Story of Hope!

Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc.
P. O. Box 3005, Lafayette, Louisiana, 70501

"ACADIAN DELIGHT"
PRODUCTS
Made in Louisiana's *Evangeline Country*
from traditional Acadian Receipes.

If you enjoy our "ACADIAN DELIGHT PRODUCTS" -- *tell others... Join us in our Story of Hope!*

JLC
JWK
File

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807
August 12, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Edley:

During my approximately six months with the Development Program as a marketing specialist a number of firms and individuals have been contacted in person, by correspondence and by telephone in an attempt to secure market outlets for the commodities produced and manufactured by cooperatives participating in the program. While there has been some visible success, there have been also problems encountered both on the production and marketing sides. Some of the visible successes are reflected in the orders consummated at this time of the year while the problems relate to the reluctancy of large buyers to do business with emerging cooperatives. In addition, the early social orientation of the development program has retarded the production and marketing thrusts which could have been realized.

We should meet the Barricini fruitcake order on schedule--thanks to the assistance of Mr. John Wright, an experienced baker hired some three weeks ago. Securing the services of this person to work with the bakery staff has provided a needed input long recognized. Mr. Wright's services came at a time when the bakery was without the services of a manager(he was away on military duties) and when the Barricini fruitcake order was running into some problem with regard to quality. It did not take long for this person to solve the problem and put the bakery on a systematic production schedule. In fact, Mr. Wright has demonstrated that he can produce in half the time the volume earlier projected with the same labor force. My only regret is that the services of an experienced baker was not secured earlier for it would have given us a stronger competitive basis to deal with buyers.

It is true that during the early period of producing for the Barricini order it was necessary for me to assume the role of the production specialist since there was no one on the staff with the nerve or expertise to tackle such an order. This is not to imply that I possessed those qualities but in the absence of a person like Mr. Wright it was apparent to me that we had to hold on to the order until it was obvious to all that an expert baker was needed. If the know-how of this person (baker) is fully utilized he could have a tremendous impact upon the development of the bakery as a business and the training of the staff for employment in the baking industry.

Despite the problems the marketing program has made tremendous progress when compared with last year's record. This is true with the cooperatives in general and Southern Consumer in particular. For example,

the bakery has doubled the total last year's sale at the time of this writing. In fact, the bakery output and sale is close to meeting the 35,000 pounds projected for 1968. Contacts have been made with a number of large firms including A & P, Independent Groceries and cooperatives. Some of these groups have agreed to place fruitcake orders with the bakery this year while others are in the process of deciding. I plan to stay in contact with all potential buyers in an attempt to successfully consummate the orders.

Mail orders have started to increase and we anticipate a continuous uptrend during the coming months. In addition, contacts have been made with a number of groups and individuals who have expressed an interest in our fund-raising fruitcake project. We plan to develop other bakery products on a fund-raising basis.

Finally, during the past months it has fallen my lot to encourage the other marketing specialists to stick with the development program inspite of the frustration they have encountered in carrying out their responsibilities. They have been assured that their services and know-how are needed.

I am aware that some of the points enumerated above do not relate solely to marketing but at the time they were carried out it was my conviction that they were necessary to realize the maximum impact from the marketing effort. It is my objective as a marketing specialist to contribute the maximum effort toward getting the bakery moving toward an economic viable business and to channel all efforts toward the development of the bakery staff. Needless to say, these goals are possible and imperative if the full impact of the development program is to be realized.

Very truly yours,

T. T. Williams

T. T. Williams

TTW/em

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

JL
JW

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807
September 7, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Southern Consumers' would like for you to use their gourmat bakery products as gifts to friends and employees this year. In addition, we would appreciate your advertising our products in your official news circular.

An early response to these requests will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

T.T. Williams, Marketing Specialist
Ford Foundation Development Program

Enclosure

SUPPORT SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' WAR ON POVERTY

The Acadian Delight bakery products represent the efforts of Southern Consumers' Cooperative members. The Louisiana based bakery has made it possible for over 2,000 low-income people to combine their income and efforts to produce a variety of 'Scandaloulsy Delicious' competitive bakery items.

From its inception in 1960, Southern Consumers' Co-op set out to prove that economic motivation and team effort could bring about social and economic reform. The founders set out to develop an education approach to economic participation by poor people in their community knowing that such a program could not be confined solely to the classroom. These founders further believed that the new approach to education should be designed to enlist the participation of the poor and more affluent groups toward making their state and community a more decent place in which to live. Today, the group can see some positive signs of their earlier approach of getting the poor and affluent people working together on common economic objectives. Low income people are provided with opportunities to learn and participate in the business world thus creating employment opportunities for themselves and others. In fact, the educational philosophy of Southern Consumers' Cooperative has made learners of both the poor and the affluent group.

You can help to continue this social and economic reform by purchasing a number of the Acadian Delight bakery products. A small expenditure would help the poor people continue to develop a sense of belonging and a sense of purpose in the society. All of the products are manufactured at the modern bakery in Lake Charles, Louisiana.

ACADIAN DELIGHT BAKERY PRODUCTS

Made in Louisiana's Evangeline Country from traditional Acadian Recipes

ORDER FORM

For shipment to addresses in the continental limits of the United States. All prices subject to change without notice.

HOW TO ORDER: Check items desired, enclose check or money order and mail to:

SOUTHERN CONSUMER'S BAKERY*
MAIL ORDER DEPARTMENT
P. O. BOX 3005
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501

Quanity	Item	(postage paid) Price each	Total
	ACADIAN GOURMET FRUIT CAKE		
____	1½ pounds (Box container)	$ 3.85	$_____
____	1½ pounds (Cotton bale)	4.25	_____
____	3 pounds (Tin)	7.00	_____
____	5 pounds (Tin)	10.35	_____
	CREOLE GOURMET FRUIT CAKE		
____	2 pounds (Tin)	5.75	_____
	EVANGELINE JOY FRUIT CAKE		
____	2 pounds (Tin)	3.85	_____
	VARIETY PACK (Fruit cake, brownies, spiced pecans)		
____	12 ounces (Cotton bale)	3.75	_____
	BROWNIES WITH PECANS		
____	12 ounces (Cotton bale)	3.75	_____
	PRALINES WITH PECANS		
____	12 ounces (Cotton bale)	4.50	_____
	TOASTED SPICED PECANS		
____	12 ounces (Cotton bale)	4.50	_____
	ACADIAN PECANS (UNSHELLED)		
____	12 ounces (Cotton bale)	2.95	_____
	ACADIAN PECANS (SHELLED)		
____	16 ounces (Cotton bale)	3.85	_____
	GRAND TOTAL		$_____

*** Reg. Penna. Dept. Agri. and Kosher Approved.**

Make check or money order payable to: SOUTHERN CONSUMER'S BAKERY.

SHIP TO: Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip Code _____

FROM: Name _____

Print or type clearly as these are the only shipping instructions.

Wholesale Price List Available Upon Request.

These are for your record.

T.T. Williams

T Williams

JL
JW ✓
MJ-/ab

GREENBELT CONSUMER SERVICES, INC. • 10501 RHODE ISLAND AVE. • BELTSVILLE, MD.
GRANITE 4-6800

September 10, 1968

Dr. T. T. Williams, Marketing Specialist
Southern Consumers Cooperative, Inc.
2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Dr. Williams:

We herewith place an initial trial order for the fruit cakes as per samples you sent us. We would like to receive this shipment no later than September 25th in order to coordinate their arrival with our Co-op Month Promotion which will begin October 1st and will be publicized through our newsletter to members; the "Co-op Consumer". In fact our editor, Mrs. Suzi Slye, would appreciate any information on the history and operation of the Southern Consumers Cooperative, Inc. in order to give the fruit cakes and your organizational background good publicity among our membership.

Our initial order is as follows: (You will note we have ordered the minimum prepaid quantity.)

100 - Creole Gourmet Fruit Cake in 2 lb. tin
Cost $2.78 delivered in Beltsville. Terms 1% 10 days

480 - Evangeline Joy Fruit Cake in 2 lb. tin
Cost $1.52 delivered in Beltsville. Terms 1% 10 days

All future orders are dependent solely on consumer reception. We are running this promotion somewhat early in the season in order to get a feel for future peak season demand. You may rest assured that the cakes will receive widespread publicity among our membership and it is our hope that we will have the opportunity to favor you with several sizable follow-up orders.

Sincerely,

Don Lefever

Donald R. Lefever
Grocery Merchandising Manager

DRL:rr

cc: Robert Morrow
Harry Aron
Suzi Slye
Tom Coyle

Please Forward the following goods to:

The Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co., Inc.

1401 JEFFERSON HIGHWAY
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70121

9/13/68 19__

☐ Freight Delivery

Illinois Central R. R. Delivery
A & P Siding South Port

TO SOUTHERN CONSUMERS COOPER TIVE
425 GENERAL MOUTON STREET
LAFAYETTE, LA. 70501

Send Invoice and B/L to Auditing Dept., P.O. Box 60093, New Orleans, La. 70160

Bill of Lading or Other Documentary Proof of Shipment Must Accompany Invoice Except when Draft is drawn. On Prepaid Shipments, the PAID Freight Bill or Express Receipt Must be Submitted.

QUANTITY	DESCRIPTION	PACKED	SIZE	COST
35 CS	CREOLE GOURMENT FRUITCAKE IN TIN	12/	2#	2.78 EACH
	LA. WHOLESALE SALES TAX EXEMPTION NO. 260-08-W7504			

Cash Discount 1%-10 DAYS Allowance

Shipping Date 9/18/68 FOB LAKE CHARLES FRT. PPD. ON $1,000.00

"In filling this order, the seller warrants that the prices of the goods, and any discounts and allowances therefrom, do not reflect any brokerage or brokerage savings whatsoever, and are available on proportionally equal terms to all other buyers after making due allowances for differences in the seller's cost (other than brokerage) and for the seller's right to select his customers and/or to change his prices in response to market conditions and/or to meet competitors prices."

"In filling this order the seller further warrants that the goods were produced in accordance with the provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act as amended."

THE GREAT ATLANTIC & PACIFIC TEA COMPANY, INC.

383-8980
Phone ~~272-1873~~
Area Code 414

WISCONSIN TOY & NOVELTY CO.

1714 WEST BRUCE STREET
BUILDING 8 and 18
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53204

PURCHASE ORDER

1826

THIS ORDER NUMBER MUST APPEAR ON ALL INVOICES, BILL OF LADINGS AND PACKAGES.

[redacted] SOUTHERN CONS BAKERY
425 GENERAL MOUTON ST.
LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA. 70501

SHIP TO:

Date: 9-16-68
F.O.B. PREPAID
Terms:
When ship: OCT. 5
Cancellation date: NOV. 5
Via:

Invoice to: WISCONSIN TOY & NOVELTY CO.
WISCONSIN TOY & NOVELTY CO.
1714 WEST BRUCE STREET
BUILDING 8 and 18
MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN 53204

WISCONSIN TOY & NOVELTY CO.
8600 EAST 7 MILE RD.
DETROIT, MICH. 48234

Special instructions:

QTY.	STOCK NO.	DESCRIPTION	SPLIT	PK	RETAIL EACH	RETAIL TOTAL	COST EACH	COST TOTAL
250-ONLY		EVANGELINE JOY FRUIT CAKE 2 LBS.					1.96	490.00
		ATT: MR T.T. WILLIAMS						
		SHIP TO DETROIT.						
		AIR MAIL INVOICE TO MILWAUKEE DAY SHIPMENT IS MADE						

Buyer: James Kenny
Officer:

SUBJECT TO TERMS AND CONDITIONS ON REVERSE SIDE

ASSOCIATED COOPERATIVES, INC.
4801 CENTRAL AVE. • RICHMOND, CALIF. 94804 • PHONE: 524-3717

July 30, 1968

Dr. T. T. Williams
Southern Consumers Cooperative
P.O. Box 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

Dear Dr. Williams:

Please accept this order:

130 cases of 12/1-1/2# Acadian Delight Gourmet Fruit Cakes at a price of $19.44 per case delivered prepaid to our warehouse: (cash discount 1% - 10 days)

Associated Cooperatives
4801 Central Avenue
Richmond, California 94804

Please confirm this order and its arrival date here by October 15th.

We plan to merchandise these well and early and hopefully to reorder.

Best regards,

J. M. Hammerquist
Grocery Merchandising Mgr.

JMH:mn

Rec'd Aug 6 1968
why so late?

JLC
JW
MJ-file

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807
September 13, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Chris:

I am enclosing a resume of my activities up to the present time (September 15, 1968). Things are beginning to gel as a result of previous planning. I will send you a copy of Mr. Wright's first financial report one day next week.

Very truly yours,

T. T. Williams

TTW/em

✓cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

Enclosures

MARKETING ACTIVITIES OF THE COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM
(February 1 through September, 1968)

by
T. T. Williams

I. INTRODUCTION

The marketing activities have shown considerable progress during the past seven months but not without understandable problems. This report will place in context the accomplishments and what must be done if the economic objective of making each cooperative participating in the development program an economic viable entity is to be realized.

II. WHAT HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED

A. An overview of production and marketing needs was ascertained during the early period of the marketing specialist's participation in the development program. Visits were made to a number of the group meetings along with personal contact with individual cooperative members at the Mt. Beulah and Atlanta meetings early in his tenure with the program. During this early period an inventory of the resources (human and physical) of each cooperative group was developed.

B. It was obvious at an early period that merchandising material was in urgent need. In addition, some inexpensive method of informing buyers of the products available for sale by cooperative groups needed to be developed. A letter was sent to over 2,000 prospective buyers informing them of the products the various cooperatives would have for sale during the year. In addition, various advertising media were contacted (newspapers, magazines and broadcasting companies) to solicit some advertising support. A number of the news media gave tangible support to the request; however, it is too early at this time to measure the market impact.

C. Both Grand Marie and SWAFCA have a full-time salesman on their staff. To prevent any duplication in marketing effort, it was agreed by the three of us that we periodically compare our activities. This arrangement has been quite helpful.

D. Solving the bakery operation, with its many production problems (health and staff) is to be used as an example for planning the economic development of other cooperative groups.

Early in the program it was obvious that there was a need for some production goal or objective. By May a projection for specific bakery products was completed and approved by SCC members even though they felt it was too ambitious when compared with the previous year. In 1967, bakery production was 11,422 pounds compared with a projected production for 1968 of 36,507 pounds. Because of the almost three-fold increase in the 1968 production over 1967, each board member requested and was supplied a copy of the

projection. Listed below is a summary of the bakery operation and the extent to which it is meeting its early production goal.

Product	PRODUCTION IN POUNDS		
	1967	1968 (Projection)	September, 1968
Fruitcakes	9,903	35,500	23,184
Brownies	314	480	161
Pralines	408	480	139
Pecan Products	797	1,047	138
Variety Pack	0	0	50
TOTAL	11,422	36,507	23,660

Over 60 per cent of the 1967 bakery volume was mail order business (small orders) and approximately 95 per cent of the mail order business was during the months of October, November and December. Enough orders were consummated as of July 1, to start the bakery operation at that time.

E. The development of a bakery operation to eliminate some of the seasonality of the fruitcake production is reflected in the Fund Raising Fruitcake Project introduced in April. Plans are underway to implement a similar project for all the bakery items. A mailing list for the fund raising project has been received and will be utilized in future marketing efforts.

F. The marketing specialist was working on a number of fronts during the early period. The bakery facility and the staff were on health probation from the previous year and unless corrected the plant would have been closed by the local health officials. Realizing the possibility of having the bakery closed, it was imperative that the health standards be met. Today, the bakery is approved by all states, including the states of Penna and Connecticut. In addition, the bakery facility is Kosher approved and approved as a procurement center for government supplies. The products produced at the bakery can be supplied to Armed Forces installations for use by government personnel. The bakery staff will be bidding on some government contracts in the foreseeable future. As of this writing the fruitcakes will be sold in the Fort Polk and England Air Bases for the first time. We feel that this is a major market breakthrough for the Cooperative Development Program. It is our intention to try to duplicate this for other cooperative group products. During the period mentioned above, labels for the products were designed and printed and the ingredients approved by health officials.

As of September 13, some thirty-five A & P Stores and over 25 Cooperative Stores throughout the United States have placed orders for gourmet bakery products. While these are repeat orders (based upon sales), it is a major breakthrough in the national market and plans are underway to secure national publicity to help consummate repeat orders from national outlets.

Just as important, supervision of the ordering procedure for raw materials was shifted and assumed by the marketing specialist. The development and implementation of both a retail and wholesale price list was given major priority by the marketing specialist.

G. Early in May, requests began to come in for price quotations and other information buyers required to make their purchase decisions. It was during this month that Barricini Candy Company entered the mind of the bakery staff and SCC members. This one order was destined to revolutionize the entire bakery operation within a period offour months. Upon the consummation of the Barricini order in June for 20,000 pounds of a special fruitcake, it was obvious that the existing production staff would run into many problems in the implementation of this order. It should be pointed out that because of the lack of an experienced baker the special fruitcake for Barricini had to be developed by the marketing specialist.

It was agreed by the SCC membership that the production for the Barricini order commence on the first of July for the first 10,000 pounds to be delivered August 19, 1968, and immediately thereafter for the second 10,000 pounds to be delivered October 1, 1968. The production problems started with implementing the first shipment of the Barricini order. While the marketing specialist had pointed out to SCC members the need for an experienced baker, it was only after some 2,000 pounds of fruitcakes were unacceptable to Barricini that the members were convinced that an experienced baker was needed. Mr. John Wright, an experienced baker, met the bakery qualifications and needs and was available. His services were secured and on August 1, 1968, he started producing the first 10,000 pounds of the Barricini order and before August 20, had the entire amount completed and ready for shipment. Mr. Wright will have the second part of the order ready for shipment by September 18, 1968.

What is significant about the bakery operation since August 1, is that some important costs analyses have been secured for the first time. The SCC members had been told that the bakery was operating at a loss but without any concrete data upon which to base this statement. However, it can now be verified that the bakery operation can be financial successful. For example, Mr. Wright will report September 15, that the net income for the month of August was over $2,000. This is the first time the bakery operation this early in the season has realized a net profit of this amount. Orders have been consummated which will give a net profit in excess of this amount for October. The relatively large net income realized from the bakery operation for August should have a favorable impact upon the SCC membership. After observing Mr. Wright in operation it was obvious that our early market estimates could have been increased. This experienced baker has doubled the daily plant capacity with fewer workers.

The bakery along with other cooperatives participating in the development program entered the New York Gift Show August 18-23. The SCC sold over $600 of assorted bakery items at this show with prospects for repeat orders. Some of the other large buyers of the bakery products are Associated Cooperatives, Liberty House of New York, Greenbelt, Wisconsin Toy & Novelty Company and A & P. In addition, there are over 40 relatively small buyers.

The early plans for the bakery operation are being realized. However, other cooperative groups participating in the development program have been crippled by numerous internal problems. This marketing specialist will continue to work with the officials and other marketing specialists to overcome such built-in barriers. The success of the SCC bakery will be the tool utilized in securing market outlets for other cooperative group products and getting membership support in meeting the production requirements.

III. WHAT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED

A. One must live through the experience of the past seven months to understand fully the transformation that has taken place relative to economic or production outlook. The SCC members have moved from a five figure production goal to six figures for next year. While inefficient use of the plant will not be tolerated by members in the future, the marketing specialist is not as optimist with regard to the labor force. However, once Mr. Wright's message gets through in terms of what a person can learn about baking (if willing) the labor utilization picture should also change for the better. Mr. Wright's interest in working with people who are desirous of learning the baking business could be the impetus needed to realize some human resource development from the bakery operation. His services should be maintained.

B. Cooperative members should play a more active role in the affairs of their organization. The President, Mr. George Bowles, has committed himself to visiting the bakery at least weekly compared to several times yearly. Some cooperative members view the business operation of their organization as being synonymous with that of the development program.

C. Improvement should be made in the handling of correspondence (personal) and that related to marketing. A person's mail should never be opened and any mail related to production and/or marketing should be made immediately available to the marketing specialist. Too much time is lost between the Post Office marking on the letter and the time the mail is received. A number of orders have been missed because of an inability to follow through on requested information recorded in a personal or market related letter from a prospective buyer.

D. The mail order procedure should be centralized at the production point. It is non-economic to haul products (bakery) some 150 miles round trip just to place in mail. Centralized mailing would reduce the transportation costs ($.75 per item) and thus make the products more competitive with other bakeries producing similar products.

E. Additional clerical staff is needed. Typing and preparing mail orders, letters to the trade and other routine office matters take up a considerable part of the marketing specialist's time. However, any person hired should meet a specific need rather than being employed and creating a need based upon ability. This practice of hiring would eliminate the confusion of workers in caring out their responsibilities.

F. Cooperative members should constantly be cognizant of the image they portray to the public relative to their group and product. Any successful business must project confidence and strength rather than confusion and doubt.

G. Developing a diversified operation for the bakery should be accepted as the next first priority. A diversified bakery operation would smooth out the seasonality of fruitcake production. The plan which will be presented September 15, 1968, to SCC members for the walk-in trade at the bakery should be given major consideration.

Finally, SCC membership could learn from the past in building for the future. The bakery would have been in a stronger competitive position when bidding for orders if the services of a person with Mr. Wright's experience was available early in February or even June.

Copy of the report subbitted to
the SCC Board Sunday, September 15,
1968.

JLC
JW ✓
mJ - /ab

REPORT TO THE SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' BOARD OF DIRECTORS

by
T. T. Williams

New Iberia, Louisiana September 15, 1968

This is a summary report of my marketing activities from February through August, 1968. Considerable progress has been made along the marketing front since we last met. With August being about my halfway point of tenure with the Cooperative Development Program, this report will review with the Board some accomplishments and point out some suggestions for improving the marketing activity of the bakery.

A. SOME SPECIFIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' BAKERY

1. At my first meeting in February, it was announced that my services as a marketing specialist were available to the Southern Consumers' Cooperative and the Board and membership were asked for their support and suggestions for the development of the marketing activity for the bakery.

2. Early in the program over 2,000 letters were sent to the trade and advertising media informing them of the program and soliciting their support.

3. This marketing specialist worked closely with the other marketing specialists and groups participating in the Cooperative Development Program. We developed a means of communication to keep each other abreast of marketing developments.

4. The urgency of the health conditions at the bakery demanded my major attention during the first two months with the program. The bakery was on the verge of being closed by health officials because neither the facility nor the employees met the Louisiana health standards.

5. A production goal for 1968 was developed and received the Board's approval. Last year (February to February) the total bakery production was 11,422 pounds. It was projected that 35,507 pounds would be produced this year. With the peak season yet to come, the bakery production goal is about 75 per cent realized.

6. Some of the larger orders confirmed are Barricini, 20,000 lbs.; Associated Cooperatives, 2,440 lbs.; Liberty House, 245 lbs.; Fort Polk, 1,000 lbs.; The Greenbelt Cooperative, 1160 lbs.; Wisconsin Toy and Novelty Store, 480 lbs.; A&P, 840 lbs.; the Gift Show, 311 lbs.; and over 600 lbs. of small orders (mail) shipped or received for shipment. Retail mail orders will increase in the immediate weeks ahead and repeat orders from some of the wholesale sales should be forthcoming.

7. About midway in the seven-month period a Fund Raising Project was developed. A number of requests for material have been answered but no definite orders have been received. A mail order Fund Raising List has been received but due to inadequate labor, stamps and other barriers, it might not be possible to capitalize on this activity in 1968.

8. At an early period, the approval by the health officials of the bakery employees and labels was secured. The bakery is now approved for Kosher production and as a source of supply for defense supply procurement. This year for the first time the bakery products will be sold in the Fort Polk Commissary, England Air Force Commissary and the A&P Stores in Louisiana. All products in the following A&P Stores will be sold under the Southern Consumers' Bakery labels: Baton Rouge, New Iberia, Jennings, Opelousas, Abbeville, Ville Platte, Denham Springs, Lafayette, Franklin and Morgan City. Plans are underway to get in the A&P Stores in Crowley, Lake Charles and Texas--the latter cities are within the territory covered by the Dallas, Texas office. There is a good chance Southern Consumers' Bakery products will be sold in the Barksdale Commissary in Shreveport, Louisiana and if time and traveling funds permit we hope to get the bakery products in additional commissaries throughout the country. Southern Consumers' bakery products must be sold in a minimum of 20 commissaries before the Cooperative's bakery name is placed on the official advertised Source for Government Procurement.

10. The approval of the bakery as a supplier of products to be sold in the states of Pennsylvania and Connecticut was secured about two months ago.

11. You are aware that it was necessary for the marketing specialist to supervise the initial ordering of supplies for the Barricini order and at times the production. This was carried on while planning labels, price lists and following through with contacts made with buyers. The above activity did not minimize my contact with the bakery staff during the early period of the Barricini production schedule.

12. The most encouraging part of my marketing activity was to observe the Barricini order revolutionize the major thrust of the bakery staff and the total cooperative membership. This one order was the impetus needed to launch the bakery operation into the big business oriented toward economic development. It is my strong belief that from this one order the bakery operation will never be the same again for this Board will never again accept an annual production goal of 35,000 pounds of gourmet bakery products. The production goal next year should be over ten times this year's target if present contacts and expertise developed are fully utilized.

13. Some cost estimates for bakery products were developed. One hastens to add that the early cost estimates were later revised after it was demonstrated that earlier estimates of the bakery capacity were grossly understated. Again, it was the Barricini order that provided the bakery staff with an opportunity to mass produce and to secure some concrete production cost figures.

14. The need for a middle price gourmet fruitcake was recognized. As a follow through on the Barricini Cake, a Evangeline Joy Fruitcake was introduced. In addition, the Variety Pack (Assortment of gourmet bakery products) has been introduced. Both the Evangeline Joy and Variety Pack are selling extremely well.

15. Lastly, the bakery products were entered in the New York Gift Show August 18-23). The Federation of Southern Cooperatives rented space at the show and permitted the bakery products to be exhibited free of charge. The pralines sold extremely well. Letters were sent to officials of the Federabion thanking them for providing Southern Consumers' Bakery with an opportunity to display their gourmet bakery products at this show. Plans are underway to participate in a similar show early in 1969.

B. MAJOR SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE BAKERY OPERATIONS

What is significant about the bakery orders received up to this time is that they represent the first major breakthrough in the South in general and the national chains in particular. This exposure of the gourmet products is important for the bakery sales effort both for this year and future years. However, when one totals up the accomplishments he should not be lead to believe that the job is complete nor should he become complacent by the obvious accomplishments.

There have been problems and this Board should be appraised of the major problems. Unless the Board gives its support in overcoming some of these problems, the success of the bakery during the past seven months will not be sustained in the immediate weeks ahead when the mail order sales will be the major market outlet.

I think that underlying the seven specific problems enumerated below is the general belief on the part of the Southern Consumers' membership that the Cooperative Development Program is synonymous with Southern Consumers and that the Cooperative Development staff can oversee the activities of Southern Consumers' Cooperative. This belief is supported by my observations during the past seven months as a marketing specialist and my close association with SCC prior to the funding of the Cooperative Development Project. Here are seven points SCC Board should address itself to in the immediate days ahead.

1. More visits should be made to the bakery for appraisal of the bakery operation. A number of Board members have started doing this.

2. It is necessary that the Board insist that mail related to marketing be channeled promptly to the proper individuals. Letters have been received several days or weeks after the Lafayette, La. postmark date. It is imperative that requests for marketing information be answered immediately if the orders are to have any chance of being consummated.

3. There is a urgent need to improve upon the mail order procedure. I would strongly recommend that all mailing be done at the Lake Charles office. This procedure should reduce the transportation costs and make the bakery products more competitive. A shipping charge of $.75 per product is in line if the products are transported from Lake Charles to Lafayette for mailing but transportation costs could be reduced considerably if the products are mailed in Lake Charles where they are manufactured.

4. You should give some consideration to securing additional staff or insist that some priority be given to specific jobs requiring urgent consideration. Major efforts have been made to get out the Fund Raising List only to be told that the stamps were out, envelopes in short supply, or there was no Fund Raising material. The bakery is in need of additional wholesale price

lists to mail out. Another week's delay might be too late for instigating the fruitcake Fund Raising Project this year or sending out the wholesale price lists.

5. It is urgent that every member start portraying an image to the public of confidence and strength rather than hopelessness and doubt. The bakery operation has a success story to tell and should be capitalized on to offset the rush of some members to withdraw their savings. Tell the success story and tell it loud and clear for it is a beautiful success story the membership has helped to write in a relatively short period of seven months.

6. It is not too early to start planning for the nonfruit cake season. The Board should support a diversified plan for the bakery. Fruitcake production is still a seasonal operation; thus, there is an urgent need to plan now for the months after December.

7. Mr. John Wright has presented some interesting figures relative to the potential for the walk-in bakery trade and the Board might want to consider the points he presented in planning for next year. Mr. Wright's services should be secured on a long-term contract. Since coming with the bakery on August 1, he has been an asset to the bakery operation.

Finally, the bakery staff should be congratulated for the manner in which they have met what many considered the almost impossible delivery schedule for bakery products in August. A net income in August of $2,594.50 is a testimony to the hard work and perseverance of the bakery staff and this Board. Because of this effort, orders are already consummated which will overshadow the August net income figure for the bakery and we have no doubt that the efficient bakery staff under this Board's leadership will again meet the delivery schedule. Some other sales possibilities are being considered which will be brought to your attention at a later date.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

September 26, 1968

COPY

Mr. T. T. Williams
2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Dear T.T:

I have your letter of September 20th indicating that you need an addition of $1,000 to your travel budget. Again I must emphasize to you that your travel budget is available through the generosity and cooperation of the Southern Regional Council.

You must make your case to Paul Anthony, and in his discretion he will determine whether the additional travel budget balances against his own needs and priorities so that it is justifiable. I note that you sent him a copy of the letter to me, and this is fine.

Mr. Anthony has a deep commitment to the work you are engaged in, and I believe he is in a better position than I to pass on this matter. Moreover, there is no way in which I could provide the money directly to you.

Sincerely yours,

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
P. S. Thanks for the copy of your report to the Board. It was quite informative.

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT AND LAW

September 26, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I simply cannot get T. T. Williams to understand his relation to you and that you make the decisions on his expenses. I refer to his letter of the 20th to me in which he requests me to approve another $1,000 of travel money. My reply is attached.

Be sure to let Basil Whiting and me know the exact amount to be added on to your grant to defray this expense. As I have indicated to you, the figure is flexible; I assume it will be somewhere between $30,000 to $40,000. This of course is only a rough estimate subject to change and depends on your evaluation of the need.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb
Enclosure

BHA ✓
JW ✓
mJ-file

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807
September 20, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Chris:

I would appreciate a minimum addition of $1,000.00 to my travel budget. This amount will carry me through the remaining four and one-half months remaining with the program.

Recently, I was informed that my travel budget was less than $800.00. Since that time, all my travel expenditures have been withheld but not at the expense of contacting and following through with prospective buyers. If my travel expenditures were brought up to date, the original budget would be depleted.

We have just received another order for 15,000 pounds of fruitcake with 7,000 pounds to be delivered immediately and the remaining later. This order will put us far over our 1968 projected goal. I feel sure that you would agree with me that we have made tremendous progress with the original travel budget and I would like to see this thrust continue.

During the remaining months plans will be implemented to develop the Fund Raising Project, the walk-in business at the bakery, package design and following with contacts made with buyers for this year and next year's sales.

Your prompt approval of this request will be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

T. T. Williams

TTW/em

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony ✓

Make file
T. T. Wms - Confidential

October 1, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
Division of National Affairs
Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

As you will see from the enclosed letter we have increased the travel funds for T. T. Williams by $1,000. I do believe this increase is justified on the basis of his recent activities and production.

This will mean that the total costs by SRC of Williams's work; salary, travel, and insurance, will be slightly in excess of $26,500 and this is the amount which we would appreciate having from the Foundation at your convenience.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

October 1, 1968

Dr. T. T. Williams
2857 - 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Dr. Williams:

I have, of course, shared copies of the correspondence you and Chris Edley have had.

At the moment there remains approximately $250.00 in your account for travel and telephone costs. We are prepared to increase this by adding an additional $1,000. We will continue to keep you apprised of your expenditures.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Christopher Edley

file

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807
October 5, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for the additional $1,000.00 for telephone and travel.

The latest financial report for the bakery shows a net profit from August 1, through September 31, 1968, of $5,252.99. Total production for this period was $21,905.51. We should end the year with a net profit of over $10,000.00. The additional funds will contribute enormously to our marketing efforts.

Very truly yours,

T. T. Williams

TTW/em

cc: Mr. Christopher Edley

October 8, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
Ford Foundation, Inc.
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York

Dear Chris:

I did not mean to imply in sending you and Basil the Williams figure of $26,500 that we needed the funds immediately. We can wait quite comfortably until next year for them. It had simply been my understanding that you wanted this figure to incorporate into our final grant proposal figure.

Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
cc: Mr. Basil Whiting

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
GOVERNMENT AND LAW

October 7, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

If you have to have the $26,500 right away, I suppose arrangements can be made.

It was my understanding that we would add this to your grant for Foundation support. If for any reason you cannot wait until that time when the larger grant is made, please advise me. When you last wrote I took the precaution of again reminding Basil that the amount of money spent with T. T. Williams would have to be added to the grant, per Mike Sviridoff's agreement with you through me.

Sincerely yours,

Chris

Christopher F. Edley

CFE/fb

JLR
SW

2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807
November 8, 1968

Mr. Christopher Edley
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, New York 10017

Dear Chris:

I am enclosing a summary report of my activities during the past weeks. Needless to say, I am not satisfied with the total accomplishments. However, as I approach the home stretch of my tenure with the Development Program and the beginning of the fruitcake season, I am encouraged by the sources from which our orders are coming.

Listed below is an example of the size orders generated during recent months. What is significant in analyzing this list is that stores in the South are represented. It should be pointed out that these are orders which were not reported in my last report to you.

A&P Supermarket, Dallas, Texas ----------	$5160.00
Mid-Eastern Cooperative, Carlstadt, N.J. --	1340.00
Potomac Cooperative, Beltsville, Md. -----	1584.00
Co-Op Consumers Society, Ithaca, N. Y. ---	805.00
Gibson Discount, New Iberia, La. ---------	335.00
Brown's City Thrift Warehouse, Lafayette, La.	268.00
Gibson Discount, Lafayette, La. ----------	134.00
Ferndale Co-Op, Ferndale, Mich. ----------	223.00
Hanover Consumer's Co-Op, Hanover, N. H. --	218.00
H.S. Schemell Produce, Birmingham, Ala. ---	114.00
Conasons, Inc., White Plains, N. Y. ------	97.00
Johnny's Beverages and Records, Birmingham, Ala.	67.00
Marshall Farm Service, Marshalltown, Iowa -	44.00
Felch Co-Op, Felch, Michigan ----------	44.00
Hough Family Service, Clevelan, Ohio (Co-Op)	44.00
Wayman Darkins, Long Island, N. Y. -------	37.00

A large number of other orders ranging in size from $40.00 and below have been received since October. While these order were thought of as large last year, the staff now refers to them as small orders. I would say that this is progress.

Very truly yours,

T. T. Williams

TTW/em

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

T. T. Williams November 8, 1968

A REPORT OF MARKETING ACTIVITIES

For the past weeks my prior marketing efforts have begun to pay off. The bakery sales are closely approaching $40,000--most of this since August. I am convinced that total sales at the end of my year's stay with the program in February, 1969, will be in the neighborhood of our $50,000 estimate.

Just recently the contract with all A&P stores in all of Louisiana was consummated when the order from the Dallas, Texas regional office was received. Prior to that time an order from the A&P New Orleans regional office was consummated. It is quite gratifying to hear the cooperative members say that they saw their fruitcake on the shelves of A&P stores in Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas--stores served by the two regional offices of the A&P chain.

Earlier in the season I challenged the established cooperatives to match the Barracini order for fruitcake. Preliminary figures show that this has been accomplished. In fact, the established cooperatives have been quite helpful in the bakery marketing efforts and I have confidence that it is a sincere gesture based on sound economics.

With the contacts made during the year through group meetings, new releases, letters and personal visits to prospective buyers, I am convinced that the mail order business from now until the end of the season will triple last year's sales for bakery products. What is significant about this is that now the board and cooperative members know what their bakery operation can accomplish in terms of providing employment or the economic development of people. The six bakery workers have had to operate at full capacity since August in order to get the backlog of orders out by the requested dates. This type of involvement has definitely set a standard of performance for the bakery and with the proper follow-through next year the business should realize a fourfold increase over this year.

During the remaining of my stay with the program efforts will be undertaken to push the non-seasonal bakery products (pralines and spiced pecans). However, emphasis will be placed on improving both the packaging and visual materials concerning all products. I am already in contact with Mr. Stanley Selengut on implementing these ideas.

It should be pointed out that with the new display showcases at the bakery, which were recently purchased, the walk-in business has shown remarkable success. Sales from the walk-in trade, which should take up some of the seasonal slack in fruitcake sales, increased from $296 in August to $750 in October. This was accomplished with a minimum of advertising or sales effort since the major thrust was toward the sale and production of fruitcakes. However, with sales efforts directed toward this market in the immediate months ahead the walk-in trade will become an important entity of the bakery business.

I would not want to end this brief report without mentioning some of the problems. Certainly all the market contacts made did not result in a sale even though sometimes the effort looked promising. As you know, this failure to consummate a sale is typical in the business. Probably the most disappointing marketing effort was with the military installations. I am sure that this market can be cultivated for next season. The other problem relates to the management at the bakery. There is still a bakery management problem but now that the board and cooperative members can quantitate by comparing what this year's thrust has accomplished I am convinced that the climate is conducive for

carrying through with needed management changes for the fullest use of personnel. Already one can see a constructive change in attitude and concern relative to the bakery management. At one time there was a feeling among a number of the board members that the marketing effort was doomed to failure since orders did not began flowing in immediately upon my coming with the program. After some large orders were consummated, the concern shifted to a disbelief that a large order could be met productionwise. This, too, was refuted. More recently, the concern has been concentrated on the continuation of the marketing thrust even though it was early thought that the first big order was a one-shot deal. The repeat of the Barracini order along with a number of other large orders was a primary force in changing the outlook of the board and membership from one of pessimism to optimism. The repeat orders served to convince the group that the marketing effort was undertaken on a sound business basis and that following accepted business procedures will result in larger repeat orders another year. The point that should be emphasized is that my marketing efforts in the past months have reoriented the thinking of the group about the importance of sound business while at the same time brought to the forefront the importance of a coordinated and efficient management team. The success of the business in future years will be directly related to the degree in which the group will address themselves to constructive answers to the management dilemma. I am encouraged by the observation that the climate and conditions are conducive to a meaningful and useful dialogue on the management problem.

Keeping the bakery staff busy with orders did not allow time for petty issues but the old issue of black versus white still prevails. Mr. Wright (white) has the qualifications and expertise for gourmet baking while the other staff members (Negro) feel that they should be doing the job even though they are not qualified. I have had to use all kinds of diplomatic tactics during the peak of the production period to maintain a harmonious working relationship between the two groups; for as I reported sometime ago it would have been practically impossible to meet the large order production schedule without a person of Mr. Wright's ability. Now that most of the large orders have been met immediate attention must be given to the development of a smooth bakery operation oriented toward economic objectives. I am hopeful that this can be accomplished and will use my influence and know-how to see that it is done both for the success of the group, the Development Program, and the marketing thrush generated during the past months. It is my hope that after the holiday season when I submit my final report for the year that a constructive solution to this management impasse will have been worked out.

It should be mentioned that I was nominated and elected to the Cooperative League of the USA Board at their last semi-annual meeting. Assuming the position of a board member with this organization will be quite helpful in the continuation of an economically beneficial dialogue among emerging cooperatives among low-income groups and the established cooperatives affiliated with the Cooperative League. While a number of established cooperatives have been helpful in expanding the marketing thrust this year over last year's, there are still additional ways by which the developed cooperatives can assist emerging cooperatives among low-income people. As a board member of the League I will pursue some of these avenues.

I hope that before my departure from the program in February we can arrange for a face to face discussion or review of the points enumerated in some of my reports relative to the marketing program.

file

The Ford Foundation
320 East 43 Street
New York, New York 10017

January 15, 1969

Mr. T. T. Williams
Marketing Specialist
2857 77th Avenue
Baton Rouge, Louisiana 70807

Dear Mr. Williams:

Thank you for your letter expressing your pride in the increasing success of the Southern Consumers Bakery. We are very appreciative of the efforts you have made in their behalf.

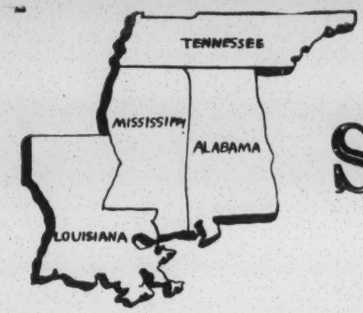
Your services to the bakery were provided, as you know, by the generosity of the Southern Regional Council, in order to meet the immediate needs of the Southern Cooperatives Development Project for marketing expertise. Now that the S.C.D.P. and the Federation of Southern Co-ops are becoming fully staffed and operational, the need for full-time individual assistance has lessened. We therefore will not be able to be part of any arrangements extending your formal relationship with the bakery beyond January 31st.

Thank you again for participating in our general efforts to help Southern Cooperatives and in particular for your assistance to the bakery.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Hilary S. Feldstein
Assistant Program Officer

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council



SOUTHERN CO-OP News

VOLUME II Number 1 January, 1969 Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

From The Director's Desk

Dear Field Workers:

There is a bill called " The Community Self-Determination Act, " which has the potential to help black people much more than the War on Poverty. This bill is expected to be President-elect Nixon's first piece of legislation. It is designed to make slum dwellers into capitalists.

This proposal has already been introduced into the last Congress by a bi-partisan, ideologically-diverse group of 34 senators.

The legislation would provide federal tax incentives and government insured loans to community corporations to provide a flow of capital for new businesses. It also would allow the creation of community development corporations, chartered by the residents of low-income, high-unemployment areas, both urban and rural. The community corporations would operate within a self-defined community area, ranging from 5,000 to 300,000 people. After 10% of the over 16 population in the community pledged to buy stock, a corporation could be established.

Each Community Development Corporation would buy and manage productive business enterprises in the community and use the profits to finance its own educational and social service programs.

(continued page 2)

AGRICULTURAL CO-OP MANAGERS MEET

The Managers of agricultural co-ops in the Federation met for a Management Development Seminar from December 27-29, 1968 at SWAFCA's headquarters in Selma, Alabama.

The seminar attended by forty co-op managers, board members and other personnel was devoted to planning and training for farmers co-ops.

The first session was devoted to a discussion of marketing problems of fresh and processed produce. Mr. Ollie Hall, the Federation's Marketing Specialist and his new assistant, Lavelt Steptoe, discussed marketing prospects for the co-ops. They stressed the need: 1) for farmers to follow good agricultural practices in using good fertilizers and insecticides, 2) to secure large volumes of produce, and 3) to be sure of having a quality product.

Each co-op listed its goal in acreages of different crops. Among the co-ops present there were about 2,500 acres each of Clemson Spineless Okra and pickling cucumbers. The participants chose a committee to meet with processors and negotiate contracts on behalf of the Federation member's total acreage.

The members of this committee are: Mr. Ollie Hall, Mr. Steptoe, Mr. Robert Miles, President of West Batesville Farmers Co-op, Mr. Wilbert Guillory, Grand Marie Co-op, and a representative of SWAFCA.

(continued on page 2)

From the Director's Desk
continued ....

There was a National Conference on the Community Development Corporation bill in Philadelphia in order to study the bill in relation to the black community.

After much debate and disagreement the group finally agreed to ask the congressional group sponsoring the Community Development Act to grant a moratorium. The group endoursed the principle of self determination but wanted the process inaugurated immediately to effect self determination even in this bill.

A Black Task Force was organized to enlist a broader representation in the black community. Recommendations and suggestions will be solicited and a bill incorporating these ideas will be presented to a national convention scheduled for February.

by Fr. A.J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.,
Director

ATTENTION HANDICRAFT and MANUFACTURING COOPERATIVES

The New York Gift Show will be held from February 23 through 28. Handicraft and manufactoring cooperatives are encouraged to send their products to the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, for display at the gift show.

Last year the Federation was able to generate more than $10,000. in sales for several of the cooperatives. In addition, these cooperative products were made known to hundreds of buyers throughout the country.

Any cooperative wishing to participate should send samples of their products immediately to:

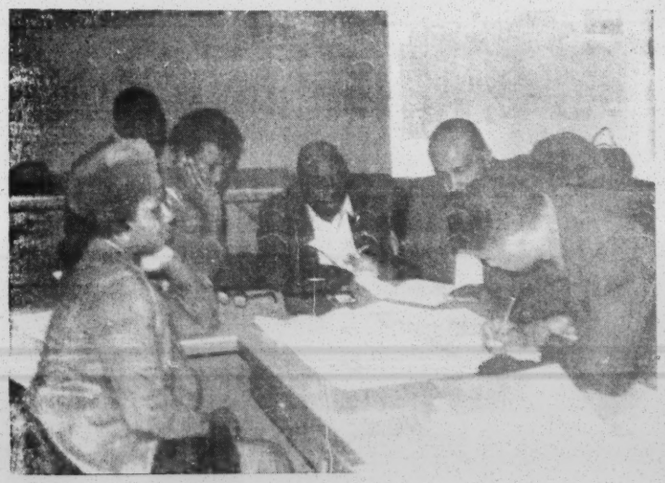
Miss Brenda Williams
Federation of Southern Cooperatives
52 Fairlie St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Agricultural Co-op Manager Meet .. cont.

Mr. Bill Farmer of the Federation staff discussed some of the responses he had received from fertilizer companies to the recent suggestion that all co-ops buy together. The Federation members use between 10,000 to 15,000 tons of fertilizer each year on their farms. The Federation plans to keep all the co-op managers informed on further negotiations with fertilizer companies. One plan discussed at the meeting was for all co-ops to buy from one company this year to demonstrate the strength of our volume and use this for further bargaining. We also listed some other products that the Federation could help to buy in volume for us, e.g.: insecticides, appliances, toys at Christmas.

The rest of the meeting was devoted to working on interpretation of financial statements, budget planning and the manager's role in membership education.

by: John Zippert
Assistant Director



(Managers of Co-ops during Training Seminar, in Alabama.)

" HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN," says Mr. Hurley Mose

To give aid to already existing co-ops as well as to new co-ops is a common practice and goal of Southern Cooperative Development Program. As organizers, I'm sure you have encountered problems that individuals face that are not common to a group of people.The following message tells of such an instance where a poor man was being sued for failing to repay a loan from a community bank.

Mr. Hurley Mose, a school bus driver who is the father of six children, made a loan agreement with a bank in his home town of Ville Platte, La. A loan which almost proved to be detrimental to his entire family. The loan was for the purpose of purchasing a school bus, which would supply him with a job and means of support for his family.

The bank's representative explained to Mr. Mose that he would be given seven years to repay the loan. This verbal agreement was satisfactory to Mr. Mose, however, as it turned out it was only a verbal agreement. The written signed contract stated that Mr. Mose had a three year period to repay the entire loan.

Mr. Mose is a poor man who cannot read or write fluently. However, he can sign his name. When he signed the loan contract he thought he was signing the verbal agreement, which was to repay the loan within seven years.

Three years after signing the contract, Mr. Mose was approached by representatives of the bank. They required him to pay the balance of the loan or face loosing his farm which was mortgaged by the bank.

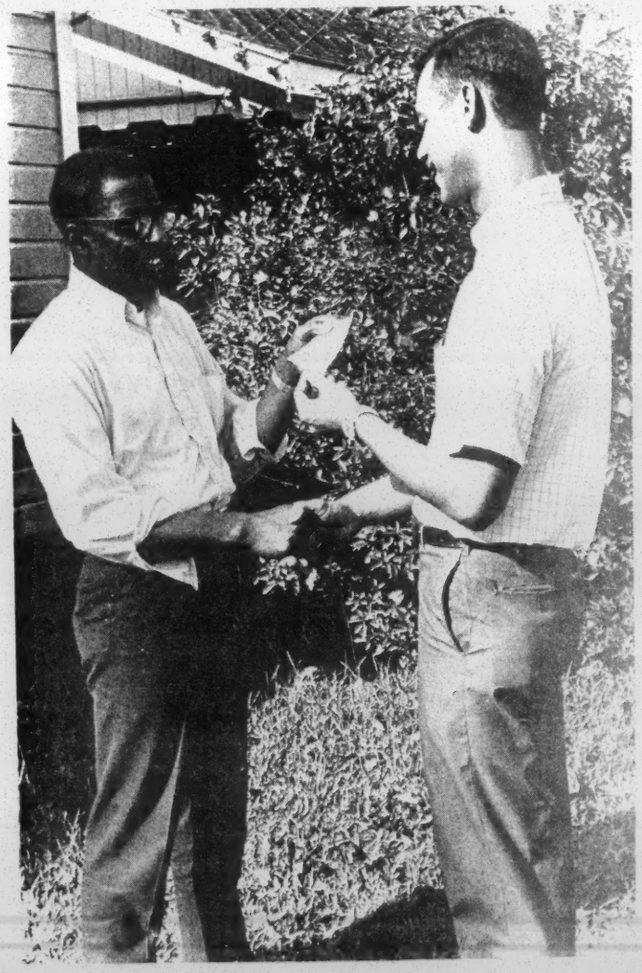
It was at this point that I was contacted by a member of Mr. Mose's family and asked to help. I immediately looked into the matter and found that the bank was within its legal rights, as far as Mr. Mose having to pay the balance of the loan immediately. The problem now become clearer. It was a matter of finding $8,400. After searching three or four days we were able to find a very kind man who was willing to give Mr. Mose the loan at no interest. This was a big day for Mr. Mose as well as for the SCDP Staff. It was a reason to celebrate. And we did. Mr. Mose phrases everyones feelings very

(continued next column)

well when he said, " happy days are here again."

This is a very good example of how the black man is been exploited and how, if we work together, we can combat this exploitation and win justice. This one battle has been won but the war is not over yet. We invite you to join our crusade against those who would resort to trickery, bribery and out right discrimination to keep the black man in his so called "place".

by Fred Prejean



(Mr. Mose and Fred Prejean, Mr. Mose receives check from SCDP contact, Fred Prejean, is State Supervisor of SCDP.)

FERTILIZER CONTRACTS OFFER BIG SAVINGS

The Federation of Southern Cooperatives is now in the process of securing contracts for farmer cooperatives in the purchase of fertilizer. The Federation has contacted the major fertilizer producers in the South.

By purchasing on a volume basis, a cooperative can make considerable savings on fertilizer purchases. SWAFCA has recently purchased 2,600 tons of fertilizer from SWIFTS at a savings of more than $3. a ton.

Any cooperative interested in purchasing fertilizer should contact Bill Farmer of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, at ... 52 Fairlie St., N.W., Atlanta, Georgia.

EDUCATION IN THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT

It is basic to all organizational work in the cooperative movement that the approach to people must be educational, that people adopt cooperative attitudes through the gradual process of education, and that progress in cooperatives results from a variety of educational activities. The efforts of those who set out to organize co-ops, are doomed to failure unless they regard their work as education. Good cooperatives cannot be organized except on a foundation of knowledge and understanding by both co-op directors and members.

It has been said that cooperation is an economic movement employing educational action. The statement would be no less true if it were reversed. The cooperatives is an educational movement employing economic action. Education is a vital part of the spirit of the cooperative.

CO-OP NEWS
P.O. Box 3005
Lafayette, La. 70501

Bulk Rate
U.S. POSTAGE
.1¼ cts. Paid
Permit No. 235
Lafayette, La.

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Report for Year 1972-1973

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE

SUBJECT: ACADIAN DELIGHT BAKERY AND BUSINESS OF S.C.C.

During the year 1972, Small Business had us spend $6,000.00 for remodeling the bakery. This was one of the demands made to secure an 8-A set aside contract. However, upon completion of remodeling the bakery, and passing the inspection, we did not receive the contract. Through a telephone conversation, I was told that there was no 8-A contracts available, but they would never put this in writing. In 1972, we cut half our lost, and is hoping that 1973 this year we will brake even.

Too much emphasis has been placed on the out-of-state sales in individual businessmen buying cakes for gifts, fun raising and individual contacts. This year we plan to put emphasis on local areas of Lafayette, New Iberia, Lake Charles, Opelousas, Baton Rouge, New Orleans, Alexandria, Shreveport, and Monroe. The only out-of-state sales we plan to put a little effort in are, Beaumont, Houston, Port Arthur, and Dallas which will be by direct marketing, newspaper ads, and individual mail orders. We hope to spend our marketing money this year on Direct Mailing.

I plan to buy two mailing list, people who buy fruitcakes and pecans. In 1972, we bought 5000 names. Our return was 3%. In 1969 when we orginally borrowed from you, experts told us we would become profitable by selling through brokers, but instead it proved to be unsuccessful. I am hoping that you will bare with us. We do see signs of success, we know now its not an overnight venture. We have come to the conclusinn that more emphasis should be placed on the businesses that we have now which are making money for us.

These businesses will be tools for making us self supporting and help make a large enough profit for expansion. These businesses are Real Estate, Trailer Park, The Loan Company, and Office Space Rentals. We are now in the process of buying 2 1/2 acres of land to build an office building to rent out, and create a second trailer park. This will cost approximately $150,000.00 These businesses on a small scale have proven to be a success.

You are welcome to come and visit us at:

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS COOPERATIVE
425 General Mouton
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

Thanks for your past assistance in this struggle.

Cooperatively yours,

Alfred McZeal

Alfred McZeal
General Manager

AM/po

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT

T. T. WILLIAMS

REGARDING

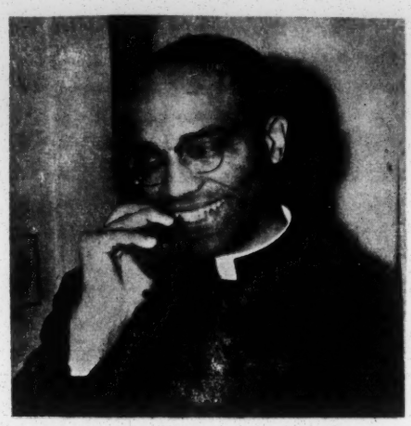
employment with Southern Consumer's Cooperative, "Cooperative Development Program." Financed by SRC for Ford Foundation

DATE

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT

"Poverty in the midst of plenty is a paradox that must not go unchallenged in this country. Ours is the wealthiest of all the nations, yet one-sixth of our people live below minimal levels of education, health, housing and food . . . . in urban and rural areas of the United States "

Words of President John F. Kennedy



A STORY OF HOPE

HISTORY OF SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' COOPERATIVE

by Rev. Albert McKnight, C.S.Sp.
Founder of Southern Consumers'

"Greater than the tread of mighty armies is the idea whose time has arrived."

Southern Consumers' Cooperative was conceived and organized as an attempt to ignite the spark of motivation for self-improvement in the minds and in hearts of many deprived, depressed and disheartened people of low-income in Southwest Louisiana.

Louisiana has the country's highest or next to highest adult illiteracy rate, and Vermilion Parish has one of the highest rates of the sixty-four civil parishes in Louisiana. I was stationed in Vermilion Parish, in the town of Abbeville and serving the Mission Church in Kaplan. During that time, with assistance of the Grail, we began formal adult literacy classes, which met with dismal failure We found ourselves with more teachers than students The people just were not interested in learning. They had made it this far in life without knowing how to sign their names and they could not see that knowing how to read and write would better their condition at this late stage in life

This indicated that the desire for self-improvement must precede any efforts toward self-improvement, and that ways and means of instilling such desires must be found. After much study and searching we found that the philosophy of the cooperative movement as expounded by the Antigonish Movement seemed to be the perfect instrument towards enkindling desires for self-improvement.

The Antigonish Movement (founded in Antigonish, Nova Scotia), is based upon five principles:

1) The primacy of the individual -- man is made to the image and likeness of God. The individual therefore is more important than money. From this flows the democratic principle that each member has only one vote no matter how many shares he owns; one member, one vote.

2) Genuine social reform in a democracy must come through the actions of the citizens. Real social progress can only be achieved if there is an improvement in the quality of the people themselves. That improvement in turn, can come only through education.

3) Adult education must begin with economic problems. We all know the importance of motivation in education. It is even more vital in adult education. You are best able to motivate adults by dealing with problems which they

feel to be most pressing. Since most adults in the low economic status are constantly struggling with economic problems, you begin with the economic.

4) Adult education must be through group action. Group action is natural to man and the problems to be solved are group problems. Therefore effective adult education must fit into this basic group organization of society.

5) Effective social reform involves fundamental changes in social and economic institutions.

The ultimate objective of the cooperative movement is a full and abundant life for everyone in the community. Economic cooperation is the first step and only the first step toward a society which will permit every individual to develop fully his capabilities.

In these basic principles we had a course of action. . . . a guide line toward motivating people in the low economic group, toward enkindling the fire of hope in a better tomorrow. Guided by the philosophy of the Antigonish Movement we slowly, step by step mapped out a program.

Our first step was to organize a Credit Union, which is a cooperative association organized to promote thrift among its' members and to provide a source of credit for provident or productive purposes. Because the organizational structure of a credit union is simple and can be started with a few members and a limited amount of capital, it is usually the first type of cooperative organized.

Credit Unions are corporations chartered by the Federal or State government to operate among well-defined groups with a strong common bond. The members save their money together and from the money saved they borrow at very reasonable interest rates. Through running their own credit unions and handling large sums of money the members are educated in money management. They learn about the complex business of credit. They receive advice on how to save, when to borrow, how to budget. For many, this is their first experience with business. Of more value, many members get their first experience in group action and receive training in cooperation and in leadership.

Consequently, twenty-five of our initial group began meeting together to discuss and learn together, the operations of a credit union. In December of 1960 we organized ourselves and invested $5.00 each, which represents one share in the credit union. We were then ready to apply for a Federal Charter; following our acceptance as a qualified group, we had an organizational meeting in which a board of directors consisting of five members and a credit committee consisting of three members were elected. The board of directors is a policy making body, establishing the policies for the credit union within the framework and by-laws set up by the Federal Bureau of Credit Unions. The credit committee is the group who approves or disapproves of all loan applications. They use the criteria of character and ability to repay the loan, as well as the purpose of the loan.

The motto of the credit union is: "Not for profit, not for charity, but for service." The credit union is not out to make huge profits by usury nor does it have money to give away. Its purpose is to help those who are interested in helping themselves. Hence loans are made only to those members who have good character, the ability to repay the loan, and who want the money for a provident or productive purpose

We were instrumental in organizing seven credit unions in a period of two years and they all faced basically the same troubles and obstacles.

Lack of understanding of the cash flow of money caused many people to be hesitant to save. They thought that if they saved their money and then wanted to withdraw it after someone else had borrowed it that they would have to wait until the borrower had repaid his loan completely.

Those who needed to borrow were reluctant in applying for a loan because they did not want their friends to know that they had to borrow money. They preferred borrowing from the finance companies and paying higher interest rates in order to keep their transactions secret.

It was some time before the official family could be made to understand that the credit union was not a fraternity but a business and had to be operated in a business manner. Policies had to be established but also had to be changed as financial conditions changed. Each loan application had to be judged on it own merits. It was only time and experience which finally taught them that loans could not be made to everyone simply because the person was a member. Often we heard: "Well you loaned money to John, why not Tom. He's a member." It was the fraternity mentality; what you did for one you had to do for all, otherwise you were unfair.

Despite the difficulties and obstacles the credit unions grew slowly and were able to render valuable service. There are two instances of service rendered to members which stand out very vividly in my memory. One was the illiterate man who had borrowed three hundred dollars fourteen years ago to buy some land to build a house. He had paid the interest each year and after fourteen years still owed three hundred dollars. Through a credit union loan he paid off the three hundred dollars and got title to his property for the first time. Over the fourteen years he had paid well over three hundred dollars in interest.

The second case was a family of twelve whose house had been destroyed by a tornado. The Red Cross had promised to help them rebuild provided however they could acquire clear title to their property which had a seven hundred dollar mortgage. No bank or other lending agency would lend them the money without a mortgage. The credit union made them a signature loan for seven hundred dollars, enabling them to have clear title to the property. With the assistance of the Red Cross they built their home.

Credit unions encourage Christian living and give heart to money matters. Credit union philosophy is religion in action in the economic field. It enables people to join their fellowmen in doing the things necessary to make their lives more secure and the world a better place to live.

After the first credit union started to operate with a degree of proficiency, we began a buyers club. Each member invested five dollars. With the money we bought some grocery items wholesale and the members bought them at retail prices. We used the storeroom in the Church hall to store the goods. The members took turns acting as salesmen.

This was an excellent training school giving members experience in running a business. They had to decide on what goods to buy, what mark-up to make and how to advertise them. Every three months the profits were distributed to the members in the form of patronage dividends according to the profits and the amount of groceries each one had purchased. The members learned the advantage of patronizing their own store.

The original idea in starting the Buying Club was that it would gradually grow into a full size grocery store. But after a year's experience we decided that this method was too slow, the town too small and even if we were highly successful, nothing significant would have been accomplished. So we started searching for a new approach.

In the summer of 1961, through contact with the director of the recreational center in Lafayette, we heard about an investment group of seven men who were saving ten dollars monthly to invest in a business once sufficient capital was accumulated. I was invited to one of their meetings and given the opportunity to explain the principles of cooperation. The members were interested and asked me to return, which I did. Meanwhile I learned of another investment group in New Iberia and attended one of their meetings and spoke to the group about the principles of cooperation.

The Lafayette group after several months decided to contact the leaders of all the social groups in the city to find out whether they would be interested in spearheading a cooperative enterprise. Two ladies came. Another attempt was made. One showed up the second time. We then decided not to limit it to Lafayette but to invite all the people from the various towns who had shown some interest in starting a business.

Twenty-two people from Kaplan, Abbeville, New Iberia, Lafayette, Opelousas and Eunice attended that meeting. After a lengthy discussion on the goals and purpose of the group, they decided to organize and act as a steering council.

On May 21, 1961, officers were elected. Each officer came from a different town, the president from Opelousas, vice-president from Abbeville, recording secretary from Lafayette, financial secretary from New Iberia and the treasurer from Kaplan. The group decided upon a five dollar membership fee to help defray the organizational costs. This proved to be a very wise decision because we did not have to use any of our share money for organizational expenses.

Not one of the original seven from Lafayette joined because as I learned later, they thought since they were the first ones to have had the idea and had extended the invitation to the others, they should have been the elected officials.

At first the entire group met in a different town each month in order to spread the word and interest more people in joining. After several months with the membership expanding we decided that each town should organize its own local group, with its own officers. Each group would meet monthly and have its members save at least one dollar each month. In January we would hold our first congressional meeting--a meeting of delegates from all the towns which had organized local groups. Each local group would be allotted five voting delegates and this Congress would have full authority over the co-op until it was incorporated and the first board of directors would be elected.

On January 14, 1962 the first congress of the co-op convened at Heymann recreational center in Lafayette. There were delegates from twelve town. The officers of the steering council were approved as officers of the congress. A by-laws committee was established to work towards legal incorporation. Educational, membership and business committees were also appointed. Congress decided to meet monthly, alternating from town to town to allow members and other interested parties to attend the congressional meetings and become better acquainted with what was happening.

By August we had reached the stage where we were ready to have subscription contracts signed and to start receiving payments on them. Each share was set at twelve dollars and fifty cents par value. All members were required to sign a subscription contract stating that in one's lifetime they would purchase twenty-four shares at least. This requires each member to invest three hundred dollars in the co-op.

If we ever hoped realistically to accumulate a large sum of capital, many people investing a sizeable amount of money would be needed. After much debate we decided that three hundred dollars was an attainable amount. Since we were trying to attract not only those in the middle class bracket but primarily those of low-income we had to make the payments within their reach. So it was decided to accept payments as little as one dollar a month.

Collectors, known as custodians were appointed for each area, the larger areas having several depending upon the size of their membership. These were bonded. In each area a checking account was opened with only the officers of the board of directors being able to withdraw money from the account. The monthly bank statements were sent directly to the Central office which was located at the Grail House in Lafayette.

The custodians deposited the money collected in the local bank. Once a month he sent a report of money collected to the central office. It took about six months to establish the accounting procedures and to get everything functioning smoothly. The volunteer assistance of members of the Grail especially during this trying period proved invaluable. Without their assistance we would never have been able to accomplish what we did.

Being advised to provide a service to the members we decided to apply for a credit union charter for the cooperative. After four months of being interviewed and checked several times by representatives from the state league and from the Federal Bureau of Credit Unions in Dallas, our application for a charter was finally rejected on the grounds that our bond of membership was not common enough. The Bureau told us to apply again after we were in business.

In June of 1963 we had a business course given by Dr. Gloster an economist from Houston and Fr. Joseph Schiffer, S. J. from New Orleans. Dr. Gloster informed us of the efforts of a group in Houston to open a bank and advised us to begin in the financial field with a small loan company and gradually work our way towards a savings and loan company.

In seeking a small loan company charter we found out that not only did we need twenty-five thousand dollars in liquid assets but that we were expected to give ten thousand dollars to the politicians for the charter.

Later in December of the same year, through a chance conversation with a bank president we were told that we could get a regular corporation charter to discount loans at eight percent without any trouble. It took the lawyer three months to get a copy of a previous discount company and to duplicate their articles of incorporation to fit our purpose.

We then incorporated the co-op as a holding company and made the lending operation a separate entity, a subsidiary of the co-op named the People's Enterprise which makes loans only to members up to four hundred dollars.

In January of 1964 we had a brain-storming session at Southern University with a professor from U.S.L., an economy doctorate student from Houston, several professors from Southern and a couple of businessmen from the Baton Rouge area to figure out what commercial enterprise would be best for us to undertake.

From our previous experience we had agreed to several guide lines. Namely, our first industrial attempt had to be within our managerial know how. It had to be something which could start small but would have the capability of growing so that we could grow with it. It would have to be an undertaking which did not require too much capital.

After studying and reflecting on the many suggestions made, we tentatively decided to search out the possibility of marketing a quality fruit-cake for the Thanksgiving and Christmas season of 1964. Fortunately we were able to enlist the services of a food specialist from Southern University whose father had had experience in conducting a fruit-cake project at Tuskegee Institute.

An initial study was made in which the idea appeared to be very feasible. After several months exploration, a prospectus was drawn, submitting a formal request for ten thousand dollars for the fruit-cake project. The board of directors finally agreed to the project in July, 1964.

A committee of three was appointed to head the project. The cake, "Arcadiana Fruit-Cake Delight" made its debut November 1. As stated in the fruit-cake leaflet the project's aim is to promote economic activities which will provide employment opportunities for the abundant human resources of low-income families.

With the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act, new hope enlivened our small cooperative. We immediately applied for help. On November 22, 1964 word was received that our application was accepted. Much publicity and congratulations came from many sources. Ours was the first loan accepted under Title IV of Economic Opportunity Act. This $25,000 loan will allow us to expand our fruit-cake enterprise to include the production of pralines and doughnuts. We have no illusion that this small program will bring total victory to the War on Poverty in Southwest Louisiana, but we feel it is a strong beginning. The ultimate success must rest upon the determination of our people for whom this project was designed to help.

Our Story of Hope continues. It reaches out to search for new and bigger steps to make this world a better place to live.

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS'

COOPERATIVE, INC.

425 GENERAL MOUTON STREET · LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501
P. O. BOX 3005 · PHONE: 232-1126

File

Staff

Dear Invitee to the White House Conference:

"To Fulfill These Rights"

We are offering you the opportunity to do something concrete to help in the fulfillment of these rights. Southern Consumers' Cooperative is one of the most successful endeavors in the War on Poverty and has motivated a sense of belonging and a sense of responsibility for bettering themselves and their community.

We offer you the opportunity to participate in this success story by ordering some of our "Acadian Delight" products as holiday gifts for your beloved ones.

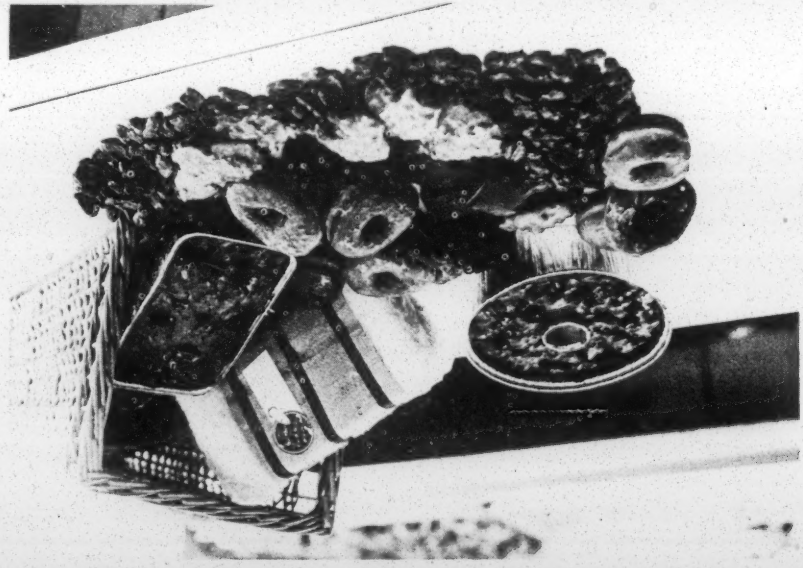
Sincerely yours,

Alfred McZeal

Alfred McZeal
Sales Manager

AMc/mlw

Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc.
P. O. Box 3005, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501



Buy "Acadian Delight" Products

Direct-Mail Combine-Valope
Patent 2,158,528
Curtis 1000 Inc.

"ACADIAN DELIGHT" PRODUCTS

Made in Louisiana's *Evangeline Country* from traditional Acadian Receipes.

	order 1-11	12-23	24 or more	
Item 1 ACADIAN FRUIT CAKE DELIGHT				
1½ pound cake	$3.05	$2.75	2.45	*Packed in cotton-bale*
3 pound cake	5.25	4.75	4.30	*Tin Container (Round)*
5 pound cake	7.95	6.95	6.00	*Tin Container (Round)*
Item 2 ACADIAN B OWNIE DELIGHT				
12 ounces	$2.50	$2.30	$2.05	*Packed in cotton-bale*
Item 3 ACADIAN PRALINE DELIGHT				
12 ounces	$3.10	$2.95	$2.65	*Packed in cotton-bale*
Item 4 UNSHELLED ACADIAN PECANS				
2 pounds	$2.50	$1.85	$1.65	*Packed in cotton-bale*
Item 5 SHELLED ACADIAN PECANS				
1 pound	$3.10	$2.95	$2.65	*Packed in cotton-bale*

***3 pound cake and the 5 pound cake come in tin container—all other items come in miniature cotton-bale, hand fashioned by members of the Cooperative.*

DISCOUNT PRICE ONLY IF SHIPPED TO ONE ADDRESS.

Dear Customer:

These products are produced by members of Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc., a Louisiana chartered firm. Its primary aim seeks to promote economic enterprise which provides alternative employment opportunities utilizing abundant human resources of low-income families.

This product cooperatively joins many local low-income families in combining their excess labor potential with locally grown products, creating new delicacies for selective marketing.

If you enjoy our "ACADIAN DELIGHT PRODUCTS"—tell others . . . Join us in our Story of Hope!

Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc.
P. O. Box 3005, Lafayette, Louisiana, 70501

OPEN HERE

NO ENVELOPE NECESSARY

This Flap is Gummed—Just Fold, Seal and Mail

You may enclose checks or money orders with safety.

Please ship the following cakes to each name below: be sure to print plainly and give full address

ITEM NO.	QUAN-TITY	SIZE	SHIP TO	ADDRESS	CITY, ZIP # & STATE	DATE TO ARRIVE

MY NAME

MY ADDRESS

STREET CITY ZIP CODE STATE

I ENCLOSE CHECK OR MONEY ORDER FOR $_____ TO COVER THIS ORDER

FOR CORPORATIONS ONLY _____ BILL ME *DISCOUNT PRICES APPLY ONLY IF SHIPPED TO ONE ADDRESS.

These products are chuck full of pecans and fruits. Only in *Evangeline County* can such taste be captured. Enchantingly delightful, rich in flavor and quality. Made from Acadian receipes.

Each product comes in *an Old South cotton bale,* a charming gift box individually hand fashioned by cooperative members!

Postage Prepaid

If you wish cards enclosed with your gift products, complete forms below.

Check one: ☐ I attach personal gift cards to be enclosed with order.

☐ Please enclose gift cards to read:

Postage
Will Be Paid
By
Addressee

No
Postage Stamp
Necessary
If Mailed in the
United States

BUSINESS REPLY MAIL

FIRST CLASS PERMIT No. 326, LAFAYETTE, LA.

Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Inc.

P. O. BOX 3005

Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

File 1 cooperative

ES
MS-file

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS'

EDUCATION FOUNDATION

425 GENERAL MOUTON STREET · LAFAYETTE, LOUISIANA 70501
P. O. BOX 3005 · PHONE: 232-1126

Dear Friends,

For a long time we at Southern Consumers' have stressed the fact that we are truly self-help and our policy has been to get our friends and fellow Co-op workers to buy our products but we have not appealed directly to you for help. Now, we find ourselves in the position that we must ask your help.

We are sure that through our Newsletter and contacts with our members you are aware that for some time we have been under harassement of the local power structure. Perhaps the enclosed T. V. presentation by Fr. McKnight can best give you a complete background as to what has been happening and the final event which has made it a must to defend our rights.

We have had to turn to legal consultants to really solve this problem once and for all. We are going to Federal Court on May 4th, in an attempt to get our books back and to put an end to the harassement by the local power structure. We are trying to raise over $5,000. in order to help with the legal expenses which are involved in this case and another law suit we have pending against us. The actual cost may go up to $10,000. or more, but we have been most fortunate to get the help and services of the Lawyers' Constitutional Defense Committee. We do not have to pay for their services but we certainly feel obligated to pay for the expenses involved since they are also pressed financially.

The legal expenses have gone up as the need arises, one example would be that the lawyers have had to hire a C.P.A. to help them familiarize themselves with the technical language of accounting so that they can ask the right questions.

Any contribution you or your organization can make will be of great help to us at Southern Consumers'.

Send your contributions to: Southern Consumers' Education Foundation
Att.: Legal Defense Fund
P.O. Box 3005
Lafayette, Louisiana 70501

The Education Foundation is non-profit and tax deductible. Thanking you for your interest and concern for our work.

Sincerely,

A.J. McKnight C.S.Sp.
Rev. A.J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.
Treasurer

Una Mae Hargrave
Una Mae Hargrave,
Education Director

ANSWER TO: "BAN THE AUDIT"

By: Rev. A. J. McKnight, C.S.Sp.

(Following is a T.V. presentation given on April 24, 1967. It is reprinted here to attempt to clarify our position and keep you informed of the recent harrassement in our area.)

I wish to congratulate Channel 3 on their sense of fair play in giving me this opprotunity to reply to Bob Hamm's Special Report on Arpil 18th on "Ban the Audit".

First I would like to state categorically and emphatically that we have never objected to an audit of the books of Southern Consumers' Education Foundation. (I made the motion at the special Board Meeting of Acadiana-Neuf, in November, 1966, that all the programs of Acadiana-Neuf be audited, that motion was amended to read, "All the programs of Acadiana-Neuf be audited by an integrated firm.") Peat, Marwick and Mitchell of New Orleans was the firm chosen. Why is it that to this day Southern Consumers' Education Foundation's programs were the only ones audited by the auditing firm?

We do object, however, loudly and strongly to the manner in which Southern Consumers' Education Foundation books were seized by the District Attorney. We also object and will fight in the federal courts the demand that we hand over the books of Southern Consumers' Co-op, which is a private company distinct from Southern Consumers' Education Foundation and which has never received any grants from the Federal Government.

Early on Tuesday, April 11th, the District Attorney and a Deputy Sheriff walked into our office, threw an illegal subpoena on the desk and started rifling through our desk drawers and files and taking whatever he wanted of Southern Consumers' Education Foundation and Southern Consumers' Co-op records. It was only after he had transported everything in his car that we finally succeeded in contacting a lawyer who after having had the subpoena and search-warrant read to him over the telephone spoke to the District Attorney. The District Attorney then changed his tune and became more reasonable. The illegal subpoena mentioned only the records of the Foundation which were concerned with programs sponsored under Acadiana-Neuf, not the other records of the Foundation and none of the records of the Cooperative. The District Attorney then returned everything to the office and with the assistance of the staff separated the records, taking only Southern Consumers' Education Foundation records connected with programs under Acadiana-Neuf. Later some of our accounts at places where we do business were seized.

On Tuesday, April 18th, a week after our office was illegally raided by the District Attorney, a legal subpoena was issued to an officer of the Board of both, Southern Consumers' Education Foundation and Southern Consumers' Co-op.

On Wednesday, April 19th the Daily Advertiser carried a large front page article about a letter which the District Attorney wrote to Southern Consumers' to aks their cooperation in having their books audited. We received the letter two days later.

Why didn't the District Attorney send the letter requesting our cooperation with the aduit before he raided our office or before he had it printed in the Advertiser? With so many poor people in Lafayette why ask for an authorization of $10,000.00 for a third audit?

We claim that the events of the last two weeks are just another in a series of harrassments and distortions of the truth against Southern Consumers' which dates back to last September.

Back in September the Daily Advertiser started carrying a series of articles on the War on Poverty in which Southern Consumers' Education Foundation and Southern Consumers' Cooperative was involved. Many half truths and distortions were printed. Not until the 19th article did the author come for a first hand interview with our staff members.

In October a law suit was filed against the Foundation. Out of the law suit charges were made that federal funds were missing. In answer an audit of Southern Consumers' Education Foundation was made.

The Auditing Firm, Peat, Marwick and Mitchell, did not discover any missing funds but did find bad bookeeping and made recommendations which have been followed.

Then came the communist scare, created by Headline stories in the Advertiser which resulted in the State Legislative Committee of Un-American Activities Investigation. At that hearing an outside C.P.A. who never saw our books made his interpretations of the Peat, Marwick and Mitchell audit report. Why didn't the Committee get a member of this firm which performed the audit to testify?

On Friday, April 7th, Mr. James Howard a Federal Auditor finished his preliminary audit of Southern Consumers' Education Foundation programs. Based upon his findings, Mr. Walter H. Richter the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, Southwest Regional Office in Austin, Texas, issued the following communication: *"preliminary audit report does not reveal any conduct by Southern Consumers' Education Foundation staff which could be characterized as intent to defraud the Federal Government or misappropriate Federal funds. A final statement on this issue can be expected after a full audit report has been made and the grantee has been given an opportunity to respond."*

We have been accused of being communists, which the State Un-American activity legislative committee was unable to prove. We have been accused of stealing federal funds which a preliminary federal audit report does not verify.

No matter what we do to answer false charges we will be vilified.

We cannot fight, as the saying goes, *City Hall*. We do not have the same access to the Daily Advertiser and Television Stations as our opponents. We do not have a public relations staff and we refuse to consume all of our time answering false charges. We have decided to ignore the charges and follow the dictum of Christ, who today would be called a communist: " *By their actions, you will know them."*

We have however, called upon the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to make an investigation into the harrassment which has plagued the Foundation over the past nine months.

I would like to make the plea to the two television stations, Channel 3 and 10, to give me a half hour to tell the story of Southern Consumers' and it's purpose to the general public.

APPENDIX I

SOUTHERN CONSUMERS' EDUCATION FOUNDATION

INTRODUCTION:

Southern Consumers' Education Foundation is a non-profit, tax exempted organization founded to be the Educational arm of Southern Consumers' Cooperative. It assures the members of continuous educational programs which work hand in hand with the business phase of the Cooperative, yet separate and on its' own. Objectives and purposes of the Education Foundation are listed below:

I. OBJECTIVES *(As detailed in Charter and Articles of Incorporation).*

1. *To educate members in the purpose of Cooperatives and the principles of cooperatives, and to carry on general educational programs through adult educational activities.*

2. *To educate members to function more effectively as individuals, citizens, parents, and as workers. To live more intelligently with themselves and with others.*

3. *To educate members that in a real democracy, people must share the responsibility for the creation and distribution of wealth.*

4. *To educate members to the thrill of feeling that they are masters of their destiny and that they can do something for themselves, through group action and true cooperative philosophy.*

5. *To achieve through education a change of quality of individuals and to instill a desire and necessity to help their fellow man.*

6. *To improve education, economic and political interests through group action and motivate a desire to change.*

7. *To share ideas, attend meetings, work together, learn together to make their communities better places to live and work.*

8. *To educate members in the wise use and handling and management of money.*

9. *To educate members to respect differences of opinion, to seek common ground and to work to put their own thinking into the good of the group, to bear criticism, to subdue jealousy.*

II. ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

The Foundation has sponsored many programs under O.E.O.

This past year the Foundation sponsored Head Start in eight Civil Parishes of Louisiana, enrolling over two thousand five hundred pre-school children from poverty families. The program was a tremendous success. It also sponsored a Remedial Reading program for over fifteen hundred children and forty adults.

Southern Consumers Education Foundation through its "Sweet Potato Alert" program which was funded by O.E.O. was successful in assisting over four hundred small sweet potato farmers who were on the verge of giving up farming, to organize and operate Grand Marie Vegetable Co-op.

This Educational program has enabled the farmers to experience the benefits of group action and has helped them to identify their interests with the co-op.

Southern Consumers Education Foundation is sponsoring a management program for Vermilion Parish Federal Credit Union through an O.E.O. grant. It took this credit union six years to accumulate assets of the ten thousand dollars. Since this full time management program has been in operation this credit union has been increasing its assets at the rate of over a thousand a month. At this rate the Vermilion Parish Federal Credit Union will double its assets this year overshadowing in one year its previously five years accomplishments.

In the Grand Marie experience, as in the Foundation Head Start, Remedial Education, Food Fair (group purchasing) and Credit Union activities people who were "nobodies" in their communities became "somebodies" - savers, owners, active citizens. They have learned to articulate ideas and needs. They have seen the power of group action for achieving common goals. They have begun to control their own destinies.

Annual Report

1966 Education Foundation

PROJECT HEAD START

PARISH	No. of Children	No. of Employees	No. of Centers	Amt. of Federal Grant	Amt. of Vol. Time
Acadia	500	74	4	$ 79,442.00	$ 9,000.00
Iberia	300	48	6	90,035.00	18,000.00
Lafayette	400	72	6	126,770.00	13,200.00
St. Landry	700	144	12	197,650.00	21,000.00
Vermilion	300	35	6	78,364.00	9,600.00
St. Mary	200	36	3	62,998.00	8,400.00
E. Feliciana	260	33	6	54,615.00	100%Poverty
W. Feliciana	250	28	1	37,255.00	100%Poverty
TOTAL	2,910	470	44	$727,129.00	$79,200.00

REMEDIAL PROGRAMS

Location	No. of Beneficiaries	No. of Employees	Amt. of Grant	Amount of Volunteer Time
Dunbar	800 children 40 Adults	128	$105,401.00	$ 22,235.00
Phillis Wheatley	400 children	62	44,328.00	13,572.00
Lincoln Morrow	300 children	42	36,989.00	14,557.00
TOTAL	1,540	232	$186,718.00	$ 50,364.00
Credit Union Project	Vermilion Parish, All residents.	3	$ 36,467.00	
Sweet Potato Alert		32	53,194.00	
TOTAL		35	$ 89,661.00	

A STORY OF HOPE

A PROPOSAL FOR

COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT AMONG LOW INCOME SOUTHERNERS

This proposal is for a two-year cooperative development program among low-income Southerners in a four state area (Louisiana, Mississippi and parts of Alabama and West Tennessee). To finance the program the Southern Consumers' Education Foundation is applying to the Ford Foundation for a grant to cover the total costs.

BACKGROUND STATEMENT

The statement of needs to be met and methods and organization to be used were formulated by a conference of southern cooperative leaders and organizers called by the Southern Regional Council, and meeting at Mt. Beulah, Mississippi, June 9-11, 1966. The statement was refined and revised in a series of meetings of a sub-committee appointed by the conference.

MT. BEULAH CONFERENCE

This conference, assembled at Mt. Beulah Conference Center, June 9-11, 1966, brought together three dozen participants, half of whom were members of low-income cooperatives, organizers connected with various human rights organizations who have helped develop cooperative projects, four O.E.O. observers, and four co-op technicians representing the Cooperative League.

The low-income members of the Mt. Beulah Conference were quite clear about some of the problems facing their cooperatives:

1. Business problems of a new cooperative.

   "A bunch of small farmers -- we'd been raising sweet potatoes but we wann't doing much good. When ya borrow money and get nothing off your crop you're in trouble. So we formed this co-op to get rid of the middle-man..."

2. Business world is a competitive world.

"We learned that sweet potatoes and fertilizer was competitive as hell! We might be fraternal inside the co-op but outside it isn't." (Quote from the President of a new vegetable cooperative.)

3. Failure of federal and state agencies to give assistance to low-income Negro farmers. (Note that in the examples cited the cooperative became a means by which the members received assistance they couldn't get individually.)

"The county agent came Tuesday. First time I ever saw him. I suppose the co-op might of brought him. If the co-op asked him to come."

A member of the vegetable co-op, "Until the co-op was organized there were no Negro sweet potato inspectors. During a meeting of the co-op someone mentioned this. The co-op sent a letter of protest to the Agricultural Department. Since that time, Negroes have passed the qualifying examination for this position. Based on individual difficulties of obtaining FHA loans in the past, the members of the cooperative were skeptical of the chances their $170,000.00 loan application had of being granted." "We expect 'em to continue stalling us until the crop's almost ready to bring in -- then they'll give us the money. Hope it ain't too late," explained one member.

4. The difficulty or impossibility of joining existing segregated cooperatives or even obtaining services from them. Those present agreed that in their areas, established co-ops in the region have been rigidly segregated for years and are not showing any inclination now to change their policies.

Members of two farmers' oil cooperatives recently organized reported that it had been impossible to join existing segregated cooperatives. The manager of one of the new cooperatives said he thought it would be impossible to integrate the existing co-ops in his county and still maintain any "cooperative" spirit among the members. Besides, he agreed why not get used to running "our own" and then maybe later on, after experience in co-ops has been gained, "merge the co-ops."

There were some who favored attempts to integrate low-income Negroes into existing segregated white cooperatives, instead of setting up competing cooperatives but none of these had personally participated in successfully integrated cooperatives where low-income Negroes were a majority or a large minority of the population.

Members of the Mt. Beulah Conference who were not themselves low income but who had helped organize cooperatives pointed out still other hazards to be avoided and difficulties to be overcome:

1. Illiteracy and semi-literacy are major problems which hold back the formation of most organizations, including co-ops, and keep them from operating properly. A major part of any co-op development program must concern itself with basic literacy.
2. It is very hard to get the poor working together except against an external group. A group organized around the issue of police brutality, for example, seems to quickly fall apart, once certain gains are made or the issue ceases to be dramatic. By organizing around economic issues using a cooperative structure, individual members of the group can sense gains at the same time the group

makes gains. As we see it, the co-op remains flexible enough to work on a variety of community problems as a group, having the "steady" economic issue to hold it together. For these reasons we view the co-op mainly as a tool.

3. People, especially poor people, need to prove to themselves that they can do things themselves. Poor people suffer in nearly every phase of their lives from the basic problem of dependency upon others to do things for them. A central theme of this proposed program is that co-ops offer a tool that can be used to break this dependency cycle -- first psychologically and eventually economically.

   Electing officers, selecting managers, running businesses and planning for expansion, all help to develop the self confidence of individual members of a co-op. This also helps to increase the confidence of the members in their organization -- our program will adhere to the principle that, "nothing should be done that the people can do themselves" to best accomplish the goals of our program.

4. A fundamental need is for an initial study period before a co-op is formed. All prospective members should know exactly what they are doing and why. Feasibility studies should be done by the group of potential members for the twin reasons of "making the best possible economic use of the cooperative" and equally important, "involving the potential members in the formation of the co-op from the very beginning." Beginning by studying the problems and searching for solutions to them, education becomes an important issue in the minds of the members regarding the

strength of their cooperative. Responsibilities of members, various forces in the community that effect the cooperative, the expansion and the control of the co-op are areas for further study. Thus members will discover that basic education and cooperative 'know-how' together with technical training are necessary for the success of their cooperative. As a result of this initial study period, education and training become in themselves the exciting activities which draw and keep members over the long haul replacing the temporary economic incentives.

The problem as it has been described in the preceding paragraphs is one of the undeveloped human potential, racial discrimination, and poverty problems which when, combined mean that people who suffer them, have very little, if any, control over events concerning their daily lives. A majority of efforts endeavor to solve the problem with separate programs. For instance, adult education programs, human relations courses, and community organization efforts are scattered across the South. They have achieved varying levels of success. Often, however, the person in the adult education program cannot see what relation there is between learning to read and write and some of his economic problems. Human relations courses are prone to be artificial -- Why, for instance, learn to work together, if you remain trapped in poverty?

The exchange of experience and ideas at the Mt. Beulah Conference was extraordinarily free and fruitful. One participant commented:

"The purpose of this Conference was to bring together those in the South who need technical assistance in the area of co-ops and credit unions and those who have the technical expertise which will allow them to render technical assistance to those who need it. In this sense the Conference was an unqualified success. In the two years I spent in the South, such interchanges were rare -- in fact this is the first meeting of the kind that I know of."

The Mt. Beulah Conference brought more than a free exchange of ideas. It brought creative thinking which culminated in agreement on broad outlines of an intensive five year cooperative educational and development program among low-income persons in the five states of the Deep South. The chief features of this program proposed and agreed upon at Mt. Beulah included:

1. The introduction and development of cooperatives through study action groups, to analyze their own problems and determine their own course of action.
2. The training and employment of a large number of Southerners as field workers, organizers, and educators to stimulate and guide the study-action groups in the development of the cooperatives of their choice.
3. There is a need for a Southern Cooperative Institute which will provide leadership training to leaders, members and officers as the cooperatives are organized.
4. Provision of technical assistance and guidance by a competent central staff of cooperative experts and consultants, and by maximum use locally of assistance available from government agencies.

5. Provisions of supporting simple literature, posters and audiovisual aids - all in the Southern vernacular - including the use of mobile vans, equipped with movies, for use in local group meetings.

6. Training manager, for emerging cooperatives, and providing their salaries during training, and in their initial service in a new cooperative.

7. Formation, as soon as feasible, of a federation of southern low-income cooperatives, to provide educational, auditing, counseling and managerial services for member cooperatives, taking over gradually the functions of this project.

To work out the details of this ambitious program and to solicit the funds required to put it into operation, the Mt. Beulah Conference commissioned a Continuation Committee, volunteers from the representatives of the existing low-income cooperatives, the experienced southern organizers and the Cooperative League. This committee has met several times. On July 22-23, at Atlanta, they considered a 39-page detailed "Proposal for a Cooperative Action Program for Southern Low Income Groups," embodying all the features listed above, and a five year budget totaling $7,929,700.

On September 16-17, meeting in Atlanta with Mr. Christopher Edley of the Ford Foundation, the Committee agreed to draft a revised proposal for two years instead of five, for less than a five state area, and for a starting budget of $750,000.

On October 17-18, meeting in Lafayette, Louisiana, the Committee set out guidelines, and set up a sub-committee to draft the final proposal.

On November 14-15, the committee met in Lafayette again to review the draft of the proposal and to take the first formal steps toward setting up a federation of southern cooperatives organized for and by low-income people. In addition, the group selected Southern Consumers' Education Foundation as the grantee agency.

This background information is provided to show in detail the distinctive character of this proposal.

The proposal is a blueprint for the full participation of low-income people in the cooperative action programs for their own advancement. It is more. This proposal itself is the product of such participation.

The Situation of Low-Income Southerners Considering Cooperative Action Today.

Forty-four per cent of the poverty in the United States is found in the South. Approximately five families out of every ten are poor. Twenty-nine of the thirty poorest congressional districts are in the South. Per capita income in this region is 600 dollars lower than the national average. Thirty-five percent of the housing is classed as "dilapidated." An appalling proportion of people in the rural South have so little formal education that they may be presumed to be functionally illiterate. Forty-six per cent of southern rural Negroes aged 25 or over have completed fewer than eight years of formal schooling.

Poverty in the South is unique in several ways. Forty-one percent of its population is classified as rural - the largest rural population of any region in the United States. Almost one out every two poor persons in the South is Negro. Nine million of the 11,600,000 Southern Negroes are living in poverty, a percentage reaching close to 80%, nearly double that of Southern whites. A previously "disguised unemployment" in low-income agriculture is coming out into the open as farm mechanization makes cotton choppers obsolete.

Over the past few years low-income southerners have been steadily organizing co-ops all across the "Black Belt" in an attempt to overcome the economic dependence that has kept them at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. These co-ops are generally acts of hope and vision rather than well-planned economic moves. There is generally no preplanning, no survey taken before setting up the co-op and because of the racial segregation in the South, there is almost no technical expertise available to low-income groups who are interested in organizing co-ops. Many of these co-ops are floundering and some have failed.

In many respects the situation of the underprivileged in the Deep South, both rural and urban, is like that of the millions of unemployed throughout the United States during the Great Depression of the thirties. Out of those dark days hundreds of cooperatives were born -- self-help cooperatives, buying clubs, and farmers' marketing and supply cooperatives. Many of the farmer cooperatives assisted by the then newly-created Farm Credit Administration and the Farm Security Administration, are today, large successful businesses, and their once poverty-stricken members are now prosperous farmers. Some of the buying clubs, especially those with

substantial intellectual or labor leadership, have become superbly successful supermarkets with a large, prosperous membership. But the situation of the low-income groups of the Deep South today differs, in several important respects from the situation during the depression years.

1. Firstly, a majority of the South's low-income population are economically illiterate. They have never had a fair opportunity to sell their labor or their crops, or buy their supplies in a genuinely free market. They are constantly in debt or usurious terms. They have never had a chance to participate in the economic decisions which effect their own lives, individually or collectively.
2. Secondly, they lack locally trained leadership. Although within their groups there are potential leaders who could, given the proper information and training, direct and manage cooperatives successfully.
3. Thirdly, many of the low-income people are convinced that the local power structure is opposed to any improvement in their lot, and that even the local representatives of Federal agencies will not give them help to which they are legally entitled, and
4. Fourthly, the enormous technological advances of the past thirty years have greatly increased the capital required and the technical and managerial competence needed for successful cooperative businesses.

The southern Negro faces still another handicap, "psychological defeatism." Father McKnight, himself a Negro and a parish priest in a small community of underprivileged Negroes, puts in this way:

> *"The Negro, having been brainwashed for centuries into believing that the white race is superior, despises himself ... They (the Negroes whom he had tried in vain to teach to read and*

write) suffered from a lack of ambition... Not only were they helpless, apathetic and listless, their ambitions and dreams had been suffused with despair, emptiness and hostility."

When Father McKnight discovered the use of economic motivation through cooperatives he found that despair and hostility could be successfully overcome.

TWO YEAR PROGRAM

I. OBJECTIVES:

This program will attempt to apply the cooperative organization in creative ways to the real problems of poor people. The measure of its success should be as much dependent upon the extent to which people indentify themselves with, and participate in, "their" co-ops, as it is dependent upon the economic benefits the co-op produce. If the people are truly involved in developing and operating their own co-op, they will patronize them and participate in them, and therefore, make them grow. The broad objective of this program is to develop and expand cooperatives whose owners will talk of them as "mine and ours" instead of "you all's and the co-ops." Only in this way can the individual members develop the sophistication necessary to survive in our competitive business economy. To develop such cooperatives will require technical assistance, business and management counseling, market research, packaging experiments, and a variety of other technical and consultative services.

More specifically the objectives of this program are:

1. to demonstrate on a limited scale the end result which can be achieved by various types of cooperatives organized by low-income people, with appropriate outside assistance.

2. to provide a basis for comparing the effectiveness of the various techniques of education, organization and management proposed by the Mt. Beulah Conference.

3. to combine these findings into a workable pattern of economic and social development through cooperatives that can be multiplied throughout the South.

II. COMPONENTS OF THE TWO YEAR PROGRAM:

This two-year proposal cannot meet all the hopes of the Mt. Beulah Conference. It has been carefully designed to achieve the maximum results with the limited funds likely to be available.

Two components, educational and technical, will represent the major thurst of this program. The Southerners who formulated this proposal were unanimous in their belief that the poor know what their problems are but lack organization and knowledge of the intricacies of the system in which they live to combat them adequately. There was also an unquestionable belief that to meet the general needs of people who have not had the opportunity to develop their full-potential and who suffer racial discrimination requires a program that is close to the people, uses their language, and involves the poor in changing their own lives.

A. The Educational Component:

1. The educational program must fit the local situation. The education of co-op members or prospective members must be around the problems as they arise and are recognized by the people, and not be the general theoretical training one expects from a training institute. If all the problems that might confront a co-op are laid out in front of prospective members

in an abstractly prepared program, it will likely scare the people away. However, if the "source" for assistance is close by, giving the co-op assistance as each new problem arises, the group will gain strength from each problem faced and overcome. Too much education can be forced too soon. This proposal calls for 20 full time and 20 part time field workers well-trained in cooperative principles to work with the co-op as it develops, acting as the "source" from which the people can get assistance. Details of the functions of the field workers are found in the section of this proposal under Field Staff.

2. Education must be designed to bring about continued active participation in the activities of the co-op, and therefore, by extension, in the activities of the community. The members must learn to use, support and control their co-op, rather than to just join and gain the economic benefits. The education program must be concerned with keeping the groups together working and growing. It must make members realize that not just economic problems can be attacked by a group of people, but other vital issues as well. Past experiences with low-income co-ops has led us to stress in this proposal the benefits that can be brought about with a good education program.

3. Special training and educational materials need to be developed which meet the special needs of the people involved. These materials should come out of co-op organizing situations. Local idioms and speech rhythms should be used in written materials. Heavy emphasis ought to be placed on the develop-

ment of new audio-visual materials because: a) there is little tradition of reading in order to learn specific information and b) the reading skills of most of the people who will use these materials is very limited. Movies, film strips, tapes, picture stories, cartoons, charts, etc., need to be developed using the people involved as the featured characters. Heavy emphasis will be placed on the development of these new audio-visual materials. New film strips, tapes, etc., need to be created because materials generally available do not deal with the problems in the southern context. In order to communicate the ideas people will have to see <u>themselves</u> and hear their <u>neighbors</u>. Otherwise a film is just a form of entertainment, not a true learning experience.

4. In order to insure that the members of the co-op have the ability to evaluate the actions of the managers, committees, and boards of directors, and thus maintain control of the co-op, there will be general training workshops held in the community to train all members in all phases of the operations.

This proposal attempts to meet this need of ensuring membership control by taking all the training and education programs possible to the entire community through the field staff and co-op experts from the central staff, as well as needed consultants. A mobile unit (perhaps a station wagon) could visit in designated areas giving week-long institutes in the communities, <u>training all interested persons</u> in management, principles of co-ops, duties of boards of directors, etc. This could take place in the evening while the days could be used to give intensive training to the full-time workers in the co-ops.

From the point of view of its low-income members, organizing a cooperative is not an end in itself. The cooperative rather is a tool to raise the economic status of its members. It should also develop a sense of community cooperation at all levels, and provide group and individual security for its members. It follows that the most appropriate education program is one which not only promotes group economic organization but also promotes individual participation in democratic decision making, experiences which lead to a new sense of confidence and a sense of accomplishment which becomes the basis for further development.

The aim of the proposed educational program is to produce members who understand and accept the responsibilities that go with cooperative membership and leaders who can wisely guide their groups in the search for sound cooperative businesses, and who can efficiently direct and manage those businesses when established. Such members and such leaders are not to be thought of as a means to a goal. In a truer sense they themselves are the goal. It is as true today as it was in the Depression when Harvey Hull made it the slogan of the Indiana farmers cooperative: "The best co-op product is a cooperator."

The educational program which follows is designed to meet these basic problems:

a. to discover and develop informed and loyal members among the low-income.

b. to enable potential leaders to assume and fulfill their proper leadership roles as organizers, capable candidates for elective cooperative office, committee men, managers, employees -- without whose understanding of cooperatives and dedication to cooperation as a way of business, cooperative success will be impossible.

B. Local Study and Action Groups:

These local groups will be formed before any formal cooperative organization will be undertaken. This type of organization follows the pattern of the world-famous Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia. It has been the basis of successful cooperative organization in Puerto Rico.

The purpose of the study-action groups organized under this project will be:

1. To determine for themselves their own most urgent needs and to determine which of these needs could be met by means of the cooperative mode of organization.
2. To study the essentials for success of the cooperative enterprise under consideration, particularly in terms of available business volume, capital required, and necessary member loyalty.
3. To acquire a mastery of the cooperative principles and practices essential to the success of the enterprise.
4. To acquire capital for the cooperative planned by regular weekly or monthly savings deposited with the action group during and after its period of initial studies.
5. To visit as a group, or as delegate from the group successful cooperatives already started elsewhere.
6. To stimulate the imagination of the group's members, to plan ahead, to go on from one success to another and another.
7. To develop in the members of the group, as a by-product of a successful cooperative business action, a firm and soundly based self-confidence in their ability to handle their own economic affairs, both individually and as a group.

C. Technical Component:

1. The need to develop markets and marketing skills is critical for any production-type co-op.
2. Assistance in planning future expansion, crop diversification, accounting procedures, modern business methods, etc. is needed.
3. The securing of credit is often a major problem for beginning low-income co-ops. To whom to apply, how to apply, the cost of the loan, the making of the application, etc., -- all require technical help, when doing it for the first time.
4. The need for technical help is actually endless. Because of the great variety of assistance needed by different type co-ops this proposal has requested a considerable sum of money in order to employ consultants as the specific needs arise. We feel large sums of money can be saved in this way while still providing the needed services.
5. Many of the individual needs of co-op members can be met by their community agencies. However, the services supplied by federal agencies supposedly dedicated to ridding the nation of poverty have, in the past, been disappointing.

The experiences of existing low-income co-ops in being able to exact equal service from these and similar agencies are encouraging. Although organized around economic needs, co-ops can function extremely well, as pressure groups to help bring about desperately needed changes in the social and political situations of communities. This "multiplier effect" on community service agencies and the similar effect cooperatives have on the people who build and own them are essential strengths of this proposal.

The people involved in organizing cooperatives involving poor southern people over the past few years, and many of the members of these co-ops are convinced that cooperatives offer a way to attack these--educational, individual and economic problems within the scope of the program. The reasons for this conviction are the numerous positive features found in cooperatives:

-----Co-ops can be an excellent organizing tool. They give people the opportunity to work as a group on common interest problems, and most importantly, the people, themselves, make the decisions of the group.

-----Co-ops offer people the chance to participate in good-size businesses. Again, that means making decisions about planning for the future, handling loans of considerable size, etc.---things poor people never do because they never have the opportunity to make these decisions as individuals.

-----Co-ops, with their one man - one vote provision, offer members an excellent opportunity to "participate" in a democratic organization.

-----Co-ops, especially those growing out of education and study groups, help expand their members' confidence, ability to plan ahead, and to "thing big," using direct self-interest issues as motivation.

Co-ops offer but do not guarantee these positive features just mentioned. We believe any cooperative education and development program attempted in the South must include a technical component if it is to achieve success.

1. Technical training for individual lay cooperative officers - president (as presiding officer), secretary, treasurer, supervisory committee, education committee. Specific training dealing with the problems of these non-paid, voluntary and elective officers. This technical training will take three forms:

a. coaching by the area cooperative counselor

b. group courses -- training to be given by the central staff, for example, the auditor-analyst, training bookkeepers, and/or other cooperative technicians called in

c. on the job "internship," a few days at a time, with existing cooperatives, which agree to provide this experience. This is an important part of the technique employed effectively in credit union development.

Particularly since most of these elected or volunteer officers will be low-income persons who can ill afford or cannot afford travel and expense involved in such technical training courses, they should be reimbursed by the Project for these costs.

2. Technical training for potential managers must be thorough and must embrace both theory and practice:

a. A course in management, probably one month in length, at the southern cooperative training institute proposed by this project. This course will be repeated each year as management trainees are available. Trainees will receive salaries and have all expenses paid. Planning the academic course in management will be done in consultation with best cooperative management training personnel in the nation.

b. "On-the-job training," field expereience for each management trainee, in a cooperative where he can obtain the maximum amount of experience relevent to the management job to which he expects to return. Attempts will be made to solicit successful co-ops to underwrite the on-the-job training course. When this is not possible the travel expenses and

salary of the trainee will be borne entirely by the Project. This on-the-job field training will be planned and directed by the southern cooperative institute, in collaboration with the cooperatives and cooperative educational institutions which have such training programs now in operation.

III. SELECTION OF COMMUNITIES AND POTENTIAL MANAGERS:

A. Selection of the Communities:

The twenty communities for intensive coverage will be chosen within a radius of 300 miles from Jackson, Mississippi. This radius includes most of the recently organized or embryonic cooperatives among low-income people - existing cooperatives to be strengthened by this project. The twenty communities to receive the full-time services of the cooperative field force will be chosen on the basis of the following criteria:

1. Each county selected for cooperative promotion should have enough potential members to support the full-time services of a competent cooperative manager.
2. Communities that give evidence of some degree of group activity among low-income people.
3. A base to sustain actions around economic issues. Each of the twenty communities so chosen would have the full-time services of a resident cooperative or fieldman (or woman) chosen, trained, directed and paid by the central office set up under this proposal.

B. Selection of Managers for New Cooperatives:

Selection of potential managers for training will be based upon the following principles:

1. Managers as well as the rest of the employed staff of cooperatives and credit unions assisted in this program will come largely from within the groups themselves. The development of business leadership from within the low-income groups themselves is one of the major objectives of the program.
2. Talented men and women within study-action groups may be recommended for management training by the local groups, by the cooperative counselors, or by responsible local people outside the low-income group.
3. These men and women, sent for training, may be employed at the conclusion of their training by their own group, or by some other group, depending on local circumstances.

IV. NUMBER AND KINDS OF COOPERATIVES TO BE ORGANIZED:

The numbers and kinds of cooperatives which should emerge in these twenty communities are not described in the body of this proposal for the sound reason that the potential members in each community are to make those decisions themselves, guided and stimulated by their cooperative fieldmen, and advised by the technical competent experts of the central staff and their consultants.

To apply co-op principles creatively to the problems of poor people, the organization and training staff will need a flexible orientation as well as an ability to adapt to a variety of situations. For example, if there is a large number of domestic workers in an area working for $3.00 a day a member of the field staff might begin working in that community by talking about social security requirements for domestic workers. After an

organization has been formed, the members might begin studying ways they can save money, perhaps by beginning a buying club and purchasing their staple food products from a large chain store or a wholesaler. A union could be formed demanding higher wages and better working conditions. Such a union might have as its central holding force a "cooperative hiring hall for all domestic services," through which job request at union pay scales would be handled. Eventually a cooperative health plan could be instituted or a cooperative funeral society -- whatever the members decided after learning of the alternatives open to them. Throughout the building of this organization, the structures should be raised by the people, growing in accordance with their particular needs, and not be built on to them or on top of them.

V. THE STAFF:

A. The Field Staff:

1. Full Time:

In order to take the major part of all training and educational programs "to the people" a field staff will be hired. These men and women will be from the South and it will be required that they have some experience in working with the poor. The field staff will live in the communities where they work on a permanent basis so the people will feel they are part of the community and always in reach when problems arise. It will probably take three to six months for these organizers to be accepted and trusted in the communities. During this time they will be able to familiarize themselves with the people, problems and "power structure" of the area.

A month training program will be attended by each member of the field staff before they are placed in their communities. The

program will include:

-----How to analyze a community

-----The use of non-directive techniques of community organization (getting the community to work on its own problems under the direction of its own leaders.)

-----Programs and resources that can be drawn upon for assistance, such as FHA, SBA, ASCS, HUD, HEW, legal, etc.

-----A basic grounding in cooperative principles

-----How to creatively apply the cooperative form of economic organization to community problems

-----Tours of successful cooperatives of various types in the South and the North

2. Part Time:

The budget calls for twenty full time paid organizers and twenty part time workers. Farmers who have had experience, for instance, in setting up their own cooperatives could spend full time in the winter months working to help other farmers organize a similar co-op in another part of the state, or maybe a branch of his co-op in his own county. Housewives, older people on social security, barbers (usually only work on weekends in many southern communities), etc., could be hired on a part time basis. Much of the organizing work will have to be done in the evenings anyway because that is when poor people are free to attend meetings.

Each field staff member's project will have at its disposal a modest contingency fund to be used to assist local people who participate in the program in paying their expenses. Organizations of the poor often do not succeed simply because that is what they

are -- poor people in an organization. There is no money for stamps to mail letters of complaints or requests for assistance, even if there is someone in the group who can write them; not enough telephones to "phone everybody up to come down to a meeting;" no money for gasoline to enable a committee to go to the county seat -- or perhaps there is not even a car to go in.

These are real problems that a majority of "poverty" projects forget. But they are problems that a contingency expense fund can solve. A little money spent for gasoline can mean that a good idea can get into the hands of the people. A successful co-op operation might hinge on a 100 mile trip to the nearest large city wholesale warehouse, but local people might be reluctant to go without funds to pay their expenses.

Once a group begins working on a cooperative project, the organizer will serve as an advisor-educator, assisting the co-op members when called upon and teaching basic business and financial practices as they relate to co-op principles. Field staff assigned to already functioning cooperatives will work on increasing membership participation and patronage, opening new markets and outlets, expanding territory, opening new branches and chapters of the existing co-ops, and doing whatever the members think would be most helpful.

Training, similar to that given the full time staff will be made available to part time workers on a more intensive scale.

Refresher courses or workshops for all staff and field force will be held every six months. At these refresher courses and

workshops, materials will be prepared and revised and case studies will be used of actual experiences of the on-going cooperative action program.

A number of outside "experts," i.e., sociologist trained in the dynamics of group action, economists specializing in cooperative credit and business, and cooperative educators with experience both in the USA and in developing economies abroad will also be used. Representatives of regional cooperatives willing and able to accept low-income members will be invited and urged to participate in the initial workshop, as well as subsequent refresher courses. Field observation trips to cooperative enterprises in successful operation will be an important part of the training.

B. The Central Staff:

The central staff for this program will be small and therefore must be carefully chosen to insure that those selected have a multiplicity of talents and the capacity to work long hours.

1. Director - The director will serve as the overall program supervisor. Qualifications will include:

   -----a high school education or better

   -----be from the South or have considerable work experience in the South

   -----have shown some administrative ability

   -----hopefully with experience in working with low-income people's co-ops

2. Assistant Director - The assistant director will coordinate the operations of the field staff. His qualifications will be the same as the director of the program.

3. Information Specialist - The information specialist will be responsible for research and development of materials, both written and audio-visual, for the field staff. He or she will also be responsible for the preparation of a library of materials on co-ops. Qualification:

-----professional training and experience in research and material preparation.

-----experience with southern vernacular and idioms.

4. Cooperative Specialist - The cooperative specialist will work closely with the field staff beginning with the training program and continuing after they begin their community work. He will assist in developing materials; will be responsible for setting up training programs both in the communities and at the central cooperatives. Qualifications:

-----experience in working with beginning cooperatives.

-----a thorough knowledge of cooperatives and cooperative principles.

5. Bookkeeper-Accountant - The bookkeeper's job will be to keep the accounts for the program and to help new and existing cooperatives in setting up a good bookkeeping system. Qualifications:

-----experience in cooperative accounting procedure.

-----academic qualifications equivalent to CPA

6. Secretarial Assistance - normal secretarial duties. It is estimated two or three secretaries will be required.

When technical problems arise at any stage of the development of a cooperative in a local community, problems beyond the competence of the local cooperative fieldman, the central staff will

make the appropriate help available. This help may be provided by:

a. A member of the central staff.

b. The appropriate government agency depending on the nature of the problem:

*the Office Of Economic Opportunity

*the Farmers Home Administration

*the Agricultural Extension Service

*the Economic Development Association

*experts from the State (land grant) University

*the Small Business Administration

c. Cooperative experts serving the Cooperative League, or other cooperative organizations as cooperative consultants.

VI. THE FIELD EDUCATION AND TRAINING PROGRAM:

To meet the general, educational and technical needs set forth in the introduction to this proposal the following educational and training program is envisaged.

The program will be taken to the communities to the greatest extent possible. This program will offer the needed technical and management assistance to already existing cooperatives and to the beginning co-ops as they come into operation. Funds are provided for consultants and for technical assistance to co-ops in whatever field they may request. A provision is also made to subsidize partially the management personnel of new co-ops. Under this provision a manager could receive a stipend from the co-op program enabling him to work at least 1/2 time for the co-op. This grant would be made only after an agreement had been reached with the manager and the cooperative's board of directors and also its general membership that they would all make themselves available for training sessions.

In the case of the manager, a requirement of the grant might be attendance at three to six one-week training sessions and periodic weekend seminars. The longer sessions would be held at the central training institute, while the weekend programs would be in the communities. Training seminars for the board of directors and members, as well as those for the manager would be open to all members of the cooperative, so that all members can learn more about the running of their co-op. There would be "instant institutes," again in the communities, conducted by the field staff in conjunction with the central staff and visiting consultants on subjects such as reading and interpreting a balance sheet, or the meaning of chartering and incorporation, etc., -- things all members should be thoroughly familiar with.

This program will approach leadership training as it will all parts of the educational and training program -- by taking the program to the community. By doing this many of the pitfalls mentoined in the introduction to this proposal can be avoided. The goal will be to prepare each member of the cooperative to handle the responsiblities of both board of directorship and management. As individuals show distinct abilities at management and directing, longer, more intense courses will be made available at the institute. The leadership section of this program will keep centrally in mind that in the South those in the community, especially the Negro community, who are called the leaders, are notoriously powerless and have very few real followers. The programs will need to find new people who can inspire the confidence of the people and who can carry through a new idea. These people exist now and they do exert influence on others, although most of these people generally do not consider themselves leaders. The development of the abilities and the confidence of these "hidden" leaders will be a central goal of the cooperative program.

The "institute" mentioned previously will be located in the area to be covered by the demonstration program. It will be an actual physical plant to be known as the "co-op development institute." The central staff will be housed in the institute, and conferences and long-term training sessions will also be held there. It is felt by the authors of this proposal that a physical institute offers a core or a central focal point to the entire co-op development program.

VII. THE MATERIALS:

The material used in this program will, for the most part, need to be created as the program develops. As has already been mentioned, a large number of people that this program is to reach, have difficulty in reading. The materials, therefore, will have to be simple, largely pictorial, in the idiom of the people, and to the greatest extent possible "involve local people in local relevant situations." A central theme must run through any materials produced. It will be one of trying to reach people where they are, with something they can understand and learn from. Audio-visual materials such as film strips and movies of "local people" involved in forming their own co-op will be produced. The ideas for the production of these materials can be drawn directly from the people.

VIII. THE REVOLVING FUND:

A revolving fund will be established by the Southern Cooperative Development Program. This fund will meet the critical need of temporary credit, a deficiency a beginning cooperative invariably encounters. Loans from this fund will be repaid in most cases after other credit sources, such as Farmers Home Administration or Small Business Administration, can be secured. A sum of one hundred thousand dollars is requested for the revolving fund. It is possible that the repayment of loans from this fund over a period of years will serve as

a major source of money for the continuation of the education and training program.

IX. ADMINISTRATION STRUCTURE:

The administration structure proposed for this proposal is desired to retain good administration, which requires that a single agency receive the funds and assume full responsibility for their use, and at the same time retain the eager support of all the organizations participating in the Mt. Beulah Conference. This is highly important for the success of the project.

A. Southern Consumers' Education Foundation as the grantee agency will be completely responsible for conducting the program and will name the director.

The Southern Consumers' Cooperative

and

The Southern Consumers' Education Foundation

Southern Consumers' Cooperative, Lafayette, Louisiana, serves the people of many parishes in Louisiana, which rank among the lowest in the nation in per capita income and in literacy. In half-a-dozen years, it has developed a membership based on small group meetings and regular savings for investment in the cooperative, and expanded its structure to include three subsidiary operations:

*a wholly-owned small loan company with assets, loan to cooperative members only of $80,000

*a bakery, producing fruit cakes for sale locally and nationally - providing employment to a few members, a market for products (pecans) of other members

*a separately incorporated Education Foundation financed by initial

membership dues in the cooperative to provide continuing cooperative education

The Southern Consumers Education Foundation, separately incorporated as a non-profit tax-exempt corporation has not only served well its own area but, as sub-contractor to the Cooperative League, has provided assistance and guidance to other cooperatives and cooperative projects in Louisiana and neighboring states.

B. An Advisory Board:

As indicated in the historical background statement which prefaces this proposal, the following institutions had representatives at the Mt. Beulah Conference, and were suggested as "sponsors" or "co-sponsors" of the proposed cooperative action program:

*half-a-dozen existing low-income cooperatives

*two southern organizations interested in the problems of low-income people

- Southern Regional Council, which called the Mt. Beulah Conference
- National Sharecroppers Fund

*two nation-wide cooperative federations, each of which has an Economic Opportunity Program

- Cooperative League of the USA
- CUNA International

To assure the orderly development of the program, and to provide a formal and responsible method of maintaining the full participation of the members of the Mt. Beulah Conference, and particularly of the Continuation Committee, an Advisory Board will be established.

1. Composition:

An Advisory Board will be set up and its members will be chosen by the "co-sponsoring organizations" as follows:

*seven chosen initially by the Federation (the number may be increased as the Federation grows)

*One each chosen by the following organizations

- Southern Regional Council
- National Sharecroppers Fund
- Cooperative League of the USA
- CUNA International
- The Scholarship Education & Defense Fund for Racial Equality
- The Citizens Crusade on Poverty

2. Functions:

a) Screen and recommend candidates for the position of Director (to the Applicant Agency).

b) Review accomplishments and assess the progress toward the original objectives of the program.

c) Make suggestions and recommendations on program direction and component parts.

d) Serve as coordinating body to bring to bear the maximum resources of all co-sponsors.

e) Tap the resources of other interested organizations and agencies to further the purposes of the proposal.

f) The advisory board shall meet at least quarterly, and as often as necessary.

3. A Federation:

A federation of southern low-income cooperatives will be organized now, to participate in the project from the start, and to assume responsibility for the on-going development of cooperatives among low-income southerners, hopefully as soon as possible after the completion of this two-year project.

The proposal includes the formation by the low-income cooperatives of the South of service federation, which, as time goes on, and the member and strength of the cooperatives increases, will take on more and more of the educational, financial and management services provided initially by this project. The members of existing cooperatives represented at Mt. Beulah have already put in motion machinery to set up such a federation. The federation will be in operation throughout and after the duration of this proposal.

X. EVALUATION OF RESULTS:

This two year program should be judged at its conclusion in two ways: first, how successful was it in achieving the immediate goals set; and second, what has it shown as to method to be used in further cooperative development among low-income persons. The following criteria are suggested for these evaluations.

A. Criteria for Evaluating the Success of the Project:

1. How many low-income persons or families have been involved in effective participation in successful co-ops?
2. What economic benefits have occured to these low-income persons? to their communities?
3. What impact on the community at large in solving some of the problems of the community and in developing self-confidence and

ability of members to participate in community affairs?

B. Criteria for Evaluating the Methods used in Cooperative: Developing Programs:

This two-year program should bring answers to the following questions upon which further development could be based:

1. Choice of communities - What are the most significant factors in determining whether the people of a low-income community can organize successful cooperatives?
2. Types of cooperatives - Which types of cooperatives offer the greatest gains to prospective members?
3. What methods of education - organization and lay leadership development are most effective?
4. What methods of management training and supervision are most successful?
5. What size of central staff required to organize a given number of cooperatives?
6. What kind of follow-up programs are needed to keep the cooperatives
   - educational institute
   - federation successfully operating.

XI. LONG-RANGE GOALS:

The Cooperative Development Program is an effort to provide organizational, technical and educational assistance and training to cooperatives of low-income people in several states in the South. It is also an attempt to demonstrate that cooperatives can be used as a tool which poor people can use to help solve many of their problems. A strong belief is placed in the ability of people to do so, when given certain types of assistance.

A central theme in the proposed program is that the poor should build and control their own cooperative organizations. A natural long-range goal, then, should be that the Cooperative Development Program should eventually be owned and controlled by the members of these cooperatives.

A federation of low-income cooperatives will be organized and after a period of years this federation will take over the Cooperative Development Program. When this development takes place the persons with cooperative experience and experience in working with low-income cooperatives will become the sole members of the Advisory Committee. The Cooperative Development Program will, after it is under the control of the federation, be able to pay for a majority of its own program by funds provided by the individual member cooperatives.

ESTIMATED BUDGET

FIELD OPERATIONS	FIRST YEAR		SECOND YEAR	
Salaries for 20 Fieldmen	$120,000.00		$120,000.00	
Fringe Benefits (life, health insurance)	12,000.00		12,000.00	
20 Part-time Field Workers (At $1.40 an hour, 20 hrs. per week)	19,120.00		19,120.00	
Fringe Benefits (life, health insurance)	1,912.00		1,912.00	
Contingency Fund ($700 per field worker)	14,000.00		14,000.00	
Travel -- ($1,500.00 for each group)	30,000.00		30,000.00	
TOTAL		$197,032.00		$197,032.00
CENTRAL STAFF				
Director		*(These five salaries are to be negotiated. Total amount of salaries are not be exceed $48,000.00)*		
Assistant Director				
Accountant-Controller				
Study-Action & Information Director				
Co-op Management Supervisor	48,000.00		48,000.00	
Secretary - Typist	10,000.00		10,000.00	
Fringe Benefits	5,800.00		5,800.00	
Staff Travels	8,000.00		8,000.00	
Consultants	12,500.00		12,500.00	
TOTAL		84,300.00		84,300.00
CENTRAL INSTITUTE				
Office rental, purchase of needed equipment, to include $2,400.00 for telephone and $1,000.00 for utilities.	10,000.00		8,000.00	
TRAINING				
1) Orientation of Fieldworkers	8,000.00		2,000.00	
2) Training of managers, Board of Directors and Members of Co-ops.	5,000.00		15,000.00	
TRAINING MATERIALS				
Materials for creating audio-visual aides, booklets and slides and tapes.	20,000.00		20,000.00	
TOTAL		43,000.00		45,000.00
MANAGEMENT SUBSIDY	85,000.00			
REVOLVING FUND	100,000.00			
DISCRETIONARY FUND	14,336.00			
TOTAL		$199,336.00		
		$523,668.00		$326,332.00
GRANT TOTAL FOR TWO YEARS			$850,000.00	

**Request permission to make a 20% switch from one category to another, if the need arises.*

COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT PROPOSAL

Submitted by Southern Consumers'
Education Foundation

June 1, 1954

Dr. Charles S. Johnson
President
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Many thanks for your letter of May 26. We are pleased with the new Southern Educational Reporting Service and expect to work closely with it.

The job of getting small community groups to pave the way for unsegregated schools is so vast that I don't think we and the NCCJ will tread on each other's heels. Often it is the case that where they have strength we have little, and sometimes the other way.

I will be in touch with some of the officials in the next ten days and will try to knit further the already pleasant relationships between the two agencies.

I can see coming up a movement which could grow quite a lot -- a movement to have official municipal human relations agencies. Dade County, Florida, and Rock Hill are the first two. Charlotte is eager and I hear that Anderson, South Carolina wants one. Atlanta talks of it, and Dallas has been interested.

They never sprouted in the South, particularly because law was against their proper purposes. They did sprout in the North because there the purposes fitted the foundation legal institution. Now that the law is clear for the South on schools, local human relations agencies have a job to do. I think that the litmus test to apply to those who are planning each group is whether they genuinely wish to see a substantial start made with unsegregated schools. If they do I will help them. If the agencies are proposed as stumbles all should oppose them. I am sending out a competent man, Earl Brewer, in June to make a quick roundup of the movement, North, South, and West, for such local municipal agencies, and hope to publish in July a lengthy New South article or maybe something bigger that would give steam to many communities which have caught this idea, but do not see clearly the proper purposes of such a show.

There is some reason to suppose that SRC's state agencies, when got going, will be mainly coordinating bodies for the various state and city agencies, official and unofficial, at work within each state. They will be membership organizations, but in addition to building a membership they should build a program which hooks together the increasing number of available agency-interests.

Dr. Alexander made a contact with Monte M. Lemann, and Morris Abram and Harold Fleming will go down to see him in New Orleans June 10, and plan a program of helpful action within the Bar for the South.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

RECEIVED
JUN 1 1954
Southern Regional Council

FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

26 May 1954

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am greatly obliged to you for sending to me the condensed account of the proceedings of the recent Williamsburg Conference.

The Supreme Court decision, which came very shortly after our conference, changed the climate completely from one of tentative alternative plans to one of positive and inflexible challenge.

I was able to make some reference to the deliberations at Williamsburg in a conference with another group, a Southern Educational Reporting Service. It will follow substantially the lines indicated in the report on the final day of the conference. You have probably been informed by now that Mr. C. A. McKnight, Editor of the Charlotte News, has been selected as the Director of the Service. This can prove of considerable usefulness to the programs of the Southern Regional Council, as it moves ahead on its plans.

I spent a good portion of the day in another conference called by the Conference of Christians and Jews (southern region) to work out plans within the context of that organization for implementing the decision of the court very largely through small community groups and, perhaps, religious groups. There were many references to the Southern Regional Council and your own personal work, and a desire expressed to work with the organization in the total program. The Conference of Christians and Jews feels that, as a result of its non-specificity with respect to race and race relations, in these times when it is necessary to move into the area, it probably has more conservatives who constitute the power structure of the region than perhaps any other organization. However, it is anxious to work with other organizations.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Charles S. Johnson

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

C
S
J/vlr

September 21, 1954

Mr. C. A. McKnight
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Pete:

Everybody is much taken with your first issue. The copy you sent us -- as well as the one you gave me at the Dinkler -- is battered and worn from much passing about.

All of which leads me to a brazen request: If possible, we would like to get four copies here for central staff and three copies for each activated state group -- one per chairman, vice-chairman, and executive secretary. Ultimately, this will add up to 40 copies, a whopping big total, I know. But these are the people who, presumably, will be giving leadership in their states, and your information would be tremendously helpful to them.

If the request is unmanageably large but could be made manageable by our paying a subscription fee, let me know the amount. I'll send along names and addresses after I hear from you.

Sorry I didn't get to see you and Harry again after all the oratory, which I hear went very well. Hope you have caught up with your sleep by now.

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rha

Southern Education Reporting Service

1109 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

P. O. BOX 6156
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September 23, 1954

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Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Street N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You are not at all presumptuous, my lad. We have had several requests for that many or more copies, all of which we have fulfilled.

If you will send me a complete list of all of your people in your Southern Regional Council you think should receive Southern School News, we will add them to the mailing list for the first and all subsequent issues.

I have just returned from three days in Washington and New York. Since Ashmore wasn't along, I caught up on the sleep I lost in Atlanta.

Come up to see us one of these days.

Regards,

Pete

C. A. McKnight

Rev. L. J. Twomey, S.J.
Inst. of Indust. Rels. Loyola Univ., N.O.

Rev. Albert D'Orlando
1st Unitarian Church, N.O.

Dr. A. W. Dent, Pres
Dillard U., N.O.

M. A. Wright, Linville Falls, N.C.
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Rebl. Hughes, C.D., Montgomery
Dr. W. A. Bell, Miles College, B'ham

Davidson Dunlap, Barnett Bldg. Jax
? Herbert Davidson, Newspaper, Daytona Beach ?
Mrs. W. C. White, 753 N. Highland, Cantonment, Fla.

Dr. Geo. E. Clary, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Dr. J. McDowell Richards, Colathco Sec. Lecturer
Dr. Guy Wells, 63 Auburn

John Wheeler, Mech & Farmers Bank, Durham

Mr. Richard Foster, Box 1375, Greenville, S.C.
A. J. Clement, Jr., 32, Pregnal St. Charleston
Mrs. E. H. Spearman, 1511 Laurel St, Cola.

Mrs. James S. Coate 2410 Forward Dr. Houston
Dr. W. R. Banks, Prairie View College

Rev. C. Emerson Smith, Rm 202, 109 W. Grace St. Richmond

Rev. W. Carroll Brooke, Box 208 Staunton, Va.

J. M. Tydings, 808 Stark Bldg, L'ville
Dr. R. B. Atwood, Ky. State Coll. Frankfort
Dr. Roscoe Griffin, Berea College, Berea
Rabbi Charles Mantinband, 508 Maine St. Hattiesburg
Mrs. Ruby Lyons 1116 Montgomery St. Jacksonville
Milton Vega, La Concha Bldg, N.O. 12, La.
Trade Union Bldg, Bd of
Very Rev. Maurice Shea, S.C., Rock Hill, S.C.

I have SERS
on mailing list already.

Ruth

10/6/54

Southern Education Reporting Service

1109 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

P. O. BOX 6156
ACKLEN STATION

October 4, 1954

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CHARLESTON, S. C.

HENRY I. WILLETT
SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
RICHMOND, VA.

P. B. YOUNG, SR., EDITOR
NORFOLK JOURNAL & GUIDE
NORFOLK, VA.

The New South
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sirs:

Under separate cover, I am sending you the September and October issues of the Southern School News, the official publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service. I call your attention specifically to the lead story and the exchange of correspondence between Mr. Faust and Mr. Dabney on Page 1 of the September issue which explain fully the purposes and objectives of the Reporting Service.

You will notice that a major function of the Reporting Service will be to create in Nashville a large collection of contemporary information about events in the South growing out of the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases. In addition to a general clipping service for newspaper items, we will want to clip other periodicals that carry information about segregation or desegregation. The collection will not only be available for contemporary writers and researchers, but will eventually be placed in one of the southern university libraries as a rich source of research material for the scholars and historians of future centuries.

It seems to me that the New South should be represented in this collection. Our original budget carried enough funds for SERS to buy all the publications it would need, but the tremendous demand for Southern School News will force us to revise our total budget in order to meet higher printing and mailing costs.

Hence, this request -- indeed this plea -- that the New South be sent to the library of the Southern Education Reporting Service without cost during the life of the project. In return, we will assure you that all references in New South to the broad problem posed by the Supreme Court opinion will be included in what I believe will be a truly significant historical collection.

Sincerely,

Imogene M. McCauley

Imogene M. McCauley
Librarian, SERS

October 8, 1954

MEMORANDUM

TO: Harold C. Fleming

FROM: George S. Mitchell

If there is opportunity to submit names of persons for whom we will request subscriptions to Southern School News, I would suggest Marion Wright, Gordon Hancock, and Rufus Clement.

You could also add Robert Hughes at a Montgomery address, obtainable, let us hope, in the next few days from Fred Routh. Also, Harry Jones at an office address to be obtained.

October 21, 1954

Mrs. David Jones
Bennett College
Greensboro, North Carolina

Dear Susie:

Your note of September 21 was waiting for me when I got home the first of this week, after being away for nearly a month.

You probably know by now that I have a delightful granddaughter -- Deborah Hamilton Payne, Age one month. It was good to see her and to have a few days of "air" in the beautiful and civilized New England climate.

I have asked the Southern School News, whose mailing address is Box 6156 Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tennessee, to send you their publication. It is available to individuals upon request, and unless you receive the October issue in due time, it might be well for you to write them directly, though this may not be necessary.

I surely hope that it will be possible to have a visit with you sometime during the year. We have all enjoyed the stories in the press about the development of the Bennett Nursery School. I am eager to see it.

With my best to your good husband and other friends in Greensboro, I am

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director for
Program Planning

GTH/eab

S E R S

November 11, 1954

Mr. Crawford Solomon
Convention Press
218 West Church Street
Jacksonville, Florida

Dear Crawford:

The enclosed issue of New South called "The Churches Speak," gives a useful quote from the Department of Christian Social Relations of the Protestant Episcopal Church, Province of Sewanee. That includes and covers Florida. I believe the meeting which adopted that statement recommended that within each Episcopal Diocese the Department of Christian Social Relations make up its mind before a major church meeting coming up in November as to where that department and that Diocese should stand on the matter of school segregation.

Of course, what I want to happen is local church-related discussion meetings of white and Negro people to figure out what to do town by town, and neighborhood by neighborhood, about the integration of schools together.

Maybe the Herald-Trib speech will help you. Here's a copy.

Mailed 11/15/54 (eab)

I send you, separately, such back issues of the Southern Education Reporting Service paper as we have. You can subscribe to it at P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee, and they will be glad to send it on to you free. Plus the back copies if you ask.

Had a nice time with your brother at a party after the first Herald-Trib speech-making. I liked Sarah Lawrence and was glad I was there, and at once hooked his surname on to yours and we became good friends.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encls: August, 1954, New South
Herald-Tribune Forum speech

CONVENTION PRESS
218 WEST CHURCH STREET * PRINTERS - PUBLISHERS * JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

November 9, 1954

RECEIVED
11/10/54
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I have been asked to lead the discussion for the Episcopal ministry in this area as to what the church's position should be in the matter of segregation. Unfortunately I seem to have misplaced my copies of the New South with the exception of the issue on "Schools in the South."

Would you please forward to me the information which you would consider most effective to be used in this group?

I do not havea copy of the Ford Foundation Newspaper. I would appreciate it if you would forward me a copy if you have an extra one.

I understand you and my brother Ed were on the Herald Forum in New York. He thought you were quite a guy.

With warmest personal regards.

Yours very truly,

Crawford

CRAWFORD SOLOMON

CS:S

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf

November 29, 1954

Mr. C.A. McKnight
Southern Education Reporting Service
P.O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McKnight:

Thank you for your attention to our request for additional copies of the Southern School News. In my opinion each issue improves in quality and coverage.

With all good wishes.

Yours cordially,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
for
Program

GTH/rnf

November 30, 1954

(Dictated November 24)

Mr. C. A. McKnight
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Pete:

It is a pleasure to send you five copies of the October New South as you requested November 18th.

Everyone has the warmest praise for your paper. I think that the historians, when they write about this period of Southern histor will say that in the '50's daylight was let int the subterranean caverns of the Southern mind, and that what demons survived went into very da holes indeed. And yours is the brightest light doing the shining.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Five copies of October, 1954 New South under Separate Cover this date.

Southern Education Reporting Service

1109 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

P. O. BOX 6156
ACKLEN STATION

November 18, 1954

RECEIVED
11/22/54
Southern Regional Council

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NORFOLK JOURNAL & GUIDE
NORFOLK, VA.

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
6363 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

I am grateful for the fine story on the Reporting Service in the October issue of "The New South", two copies of which have been received in this office.

Since the story appears on pages 11 and 12, we will have to use both of these copies for the scrapbook entry. Accordingly, I would like to have another copy or two for the regular library.

It was good seeing you in New York, and I hope that our paths cross again soon.

Cordially,

Pete

CAMcK:nr

C. A. McKnight

THE FUND FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION
655 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 21, N.Y.

DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH

December 14, 1954

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

In your most recent letter, you raised again the question of what disposition should be made of the original manuscripts prepared for the Ashmore project, which you have in your files.

I have discussed the matter with Phil Coombs, and we feel that the logical repository for the material is the Southern Education Reporting Service library, which Pete McKnight is now in the process of building. As part of the SERS project, Pete plans to assemble a complete collection of contemporary materials on the school segregation-desegregation story. He is convinced, and we agree, that the SERS library will be of great and lasting value to students of this era in American history for many years to come. He now has a full time librarian working on the job, and plans to add an assistant late this month.

As you may know, Pete has a steady stream of visitors - scholars, newspapermen, etc. - who regard the SERS office as the best source of information on what is happening in the 17 states and the District of Columbia as a result of the Court decision. He feels that the Ashmore materials would be an extremely valuable addition to his collection. At the end of the SERS project, he plans to turn his entire library collection over to a Southern university library - probably the joint university libraries at Nashville.

We feel that it makes sense to keep all of the material together in one place, so we have agreed to turn the Ashmore material over to SERS. I am sending Pete the 6 manuscripts that I have in my possession - Amerman, Christensen, Hope, Valien, Yinger, Dozier. I believe you have all the rest of the material with the possible exception of Earl Johnson's over-all memorandum on the non-South. I think Ashmore has that one. If you will send Pete all the materials you have, I will write Ashmore and ask him to send along the Johnson manuscript.

We are very pleased with the reception Schools in Transition is getting, particularly in the South, and we are also very pleased with the whole SERS operation. I hope sometime soon to get down to Atlanta for a visit. If I do I certainly hope I will have the time to stop in and see you. In the meantime, best regards.

Sincerely,

John

John J. Scanlon

December 20, 1954

Mr. John J. Scanlon
The Fund for the Advancement
of Education
655 Madison Avenue
New York 21, New York

Dear John:

The six manuscripts you sent me last week were received in good order. I will look forward to getting the others from Harold Fleming and Harry Ashmore.

As soon as the manuscripts are in hand, I want to do a special feature story on our library for release to Sunday newspapers throughout the region. I have delayed doing so until we had a definite peg for the story. The placing of the original manuscripts for the Ashmore project in the SERS library will give me such a peg.

I enjoyed seeing you again in New York, and am pleased that the new project was so warmly received.

Best regards, and Merry Christmas,

CAMcK:nr

C. A. McKnight

cc: Mr. Harold Fleming

January 27, 1955

Mr. C.A. McKnight
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Pete:

I was glad to get your letter with the welcome news that you are now in the archives business on a full scale. Certainly we will want appropriate back issues of New South and other SRC publications included. I have already deputized myself to make such a selection and will send it on to you soon.

By now you will be aware of the fact that Fred Routh of our staff delivered to one of your innumerable assistants the corpus delicti of the Ashmore Project. I felt a trifle guilty sending it to you in its somewhat decomposed state, but you will recognize that these were working documents assembled without regard to posterity. Most of the stuff bundled together as staff memos represents the frenzied threshing about of the scholars involved and influenced the book little or none at all. The same is true of the card file on community studies.

Anyhow, what I sent includes all of the documents except an Earl Johnson memo (which Ashmore had and has probably forwarded) and a screed on the Chicago public schools by Helen Amerman (which Coombs took for Robin Williams' use). Also missing is a copy of the so-called research draft produced here in Atlanta, which is the primitive ancestor of the book. Maybe the Fund can supply a copy.

The correspondence of the project has never been in my hands. I think John Griffin has some of it and, of course, more would be in the files of the Fund. The Atlanta portion of it, at least, should be a part of your collection and I have so told Griffin.

It would be great if you found some valid reason for coming to Atlanta, since it appears that I am never going to get to Nashville and I would like to see you.

Regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/rnf
cc:J.J.Scanlon

Southern Education Reporting Service

1109 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

P. O. BOX 6156
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January 17, 1955

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NORFOLK JOURNAL & GUIDE
NORFOLK, VA.

Mr. Harold G. Fleming, Editor
The New South
63 Auburn Avenue, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Having finally assembled a library staff adequate to do the job, we are now moving full scale into building a contemporary collection, mostly of unbound materials, which will be available to researchers and writers. At the end of the project, it will be placed in one of the southern university libraries--probably the Joint University Library here--for permanent filing so that the scholars of the future will have full information on this interesting period in American history.

I don't know how many past issues of The New South have carried information on the segregation issue, or what other publications the Southern Regional Council may have issued over the years. But if any back copies are available, they certainly ought to be included in the SERS library.

Will you deputize one of your innumerable assistants to take a look around and send us whatever you think would be useful for our library?

We're still going well, so far as I can tell. Hope to see you in Atlanta before long.

Best regards,

Pete

CAMcK:fb

C. A. McKnight

Southern Education Reporting Service

1109 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

February 2, 1955

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Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have received both your letter of January 27 and the "remains" of the Ashmore project manuscripts. I will pursue the missing segments.

We shall look forward to receiving back issues of New South and other SRC publications which you have deputized yourself to send us.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Pete

CAMcK:nr

C. A. McKnight

13083

SERS

May 20, 1955

TO: HCF

Will you or Constable be responsible for making a list of those who are on our staff who ought to have paid subscriptions to Southern School News?

GSM/eab

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . GEORGE S. MITCHELL . . .

May 20, 1955

TO: HCF

Will you or Constable be responsible for making a list of those who are on our staff who ought to have paid subscriptions to Southern School News?

We are ordering 10 copies at the bulk subscription rate for staff here — plus individual subs for CHP & MAW if they haven't made their own arrangements.

HCF

GSM/eab

We've got growing pains

And—you're partly to blame!

The tremendous demand for *Southern School News* makes necessary the charging of a small subscription fee, effective July 1, 1955.

In its first year of publication, *Southern School News* has been distributed free, on request. This was made possible by an initial grant of $99,200 by the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The grant was based on an estimated maximum circulation of 18,000.

Popular response far exceeded our original estimates. In nine months, circulation has skyrocketed to 30,000—almost double the anticipated maximum—and daily surges higher. This remarkable growth made necessary a supplemental Fund grant of $33,822.31 to cover first-year costs.

Aware that the need for *Southern School News* will be even greater after the forthcoming Supreme Court decrees in the school segregation cases, the directors of the Southern Education Reporting Service requested an additional grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education for a two-year extension of the project. To stabilize the Fund's contribution, the SERS directors suggested that the Fund underwrite the basic overhead costs of the Reporting Service, and that subscribers who have hitherto received *Southern School News* without charge be asked to pay a nominal fee covering only the final cost of printing, mailing and bookkeeping.

Accordingly, the Fund has allocated $213,884 to cover SERS overhead costs for two years beyond July 1, 1955, or until June 30, 1957.

This, then, is the first notice to subscribers. The subscription price—$2.00 for one year (Volume II) beginning July 1, or $3.75 for two years (Volumes II and III) — is approximately one-fourth the actual cost of each annual subscription.

If you wish to continue receiving *Southern School News* beyond July 1, mail your check or money order promptly to the Southern Education Reporting Service, P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville, Tennessee. An application blank is at the right.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

One Year (July, 1955-June, 1956)	$2.00	Bulk Yearly Subscriptions (5 or more)	$1.50 ea.
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SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORTING SERVICE
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville, Tenn.

Gentlemen:

I desire to continue my subscription to Southern School News. Enclosed is my check or money order for $2 (one year) or $3.75 (two years.)

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(clip or fold here if you use small envelope)

IMPORTANT

Make your check or money order payable to the Southern Education Reporting Service, Nashville, Tenn.

A prompt reply will insure the uninterrupted continuation of your subscription.

May 27, 1955

Mr. Marion A. Wright
"Top Knot"
Linville Falls, N.C.

Dear Mr. Wright:

As you no doubt noticed in the last issue of Southern School News, effective in July, it is going to charge a modest subscription fee. Have you entered your own subscription, or would you like us to pay for one in your name?

If you will let me know at your earliest opportunity, we can attend to this along with the provision for the staff here.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
for
Information

HCF:rnf

May 27, 1955

Dr. C.H. Parrish
SRC Consultant
926 S. Sixth St.
Louisville, Ky.

Dear C.H.:

Have you made your own arrangements about subscribing to Southern School News now that it's on a paying basis? Or do you want us to enter a subscription for you?

Regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
for
Information

HCF:rnf

Southern Education Reporting Service

1109 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

May 27, 1955

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NORFOLK, VA.

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you know, since last Fall, we have been sending your office a bulk shipment of 25 copies of Southern School News, plus individual subscriptions not only to officials of your office but to officers and members of a number of your offshoots all over the region. I wish we could continue doing so after June, but them Fords seem to be running out of money, and we had to switch over to the subscription plan announced in the May issue.

Where do we go from here?

Obviously, we will be happy to exchange up to three complimentary copies for a similar number of copies of New South.

But I want to do everything possible to keep on the mailing list the members of the various state human relations councils.

Bulk subscriptions (five or more to same addressee at $1.50 each) are not the answer, for they require redistribution. So for you and a good many other organizations similarly situated, we have set up a special semi-bulk subscription at $1.75 each (for five or more subscriptions covered by the same order but sent to different addressees). This is half way between the bulk rate and the $2.00 individual rate, and can be justified because it simplifies our bookkeeping and mailing problem.

I hope your office can cover the members of your central committee. And I hope you will nudge your various state affiliates either to cover their membership, or encourage the individuals to subscribe. It'll be even more important to keep well-informed during the next two years, in my opinion, than it was this first year.

And, of course, a plug in New South would bring heaps of gratitude.

I'm to be in Atlanta next week to talk to Sigma Delta Chi on the night of the 31st. I'll give you a call.

Best regards

Pete

C. A. McKnight

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

June 7, 1955

Rack -

Marion Wright would like us to enter a sub to Sou. Sch. News for him.

Attached letter

F.Y.I. Pls return.

HCF

ordered
6/16/55
RS

June 24, 1955.

Mr. C. A. McKnight
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Pete:

In recent conversations with John Scanlon, I learnt that you and Don Shoemaker were considering showing by map the federal judicial districts in the South. Enclosed are proofs of the two color engraving we are using in the forthcoming New South. You will see that we simply shot in one color our earlier multicolor population map and we are superimposing the district lines in another color. If this will do you any good, you are welcome to the negative or the engravings themselves.

John also mentioned you planning to drum up subscriptions to Southern School News. As I told him, we want to help in every way we can in this effort.

Please give Don Shoemaker my best regards and tell him that I am hunting for an opportunity to get together with him one of these days- especially now that Roy Harris has branded SCRS in offshoot of the SRC.

And as for you, I am postponing my regards until you reveal yourself as an honest working man devoid of mystery.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/vc
Enc

Southern Education Reporting Service

1109 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
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P. O. BOX 6156
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June 30, 1955

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Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for sending the map. I'm not sure we can use it in this form, but we certainly will want to use some kind of map in the near future and the one you sent will be a big help.

I hope the news about my plans will be out sometime in July.

Best regards,

Pete

C. A. McKnight

October 10, 1955

Mr. Don Shoemaker
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Don:

We find ourselves in need of a comprehensive list of court cases involving segregation or discrimination since 1944. I have a hazy impression that an appendix to the Leflar-Davis manuscript, prepared for the Ashmore report, contains such a listing.

Could you ask your librarian to let us know the exact nature of the appendix and how, at this distance, we could avail ourselves of it? We will greatly appreciate your help.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

FILE COPY

October 18, 1955

Mr. Ed Dinkins, Promotion Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Dinkins:

This, with apology for the delay, is reply to your recent letter requesting our cooperation in promoting SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS. We have regularly advised the members of our affiliated State organizations to avail themselves of the valuable information published by SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS and we will be glad to further subscribe in any other way we can.

Unfortunately, the Southern Regional Council has always operated under an invariable rule which forbids sending any copy of mailing lists out of this office. We should be glad, however, to work out some arrangements whereby your mailings might run through our addressograph and mailed from here. Let me know what plan of this kind would be feasible from your point of view, and I will proceed from there. We could use up to about 3500 copies of this material.

In any case, soon we will run another plug for SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS in our monthly publication NEW SOUTH.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

P. O. BOX 6156 • ACKLEN STATION NASHVILLE • TENNESSEE 1109 NINETEENTH AVENUE SOUTH

Southern Education Reporting Service

September 21, 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am writing to ask your advice and assistance in helping us to contact those persons who do not know of, or at least, do not subscribe to SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS.

It seemed to me that members of your organization would have a special interest in getting news of the segregation-desegregation picture in the southern states affected by the recent Supreme Court rulings.

Would it be possible for your organization to furnish us with a mailing tape from your mailing list plates which we could use to mail promotion material, such as that enclosed, to your members explaining the content of SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, and how they may subscribe.

If you feel, as we do, that it would be a valuable service to your members to acquaint them with SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS then, in addition, you would probably want to write a letter on your stationery urging them to read and consider carefully our enclosed material. Of course, we would pay all costs of addressing the tape and reproducing your letter.

Because we wish to reach your members as early as possible in the school year, it would be appreciated if you could advise me as soon as possible the number on your mailing list (or lists), how soon you could furnish the tape, and if you would prefer that we send you a suggested draft of the letter to your members for your O.K.

Sincerely,

Ed Dinkins

Ed Dinkins
Promotion Director

P. S. I am enclosing a news release which we would greatly appreciate your publishing in any of your organizations' publication. If you need more copies of this please advise.

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EDITOR
NORFOLK JOURNAL & GUIDE
NORFOLK, VA.

NASHVILLE, Tenn.---A monthly tabloid paper described by NEWSWEEK magazine as "the talk of educators and public officials throughout the South" will bring school people a complete and factual picture of the regional scene with the opening of the new school year.

It is SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, published here by the Southern Education Reporting Service and a corps of crack southern newsmen.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS is designed to report objectively and without bias on developments in the southern states following the Supreme Court decision of May 17, 1954 holding public school segregation unconstitutional.

"We are neither pro-segregation nor anti-segregation," pointed out Editor Don Shoemaker, who is also executive director of the Southern Education Reporting Service, in announcing plans for extensive coverage of the school front during the next year.

The publication was founded by a 13-man board of southern editors and educators including Virginius Dabney, editor of the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch, who is chairman of S.E.R.S.; Editor Tom Waring of the Charleston (S.C.) News and Courier; Chancellor Harvie Branscomb of Vanderbilt University; President Henry H. Hill of George Peabody College; and President Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University.

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS entered its second volume year with the issue of July, 1955. It is supported by a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education and by a nominal subscription fee of $2 per year, first made effective this July.

Serving as a channel of information between schoolmen, between educators and the lay public, SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS is staffed by 19 prominent newsmen in 17 states and the District of Columbia who regularly send it detailed reports on happenings in their areas. The newspaper-like format provides topical arrangement of news stories for ready reference by school superintendents and principals, school boards, school board attorneys, public officials, parents and others.

Aside from publishing SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, the Southern Education Reporting Service maintains a unique reference library at its Nashville headquarters to provide newspapers and researchers with factual information. The library, which collects and catalogs documents as well as clippings from leading regional newspapers and magazines, is the only one of its kind in the country.

"South or North," said NEWSWEEK in reference to the claim of objectivity, "many might have thought the NEWS an impossibility. It is very much of a fact. Now twelve issues old, it is a solid, detailed, state-by-state job."

Publication offices are at 1109 - 19th Avenue, South. The postoffice address is Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville.

Reprinted from: AUGUST 8, 1955

Newsweek
Registered U. S. Patent Office
THE MAGAZINE OF NEWS SIGNIFICANCE

PRESS

Tracing the Color Line

Don Shoemaker, the editor of The Asheville (N.C.) Citizen, found himself in one of the most challenging journalistic jobs of this generation last week. He succeeded Colbert Augustus (Pete) McKnight, just appointed editor of The Charlotte Observer (NEWSWEEK, July 18), as executive director of Southern School News, a monthly tabloid with a very untabloid-like purpose: An objective account of what is happening in education as a result of the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision.

South or North, many might have thought The News an impossibility. It is very much of a fact. Now twelve issues old, it is a solid, detailed, state-by-state job, which, over the past year, has been mailed free to 30,000 schools, newspapers, and interested parties. Last month it went on a paid-subscription basis, at $2 a year. Despite that, subscriptions have poured in, for The News obviously has significance out of all proportion to its circulation. The talk of educators and public officials throughout the South, it offers an encouraging example of cooperation across lines of color and opinion.

Hold Fire: Referring to the educational news situation at the time of the Supreme Court decision, Harry Ashmore, editor of The Arkansas Gazette, remarks: "There was a terrific vacuum to be filled. We didn't know whether the South was going to fire on Fort Sumter again or not."

With a grant from the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Advancement of Education, Ashmore himself had recently produced a pioneer, exhaustive study, "The Negro and the Schools." Just prior to the court decision, at the Washington meeting of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, he arranged a meeting between Southern editors and Philip Coombs of the foundation. "We assumed," Coombs says, "that each community's situation was unique but that every community had something to learn." It was felt that local papers would need all the objective help they could get in reporting the great controversy.

Out of these meetings came the Southern Education Reporting Service, with Virginius Dabney, the widely respected editor of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, as chairman. Other board members included Tom Waring, editor of The Charleston (S.C.) News & Courier, a spokesman for racial separation in the public schools; Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, a Negro sociologist who favors integration; Coleman A. Harwell, Nashville Tennessean editor, a supporter of TVA and Adlai Stevenson, and Charles Moss, executive editor of The Nashville Banner, a Taft man and an anti-TVA stalwart who said, apropos of Harwell: "We have never supported the same person at any level from magistrate up to the President."

In July the Reporting Service got under way with a $99,200 fund grant and a Nashville office on the edge of the George Peabody College campus. McKnight became head of The News, which later acquired nineteen expert correspondents. McKnight recalls that just before he got his job, Tom Waring asked Harry Ashmore: "I've known old Pete, had a few drinks with him, but what's his political position on this issue?" Ashmore replied: "I think you can assume it's to the left of yours, because there ain't no room on your right."

In taking the job, McKnight says, he was "more interested in full-dimensional journalism than in the race question. I knew we would be suspected of producing a propaganda sheet. The first rule we had was to throw out all those adjectives and adverbs. We didn't have public speakers 'vigorously' saying anything."

Range of Opinions: The News and Reporting Service facilities have been used extensively by leading Southern papers and such outside organs as The Christian Science Monitor and The Milwaukee Journal. A poll of News readers recently showed that 98 per cent of them found the paper objective, with opinions ranging from "good enough" to "masterpieces of objectivity." Pete McKnight points out: "Herman Talmadge and Lillian Smith are renewing their subscriptions together."

The Service has a new $213,884 grant to last it another two years. Virginius Dabney observes: "In view of the glacial speed at which the South is moving, I wonder at the wisdom of shutting it off in two years. It may turn out that it ought to go on a good while longer."

FOR COMMUNITY LEADERS... EDUCATORS... PARENTS... STATE AND LOCAL OFFICERS...

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

PUBLISHED BY THE
SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORTING SERVICE

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With the historic Supreme Court decision on segregation in the public schools, there arose a tremendous need for completely unbiased, objective facts on resulting developments.

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(Please see over)

SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS is the official publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service, an objective, fact-finding agency established by southern newspaper editors and educators with the aim of providing accurate, unbiased information to school administrators, public officials and interested lay citizens on developments in education arising from the U.S. Supreme Court opinion of May 17, 1954 declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. SERS is not an advocate, is neither pro-segregation nor anti-segregation, but simply reports the facts as it finds them, state by state.

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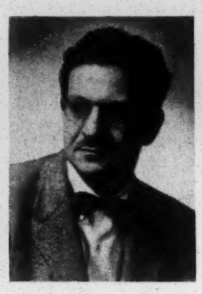

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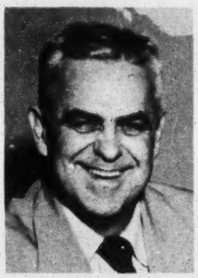

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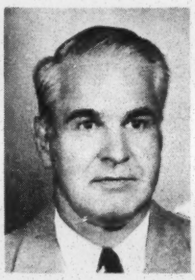

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FILE COPY

October 18, 1955

Mr. Patrick E. McCauley
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McCauley:

Thanks so much for your prompt reply to my letter regarding Leflar-Davis manuscript.

The appendices are not quite as I remember them, but we might want to consult them a little later on. If some arrangements are worked out for either direct mail or inter-library loan of this material, I will greatly appreciate your letting me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

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October 12, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Before leaving on a week's business trip yesterday, Mr. Shoemaker referred to me your letter of October 10.

On checking the papers of the Ashmore Project, now on deposit at the Joint University Libraries, I found that Dr. Leflar and Dr. Davis did include in their manuscript four appendices listing cases concerning segregation and discrimination through September 10, 1953. These listings consist of abstracts of the cases as set out below, and from my cursory inspection of the material I would judge there are approximately 200 such cases included.

The appendices of the Leflar-Davis manuscript are captioned as follows:

I. Abstracts of Pending U. S. Supreme Court Cases.
II. Supreme Court Order, June 9, 1953.
III. Abstracts of U. S. Supreme Court Decisions Concerned with Racial Segregation or Discrimination in Public Educational Institutions (Together with Abstracts of Plessy v Ferguson and Shelley v Kraemer, and a Note on Recent U. S. Supreme Court Decisions Concerning Racial Segregation or Discrimination in Public Transportation.)
IV. Abstracts of State and Lower Federal Court Cases in Which the Issue of Racial Segregation or Discrimination in the Public Schools is Substantially Involved.

The Joint University Libraries have bound and catalogued the papers from the Ashmore project and the particular volume containing the Leflar-Davis manuscript is numbered 371.974, A82n, L49. However, the matter of circulating this material is at present uncertain and will not be finally settled until Mr. Shoemaker returns October 17. If you need the material before that date, we can arrange for you to have access to it here at any time.

However, if you can wait until after Mr. Shoemaker's return I believe we may be able to make the Leflar-Davis volume available to you either through direct mail or on interlibrary loan.

In any event I will take this matter up with Mr. Shoemaker on his return and feel confident some arrangement convenient to you can be made.

Concerning litigation since September, I am afraid we will be able to help you only in cases directly involving segregation or discrimination in the public schools, plus those cases in other areas, such as transportation or recreation, in which the principle of the School Segregation Cases is at issue or is relied upon in the decree. The story on page 1 of the October Southern School News may prove something of a guide to cases in the former category; our files are sketchy, or less, in the latter.

I hope this has been of some assistance to you; and if, in the future, we can help you further, please do not hesitate to call on us.

Sincerely,

Patrick E. McCauley

Patrick E. McCauley
Assistant to the Director

November 1, 1955

Mr. Patrick McCauley
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McCauley:

We have received the Leflor-Davis manuscript, extracted the necessary information, and returned it to the Joint University Library.

We greatly appreciate your prompt and effective help in this matter.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/ys

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NORFOLK, VA.

October 20, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As you will notice from the enclosed copy of my letter to the Joint University Library, I have today requested that the Leflar-Davis manuscript be sent to you. The material should be in your hands by the middle of next week.

The new legal education reporting service has shown some interest in this material also, and I would request that you return it to the library as soon as you have completed your work with it.

If we can be of any further assistance, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Patrick McCauley

Patrick McCauley
Assistant to the Director

October 20, 1955

Miss Clara Mae Brown
Reference Librarian
Joint University Library
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tenn.

Dear Miss Brown:

Mr. Harold Fleming, assistant director of the Southern Regional Council, has requested that we send him on inter-library loan the volume of the Ashmore papers which includes the Leflar-Davis manuscript on court cases dealing with the school segregation question. This material is on file at the Joint University Library, and the particular volume requested is catalogued under Number 371.974 A82n L49.

Mr. Don Shoemaker, our director, has taken this matter up with Dr. Kuhlman, and they have agreed that this volume can be made available to Mr. Fleming through inter-library loan. I will appreciate your sending it to him as soon as possible. His address is:

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Thank you for handling this request promptly.

Sincerely,

Patrick McCauley
Assistant to the Director

Copy: Mr. Fleming

Southern Education Reporting Servi Green Copy

Dec. 21, 1955

Dear Mr. McCauley:

Our information, like yours, suggests that organizations established specifically and exclusively to further desegregation of the schoolsx are practically non-existent. However, the following groups are worth mentioning, in case they have escaped your notice:

(1) The Integration Service, Inc., of Memphis was established early in the summer as a clearinghouse to assist individuals and groups favoring school desegregation. The executive secretary is Miss Margaret McCulloch and the address is 749 Walker Avenue, Memphis 6, Tenn.

(2) In 1954, the Clearinghouse on Public Education in Northern Virginia was established to serve Arlington, Fairfax County, and Alexandria. The chairman was Jack Worndorff of Arlington, and the group wasx made up of people in that area who wished to further public school desegregation. We have just learned that the organization was dissolved about two weeks ago and that there are plans to establish a new group specifically for the purpose of opposing pro-segregation amendments to the Virginia Constitution; that is all we know at the moment.

(3) The Montgomery County, Md., PTA has a special Committee on Integrated Schools and Integrated PTAs. Hardly a separate organization, but a special-purpose unit of an existing group.

(4) Bi-racial ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ citizens committees officially appointed to assist school authorities in planning desegregation might be included, unless you are limiting your survey

to voluntary citizens groups. You probably have more information than we do about such committees.

Though not specifically to the point, I am enclosing for your files a list of our state organizations and their principal staff members.

Best wishes for Christmas and the New Year to you, Don Shoemaker, and the other SERS staff members.

Sincerely,

HCF

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NORFOLK, VA.

December 16, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The Southern Education Reporting Service, for its reference library and probably for use in Southern School News, is endeavoring to compile a list of bona fide organizations established specifically for the purpose of taking a position on the school segregation-desegregation question.

We have been able to count approximately 44 groups -- some regional and some limited to certain states -- which may be listed as "pro-segregation organizations." And we are, of course, aware of organizations such as the Southern Regional Council which have great interest in the school question as affected by race. However, neither Mr. Shoemaker nor I have been able to recall or to find in our collection of materials the names of any groups formed solely for the purpose of advocating de-segregation of the public schools. All the organizations we have found on the pro-integration side of this question were organized before the Supreme Court's 1954 school decisions and have favored school desegregation as part of broader programs in race relations.

If you can provide us the names of any "pro-integration organizations", or if you can suggest where we might look for them, we will be most appreciative.

Sincerely,

Patrick McCauley

Patrick E. McCauley
Assistant to the Director

February 25, 1956

Mr. Patrick McCauley
Assistant to the Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P.O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McCauley:

My thanks to you and to Don Shoemaker for your prompt response to our request for permission to reprint the Leflar analysis. I am writing him today as you suggested.

Anytime we can be of help to SERS, we should like to do so.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF/mef

Southern Education Reporting Service

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NORFOLK, VA.

February 23, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director for Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

During a telephone conversation with Mr. Shoemaker today I brought up the matter about which you called us yesterday. He said so far as Southern Education Reporting Service is concerned you may feel free to reprint the Leflar analysis of the Supreme Court desegregation decisions in the pamphlet planned by the Southern Regional Council.

While Mr. Leflar has no claim on the article, Mr. Shoemaker suggested that you write him to inform him of your intended use.

I hope this delay has caused you no inconvenience in your publication plans.

Sincerely,

Patrick McCauley

Patrick McCauley
Assistant to the Director

June 6, 1956

Mr. Malcolm B. Higgins, Executive Secretary
Kansas Anti-Discrimination Commission
Mills Building
Topeka, Kansas

Dear Mr. Higgins:

The Southern School News is published by the Southern Education Reporting Service, Box 6156, Acklen Station, Nashville 5, Tennessee. The director of SERS and the editor of the Southern School News is Mr. Don Shoemaker, former editor of the Asheville, North Carolina Citizen. Mr. Shoemaker succeeded C. A. McKnight in this position about a year ago.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

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MALCOLM HIGGINS, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
PHONE 3-3429
STATE CAPITOL, TOPEKA

June 1, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director for Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Will you please send me the address of The Southern School News. Also I would appreciate learning the editors name. If you have this information.

Sincerely yours,

Malcolm B. Higgins

Malcolm B. Higgins
Executive Secretary

MBH:mc

Nov. 15, 1956

Mr. Patrick McCauley
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Pat:

Harold Fleming asked me to send you what we have on county-by-county registration of Negroes in Alabama. He has explained to you, I'm sure, how the figures were obtained. Enclosed you will find everything sent us.

Unfortunately, we can't help much on Negro political organizations. The field survey sent us consisted of exactly one paragraph:

"There is a state organization--The Alabama State Coordinating Association for Registration and Voting. There is a similar organization in each Congressional District and in some counties. Besides urging registration and voting, they also formulate a yardstick for measuring candidates for use in each electoral district and help voters decide upon candidates for state office. It has been very effective and has done much to encourage registration in Alabama."

The only background reading I can suggest--and I'm sure you've

long since exhausted this--is the Donald Strong study, "Registration of Voters in Alabama" published by the University of Alabama last spring, plus V.O. Key's "Southern Politics."

If we receive any additional information, it certainly will be sent to you.

Please remember me to your wife and the Shoemakers.

Sincerely,

Margaret Price

November 14, 1956

Mr. Patrick McCauley
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McCauley:

The newspaper stories you have seen were based on the enclosed release. We have been carrying on a state-by-state survey of Negro suffrage, but we are only now in the process of putting the state reports together in an overall report on the region.

I am asking Margaret Price, who is doing the drafting job for us, to send you what we have on Alabama that might be useful for your thesis. I'm afraid, though, we can't put too much faith in the reliability of the county figures. As you probably know, this information is all but impossible to gather from official sources in Alabama. Our survey was done for us by Professor J. E. Pierce, Alabama State College in Montgomery. Pierce has followed this situation for a good many years and worked with Professor Donald Strong of the University of Alabama on his recently published report, which you have probably seen.

When we get our overall analysis finished, I will be sure that you get a copy.

This is an appropriate time for me to express once again our thanks to you and Don Shoemaker for help in compiling the instances that went into the integration booklet.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

Southern Education Reporting Service

1109 NINETEENTH AVENUE, SOUTH
NASHVILLE 5, TENNESSEE

November 8, 1956

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Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

During the past couple of days I have noticed some news stories concerning a report from the Council on Negro voter increases in the South. I wonder if your office has issued, or plans to issue, some kind of bulletin on the subject.

For some work I am doing at Vanderbilt University in political science I am particularly interested in getting county-by-county Negro registration figures for Alabama for 1954 and 1956. If you have any data of this kind that I could beg or borrow from you I would be much beholden to you.

I'm also shy on data on Negro political organizations, activities and leadership. If you know of any handy sources I would appreciate the tip.

We received copies of the report compiled by you and Mr. Loth, and while I haven't read it thoroughly yet, it appears to be an exhaustive job.

Thanks for any help you can give me on my little research effort. It is incidently a thesis for the master's degree in political science and deals with the political implications of the school segregation decisions in Alabama. Trouble is every time I arrive at an ultimate truth, Mr. Folsom, Mr. Engelhardt or someone in between comes up with a new gimmick and I find myself re-assessing, re-writing and re-greting I ever chose such a timely topic.

Thanks again,

Sincerely,

Pat McCauley

Patrick McCauley

March 12, 1957

Mr. Don Shoemaker
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Don:

Thanks for your letter about the forthcoming meeting at Arden House and your suggestions for the panel discussion. You've left me plenty of territory in which to find something worthwhile to talk about. It would be very helpful if the three of us could, as you suggest, get together ahead of time for a kind of warm up.

You deserve the highest commendation for arranging to give your wife a break on this trip. I only hope my wife doesn't hear about it, for I am long overdue. It now looks as though I will be in New York for several days after the conference rather than before. But if I should get there early, I will try to track you down. In any case, it will be good to see you again.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

bc: Miss Gloria Dapper

Southern Education Reporting Service

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Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

March 5, 1957

RECEIVED MAR 6 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I believe you are in receipt of some correspondence with Gloria Dapper of the National Citizens Council in regard to the meeting at Arden House later this month. I wrote Gloria that I would get in touch with the third participant in our panel discussion, Dr. W. D. McClurkin of Peabody, and map out what we plan to discuss. I have done so in the last few days.

McClurkin's field is school planning and in this enterprise he has probably the best overall view of southern school administrative problems of any professional educator now alive and kicking. He and I agreed that our presentation should be thoroughly informal, though he preferred to transcribe his beforehand. I will do a general roundup of the factual developments in the field in the last year or so and he will come along with a discussion of some administrative problems reflected from my discussion. He is a matter of fact chap, very keen, and likely to give a very good account of himself.

Since you will be speaking to a definite point of view, perhaps your discussion could be most helpful if it concerned problems on the organizational level in working with school boards, community groups and individuals who are interested in the school question. This is a rather vague definition of what you might talk about, but I should assume if you give your regular spiel and I give my regular spiel it will be a fairly well-rounded panel.

To repeat, I will simply do the factual background, McClurkin will discuss administrative problems from the professional school man's point of view, and the rest of the field will be open to you. It seems to me that this is just about as close as we can get to a definite format, but we might rehearse it, all three of us together, when we first reach Arden House for the program there.

I got the impression from Dorothy Mitchell that you might be on hand in New York a day or two early. I hope we can see you then. My wife has been such a good girl that I am going to take her along for a few days of playgoing before we go on up to Arden House. I am not certain yet whether she is to accompany me there.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

Don

Don Shoemaker
Executive Director

cc: Miss Gloria Dapper

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Patrick E. McCauley
Assistant to the Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

April 5, 1957

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THANK YOU

April 4, 1957

Mr. Patrick E. McCauley
Assistant to the Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McCauley:

In the absence of Mr. Fleming, we are acting on your letter of April 3rd.

On this date, the material you requested is being sent to Mr. Jones. Under separate cover we are sending you the booklets you requested. A bill for these materials is enclosed.

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/eab
Encl.

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RICHMOND, VA.

April 3, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director for Research
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

One of our correspondents is engaged in a research project in which I believe he will find two of your publications of great value. Will you please send the booklet "Integration North and South" and the regular SRC pamphlet "Next Steps in the South," subtitled "Answers to Current Questions," to:

Mr. Edgar L. Jones
Baltimore Evening Sun
Baltimore, Md.

We also need about five of the former and at least three more of the latter for our files. Please bill us for the lot.

Thank you for promptly fulfilling this request. And thank you again for the data on Alabama voter registration you sent me a couple of months ago. The thesis is finished---at long last---and will be submitted formally to the political science department at Vanderbilt about May 1. With your help it turned out better than I had thought it could.

Sincerely,

Patrick McCauley

Patrick E. McCauley
Assistant to the Director

May 7, 1958

Mr. Patrick McCauley
Assistant to the Executive Director
Southern School News
Post Office Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville 5, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McCauley:

We are interested in the announcement in the May, 1958, Southern School News concerning "Facts on Film." Could you please mail us, at your convenience, information concerning the cost of the service and any other details which might be helpful to determine if this might be useful for our organization.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

June 16, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Goodrum
Promotion Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Goodrum:

Thank you for your letter of June 10, concerning "Facts on Film." We are definitely interested in the possibility of purchasing this material if we find it to be of use in our work. We are looking forward to the descriptive pamphlet you mentioned.

One additional question, what kind of equipment would it be necessary for us to purchase in order to view these reels, and would it be possible to reproduce material from these reels?

Again thanks for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

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June 10, 1958

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SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
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Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable

Thank you for your inquiry about "Facts on Film." We have in preparation a descriptive pamphlet which will be sent to you shortly. Meanwhile, please let me supply you with some additional information.

"Facts on Film" is a complete reproduction on 35 mm. microfilm of our research library on developments in segregation-desegregation in the public schools, and in race relations in general. This library is constantly consulted by scholars and newsmen who in many cases have come great distances at considerable expense to use this material.

The collection contains more than 100,000 items and dates back to the Supreme Court opinion of May 17, 1954. It contains newspaper clippings (news stories, editorials, letters to the editor, cartoons and features) from scores of southern and national newspapers. Also it has court transcripts, texts of legislative acts, pertinent speeches, surveys, hundreds of magazine articles -- in brief, everything collectable on this great national issue.

Two rolls contain a detailed index. A short index in booklet form for quick reference is in preparation.

The film has been in preparation for more than a year. Those who have seen the negatives are highly enthusiastic, among them Chancellor Harvie Branscomb of Vanderbilt University who, as you know, is a former librarian.

The film is being offered at $1,000 for the 20 reels. The edition is limited. Thousands of manhours have gone into the tedious laying out of clippings, cataloguing and assembly of the material. In the process, new techniques had to be developed and tested. We are confident that this is a significant departure in library filming.

We invite your continued interest in this production which should be ready for general distribution July 1. Of course, the initial price includes semi-annual supplements which will keep the matter up to date.

You may expect to hear from us again within the next few weeks. Again, thank you for your inquiry.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Goodrum

Harold C. Goodrum
Promotion Director

July 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Goodrum
Promotion Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Goodrum:

Thank you for your letter of July 18, and the additional information concerning "Facts On Film." However, the brochure you mentioned in your letter has not been received; and we are still uncertain as to the type of equipment necessary for viewing and copying the micro-film.

Could you please let me know what type of machinery you use there for viewing and copying, and suggest proper equipment for our purposes should we decide to subscribe.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lcc

Southern Education Reporting Service

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July 18, 1958

Mr. John Constable,
Director if Information
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

In reply to your recent inquiry, which was greatly appreciated, it gives me pleasure to report that positives of "Facts On Film" are now available for distribution. Supplying you with these further details, I hope that your library will feel the need to subscribe to our new service.

As mentioned in our brochure and initial letter, this collection totals over 100,000 items and dates back to the Supreme Court opinion of May 17, 1954.

The complete collection of "Facts On Film" will be extended and guaranteed through June 30, 1961. The portion of the collection available at present is complete through June, 1957. The first supplement, to include from the above date through December 31, 1957, we agree to send to purchasers by November 1 of this year. The second supplement, January 1, through June 30, 1958, will be available by February, 1959. Six-month supplements will be supplied as quickly as completed thereafter.

The first portion is on 22 rolls with approximately 100 feet and 1000 frames to the roll. This includes a card catalogued, detailed filmed index. Also, a 100-page printed index for more efficient use of the film will be provided. "Facts On Film" has been shot at a reduction to meet requirements of any standard reader showing 35 millimeter microfilm.

The price at which we will market "Facts On Film" is $1000. This includes the guarantee, of course, of all supplements through June 30, 1961. In line with our policy, this service is being offered on a non-profit basis. We sincerely believe that this collection will be of unsurpassed value to scholars, historians and others seeking to stay better informed on one of the vital issues of this era.

I will be happy to confer with you further on additional questions. Thanking you for your inquiry and hoping to include your library among the subscribers to our newest service, I am,

Sincerely,

Harold Goodrum

Harold C. Goodrum
Promotion Director

January 29, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Goodrum, Promotion Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Goodrum:

Could you write me the particulars on just how the "Facts on Film" project now stands?

I would appreciate, if possible, details on what periods the project now covers and how much is available at this time.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

February 19, 1959

Mr. Edward D. Ball
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Ball:

We would like to accept your offer of sending us the SERS film service on a week's approval.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:ls

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

2/3/59

HCF: ✓
PA: ✓

Attached is the latest information concerning the film service of SERS. I have looked at a viewer and reader. Total price for the viewer-reader-copy machine is $629. This includes one lense which should be sufficient for our use.

Note price of service has gone up by $750.

Advice, please?

JC -
Since Les will be on the job shortly let's discuss with him.
HCF

Southern Education Reporting Service

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February 2, 1959

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RICHMOND, VA.

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Replying to your letter of January 29 to Mr. Goodrum, I am happy to bring you up todate on the status of our library filming project, "Facts on Film."

We have now completed the first installment, covering the period May 1954 through June 1958. Filming of the card catalogue which controls the collection and printing of the index will be completed within the next week. We expect to be able to make shipment of this first installment, complete with index, within two weeks.

Three annual supplements will complete the film. Filming will be begun in July or August of the first supplement, consisting of material collected between July 1, 1958 and June 30, 1959. The same schedule will be followed for Supplements Nos. 2 and 3.

The following explanation of the delay in completion of the film appears to be in order:

A very careful examination of the first installment of film (covering May 1954-June 1957) which we originally offered for sale disclosed that in several respects it failed to meet the exacting standards we had set for it. On the advice of our professional consultants and our board members, refilming was begun in August, and decision was made then to have the first installment include the year 1957-58.

As you probably can imagine, this has been a monumental job; also a costly one. We are told that the filming of a complete library, such as ours, is without precedent. Estimates of time required for completion of the work and cost of the film were based on the best professional advice we could obtain. However, instead of the 35 - 100-ft. rolls estimated for the first installment, the finished product consists of 44 rolls, of which 4 rolls were required for the card catalogue. The annual supplements for 1959, 1960 and 1961 will require a minimum of 10 rolls each, making a total of 74 for the entire project.

The $1,000 price originally quoted was an arbitrary figure which we had hoped would cover production costs. However, our investment amounts to considerably more. We are absorbing the cost of the unused film, but in order to recover the actual cost of production of the film we are now offering for sale, we must set a price of $1,750.

If you would like to examine the film before making a decision, we will be happy to send it on a week's approval. We are confident you will agree that the value of "Facts on Film" to researchers in the field of race relations will be incalculable, and that it meets the most exacting standards of professional quality.

If you wish any further information, please let us hear from you.

Sincerely,

Ed Ball

Edward D. Ball
Executive Director

March 10, 1959

Mr. Edward D. Ball
Executive Director
Southern School News
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Ed:

This is to confirm our conversation by telephone in which the Southern Regional Council is ordering one negative set of "Facts on Film." I talked with Mr. C. N. Morgan of Recordak here in Atlanta. He is to pick up the positive set of film we have, make us a negative to be delivered here, and send the positive back to you. Billing is to be done through you so you may send us a bill when Mr. Morgan indicates.

"Facts on Film" is most impressive. The material seems to be quite complete, and it is certainly a boon to researchers in this field to have it in such a compact form. This viewing service will enable us to service our many information requests much more easily and efficiently; but we think the fact that any of the material from "Facts on Film" can now be copied quickly and easily will indeed be an important addition to our research and information departments.

Thank you for your continued indulgence while we were considering "Facts on Films."

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

May 27, 1959

Mr. Patrick McCauley
Southern Education Reporting Service
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Pat:

Enclosed is a list which I promised to send to you. We have put a similar list in the mail to Mr. Thomas.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf
Enclosure - 1 (List)

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

May 27, 1959

Mr. Herbert Thomas → Gen J.
Pyramid Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Thomas:

Mr. Edward Ball of the Southern Education Reporting Service asked me to mail you a copy of the list showing desegregated institutions of higher learning which are controlled by various denominational groups. Enclosed is such a list including both private and state institutions.

If we can be of any additional help, please do not hesitate to write us.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/mf
Enclosure - 1 (List)

August 7, 1959

Southern School News
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Sirs:

Only one Southern School News for August was received by our office. Our subscription is for 10 copies.

Will you please send the other nine at your earliest convenience.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

April 1, 1960

Mr. Marvin D. Wall
Acting Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Wall:

Thanks for your letter of March 15, which I am slow in answering because of illness.

We could still use up to 100 copies of Southern Schools: Progress and Problems if you have them to spare.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sm

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156 ACKLEN STATION
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE 12, TENNESSEE

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Publishers of
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CYpress 1-1262

March 15, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I find on my desk here a letter dated October 22, 1959 from Miss Dorothy Mitchell, Administrative Assistant at the Fund for the Advancement of Education. The letter was addressed to Mr. Ball and said that you could use about 500 copies of our recent book, SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS.

I am wondering if this request was ever filled, and if not, how many copies you would be able to make use of now.

We would appreciate anything you folks could do to help us push circulation of this book.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Wall

Marvin D. Wall
Acting Executive Director

MW/tc

May 17, 1960

Mr. Marvin Wall
Acting Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Wall:

Many thanks for your letter of May 12 and for the 100 copies of Southern Schools: Progress and Problems which we may expect to receive in a few days. We will try to make effective use of the books.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Southern Education Reporting Service

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May 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I finally had a chance to talk with Mr. Reed of Tennessee Book Company, and he will be sending you the 100 copies of SOUTHERN SCHOOLS: PROGRESS AND PROBLEMS in a few days.

Sorry to take so long getting around to this.

Best regards,

Marvin Wall

Marvin Wall
Acting Executive Director

MW/tc

June 17, 1960

Mr. Marvin Wall
Acting Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Wall:

The books did arrive, and we are most grateful. I hope our use of it will serve to increase the interest in and use of it.

Certainly NAIRO members are natural Southern School News subscribers. NAIRO has recently published a comprehensive directory of agencies and personnel working in intergroup relations. We don't have an extra copy, but it is available at a modest price from NAIRO, Room 209, 426 West 58th Street, New York 19.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Southern Education Reporting Service

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Publishers of
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CYpress 1-1262

June 14, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

I hope that the books have arrived by now. Anything you can do to help us increase the use of this book will be appreciated.

I believe you are an officer of the National Association of Intergroup Relations officials. It occurs to us that many members of this organization might like to get SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS. If you have a membership list you could send us for use in making direct mail contacts, we would appreciate it.

Sincerely yours,

Marvin Wall

Marvin Wall
Acting Executive Director

MW/tc

HF

Southern Education Reporting Service

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March 31, 1961

RECEIVED
APR 3 1961

Dear Harold:

I have been invited to participate in a conference at Emory on metropolitan problems April 10-12. While I am in Atlanta I would like very much to have the opportunity to visit with you for a little while to get your ideas about some phases of SERS activities. I'll call you after I get to Atlanta to make a specific appointment, assuming that it is convenient for you.

Specifically, I'm interested in getting any ideas you may have about how we can improve SERS services and products. We would like to include in each issue of Southern School News at least one major article discussing some important aspect of the school segregation-desegregation situation. I'm trying to define these areas of interest and to determine who in the South is best qualified to discuss them in such an article.

Another thing I want to discuss with you is the possibility of establishing a somewhat closer working relationship between SRC and SERS in the exchange of information. Facts are pouring in on us daily, but sometimes we discover that it is an almost impossible task to correlate them. My guess is that you already have done the job in some areas.

For whatever interest it may have to you, I'm sending you the text of a report I presented recently at Chicago.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth St., NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enc.

Report by Reed Sarratt, executive director of the Southern Education Reporting Service, at the 16th Annual National Conference on Higher Education, Chicago, Ill., March 6, 1961.

The last year has brought relatively little change in the statistical status of racial segregation-desegregation in higher education in the United States. Yet, as a period of stock-taking and direction-pointing, it may prove to have been highly significant.

Georgia was the scene of the only change accompanied by violence. Two Negroes became the first of their race to enroll at the University of Georgia. This left two states -- Mississippi and South Carolina -- that have maintained complete segregation in their state-supported colleges and universities.

Alabama is a third state that does not now have both white and Negro students attending a state institution. But in 1956 Autherine Lucy was admitted to the University of Alabama. Although she was expelled after three days, the University of Alabama remains under court order to admit qualified Negro students.

The University of Tennessee, which under court order admitted Negroes to its graduate and professional schools in 1952, in the fall of 1960 voluntarily adopted a policy of opening its doors to qualified Negro undergraduates. The first Negro undergraduates were enrolled with the beginning of the winter quarter, 1961.

Negro enrollment increased somewhat this year in those public institutions which already had desegregated. But, with the exceptions already noted, the status quo was maintained.

My report will focus on the 17 Southern and border states, plus the District of Columbia, that at the time of the 1954 Supreme Court decision in the Brown case had public school systems segregated by force of law. I shall confine myself to a discussion of developments affecting public -- as opposed to private -- institutions. I shall endeavor to limit myself to the presentation of facts, refraining from the expression of opinions about them.

These restrictions are made necessary by two circumstances: 1) the policies governing the operations of Southern Education Reporting Service, with which I am associated, and 2) the unavailability of very much information about desegregation in private institutions and their exclusion from the application of the legal principle enunciated

by the Supreme Court that compulsory segregation in education is unconstitutional.

According to the records of SERS, there are today in the area I have designated 140 formerly all-white, tax-supported institutions above the high school level that are desegregated in practice or in principle, either by court order or voluntary action. These desegregated institutions are 60 per cent of 228 predominantly white public junior and senior colleges and universities in the area.

The totals do not tell the whole story. Some states have complied with the Supreme Court ruling willingly and on a large scale. Others are in technical or "token" compliance. Still others have offered especially strong resistance and either have not complied at all or have made determined fights against compliance.

Twelve of the 17 "segregation" states admitted Negroes to formerly all-white institutions before 1954; they are Arkansas, Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia and West Virginia. The District of Columbia desegregated in 1954, Alabama in 1956, Florida in 1958 and Georgia in 1961. Of those states which have desegregated, six -- and the District of Columbia -- may be said to have complied with the Supreme Court decision. These states are Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. The five "token compliance" states are Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. The six "resistant" or "hard core" states are Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Your interest lies in higher education. Yet it is impossible to separate completely developments in higher education from those below the college level. The 1954 decision was directed to elementary and secondary schools, but it was foreshadowed by a line of decisions, beginning with the Gaines case in 1938, directed toward higher education. In turn the 1954 public school decision has affected higher education profoundly.

Along with the University of Georgia, the City of New Orleans recently has shared the spotlight in violent opposition to desegregation. Of interest in this connection is the extent of desegregation in higher education in Louisiana. Five of the state's

ten tax-supported, formerly all-white colleges and universities have admitted Negro students, and their combined Negro enrollment this year is 634. This is considerably more than twice the combined enrollment of Negroes in formerly all-white colleges in Arkansas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia, which along with Texas comprise the "token compliance" states. The New Orleans branch of Louisiana State University has 229 Negro students. Desegregation of higher education in Louisiana occurred without incident.

The disorders in Georgia and Louisiana were of major proportions and merit examination. But first, it is worthy of note that when the academic year began last September, there was a complete absence of violence for the first time since the Supreme Court opinion. Neither the New Orleans nor the Athens outbursts was entirely unexpected, although at least in the case of cosmopolitan New Orleans the intensity of the reaction came as something of a surprise.

In both cases, statewide politics played important parts in the shaping of events. In both cases patterns of action developed which may prove to be of great significance in the shaping of the future.

In all the states which have resisted compliance with the desegregation decision, the principal tactic of political leaders has been to seek delay through legislation and litigation. The tactic has been remarkably successful. Laws have been passed to make desegregation difficult, if not impossible. These laws have been assumed to be constitutional until declared unconstitutional. Cases attacking the laws sometimes have taken years to bring to a conclusion. When one law, or set of laws, has been declared invalid, new laws have been passed to take their place, starting the legislate-litigate cycle anew.

In Louisiana and Georgia the familiar mold was broken. The federal courts acted with unusual speed. In Louisiana the courts declared acts of the General Assembly, in one special session after another, unconstitutional and void almost before the ink of the governor's signature on them had time to dry. Decisions were rendered within hours after court action was begun.

The rapidity of court action in these cases reflected judicial impatience with the tactics of delay. Since 1955 the courts have handed down hundreds of decisions in

cases growing out of the Brown decision. With each decision the practical meaning of the 1954 decision has been spelled out a bit more precisely, and one route of evasion after another has been closed. Now it is becoming rather clear that the resistant states must make their choice between compliance or closing their schools.

It is an agonizing choice for the Deep South states to make. Perhaps the most significant single development of the last year is the effect of the University of Georgia incident on public opinion and political action in Georgia. A few months ago the odds were slim indeed that the governor of Georgia would recommend and that the Legislature would approve the abandonment of "massive resistance" and the substitution for it of a plan that on its face will permit compliance with the Supreme Court opinion as an alternative to the closing of schools. In a letter to legislative leaders Governor Vandiver commented that the law requiring withdrawal of state support from a white institution that admitted Negroes had turned "from a source of hope to an albatross."

Whether this change in attitude will spread from Georgia to other "hard core" states remains to be seen. But there are indications that resistance may be stronger in at least some of the other states. For example, Governor John Patterson of Alabama in a press conference said: "If you think they've had trouble in New Orleans, just wait until they try integration here. There'll be hell to pay.... If the federal government continues its present course, the only solution will be to close the schools... I'll be one of the first ones stirring up trouble, any way I can." Governor Patterson was outspoken in his criticism of Governor Vandiver.

A general softening of Southern attitudes of resistance was indicated in a recent Gallup poll. The question was: "Do you think the day will ever come in the South when whites and Negroes will be going to the same schools...?" In August, 1957, just before "Little Rock," 45 per cent of the respondents answered "yes." The same question asked in October, 1958, brought affirmative answers from 53 per cent. In January, 1961, the proportion of "yes" answers had grown to 76 per cent. But, since 1954, an unvarying 71 per cent of Southerners have expressed their disapproval of the Supreme Court opinion.

Before leaving the University of Georgia incident, I wish to make two additional observations about it. One has to do with the effects of violence, the other with the role of the United States Department of Justice.

Earlier I mentioned that Autherine Lucy, a Negro, was admitted to the University of Alabama. Her enrollment sparked violent demonstrations in Tuscaloosa. After three days, the Board of Trustees excluded her until further notice "lest greater violence should follow." When Miss Lucy was later "permanently expelled" for accusing university officials of conspiracy in the violence, her expulsion was upheld by the courts. No Negro since has been accepted as a student at the University of Alabama.

Contrast this with what happened at the University of Georgia. After one night of violent demonstrations, Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes, Negroes who had been admitted to the university under court order, were suspended "in the interest of their personal safety and for the safety and welfare of more than 7,000 other students at the university." Two days later -- on Friday -- U. S. District Judge William A. Bootle ruled that the two Negro students would have to be readmitted by 8 a.m. the following Monday. He quoted the Supreme Court opinion in the Little Rock case that "constitutional rights... are not to be sacrificed or yielded to...violence and disorder" and indicated that, if the state could not control the situation, he would call for federal assistance in maintaining order. The two Negroes were readmitted, and there has been no further incident.

In both the Alabama and Georgia university cases, there were indications that the demonstrations were organized by outsiders for the deliberate purpose of thwarting court desegregation orders. If this is indeed what happened, it would appear to have been a successful strategem in 1956 in Alabama but unsuccessful in 1961 in Georgia. This could be one of the more important developments of the past year.

As to the role of the Department of Justice in the Georgia affair, agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation appeared on the Athens campus the day after the rioting. The attorney general announced that they were there to determine whether there had been violations of Title I of the Civil Rights Act of 1960. This section of the act provides

that persons who obstruct or interfere with any order issued by a federal court, or attempt to do so, by threat or force, may be punished by a fine of up to $1,000, imprisonment of up to one year, or both.

At this point I should like to digress for a moment to define a couple of terms. you may have observed my frequent use of the word "desegregation" and my avoidance of the word "integration." Without going into a lengthy dissertation on semantics, I think you should know what I mean when I use these words. In the lexicon of Southern Education Reporting Service, "desegregation" is defined as "change from segregated to biracial or multiracial status, either in practice or in principle." "Integration" is defined as the "absence of all racial distinctions." Applying these definitions to education, it is readily apparent that a school or college which is desegregated may not be integrated. Indeed, we make it a rule not to use the word "integrated" except in direct quotation.

Although there was not much change in the status of desegregation in higher education during the last year, much attention was paid to civil rights and race relations. A major reason was that 1960 was a Presidential election year. Both major parties and their candidates for the Presidency put themselves squarely on record in support of the Supreme Court decision of 1954.

Since the Democrats won, it might be well to take a closer look at their platform pledges and at the pre-election and post-election statements and actions of President Kennedy.

The Democratic platform had a good bit to say on the subject. I shall quote only part of its statement of general principle: "A new Democratic Administration will use its full powers -- legal and moral -- to ensure the beginning of good faith compliance with the Constitutional requirement that racial discrimination be ended in public education. . . We believe that every school district affected by the Supreme Court decision should submit a plan providing for at least first step compliance by 1963, the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation... To accomplish these goals will require. . .above all . . . the strong, active persuasive and inventive leadership of the President of the United States."

In 1956 President Kennedy, then a United States Senator whose ambitions for higher office already were known, called upon his party to take a forthright stand in support of the Supreme Court decision. In January of 1960, in announcing his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for the presidency, he reaffirmed his civil rights position. In a number of campaign statements and speeches he emphasized his view of the civil rights issue as a moral question. In a June address to the Liberal Party in New York he said: "Moral persuasion by the President can be more effective than force in ending discrimination against Negroes. In one of his television debates with former Vice President Nixon he said: "What will be done to provide equality of education in all sections of the United States? Those are the questions on which the President must establish a moral tone, a moral leadership, and I can assure you that if I am elected president, we will do so."

It is generally conceded that the Negro vote and the "liberal" vote went for Kennedy in proportions large enough to have played an important role in the outcome of the election. Indeed, it may be said with some assurance that without these votes Mr. Kennedy would have lost.

One incident occuring just before the election assumed special significance. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., whom some describe as the American Ghandi, was jailed in Atlanta. Senator Kennedy telephoned Mrs. King to express his sympathy, and his brother Robert is credited with having gained Dr. King's release from jail as a result of a telephone call to Mayor Hartsfield of Atlanta. Some political analysts have said that this was the precise point on which the Kennedy victory turned.

This slight excursion into politics is pertinent to our subject tonight, because demands now are being made on the new administration to carry out campaign promises. For example, Dr. King is the author of the leading article in the Feb. 4 issue of The Nation. The title of his article is "Equality Now: The President Has the Power." It is a rather long article, but I shall quote only brief excerpts. "We must face the tragic fact that the federal government is the nation's highest investor in segregation," Dr. King writes.

Later he adds: "It is no exaggeration to say that the President could give segregation its death blow through a stroke of the pen."

Dr. King is not alone in urging this course of action on the President. Since the election, the President has received at least three major reports recommending that federal funds be withheld from schools and colleges which practice segregation.

Two of these reports came from national commissions -- the President's Commission on National Goals and the United States Commission on Civil Rights. The third came from the Southern Regional Council, a private organization which has as its purpose to advance equal opportunity for whites and Negroes in the South.

The first of these reports to be submitted was that of the President's Commission on National Goals. In its statement on "National Goals in Education" the commission said: "We should set as our minimum goal that by 1970 there should be no state in which desegregation is prevented by state action, no state that has not moved to comply with the court decision on desegregation." Three of the eleven commissioners held that discrimination in education should be entirely overcome. All but one of the commissioners joined in a recommendation that "the federal government should enforce the principle that federal funds shall not be disbursed to...universities (which) discriminate on the basis of race."

The entire 355-page report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, submitted to the President on Jan. 13, was devoted to the subject of "Equal Protection of the Laws in Public Higher Education." The commission declared "that the Federal Government has been a silent partner in the creation and perpetuation of separate colleges for Negroes." Although saying that "the heart of the problem of discrimination against the Negro today lies in the Southern states," the Commission added that "the public colleges of the Northern and Western states are not free from discrimination against Negroes."

In its findings the Commission said: "Discrimination by such colleges on the grounds of race, religion or national origin is a denial of equal protection of the laws" and that "the Federal Government has an obligation to take appropriate measures to prevent

discrimination." Five of the six members of the commission recommended, among other things, that "the Federal Government, either by executive or, if necessary, by congressional action, take such measures as may be required to assure that funds under the various programs of federal assistance to higher education are disbursed only to such publicly controlled institutions of higher education as do not discriminate on grounds of race, color, religion or national origin." Three of the six commissioners would apply the same treatment to private institutions.

The Southern Regional Council in January submitted to President Kennedy a 48-page report containing 18 proposals for actions by the executive department "to strengthen civil rights and improve race relations." The Council said: "Resistance to the Supreme Court's decision is an assault on the Constitution, and the federal executive should take all authorized measures to bring it to an end." Among the measures advocated was the withholding of certain Federal funds from institutions which deny admission to Negro students.

The statements and reports I have quoted fall into the category of opinion or advocacy. What about action? What has President Kennedy done to carry out his and his party's campaign pledges?

In statements before his election the President repeatedly emphasized the importance he attached to "moral leadership," "moral persuasion," and "moral tone." Since his election, the President has had little to say about discrimination in education. At a press conference on Feb. 8 he was questioned about the situation in New Orleans. He replied, in part:

"I will, at such time as I think is most useful and most effective, I will attempt to use the moral authority or position of influence of the Presidency in New Orleans and in other places. I want to make sure that whatever I do or say does have some beneficial effect and, therefore, it is a matter which we are considering... It is my position that all students should be given the opportunity to attend schools regardless of their race... I believe strongly that every American should have an opportunity to

have maximum development of his talents, under the most beneficial circumstances..."

Apparently the President's words did not have the same meaning to everyone who heard or read them. His statement was both praised and criticized by commentators on both sides of the school segregation controversy.

Subsequent to the President's press conference statement, his brother, Attorney-General Robert Kennedy, filed contempt proceedings against Louisiana Education Supt. Shelby M. Jackson. The purpose of the action is to force the state superintendent to comply with federal court orders not to interfere with the operations of the New Orleans schools.

An act of omission on the part of the Administration may attract as much attention as anything the President has done. On Feb. 20 President Kennedy submitted to Congress a message outlining his "aid to education" program. Noticeably missing was any mention of withholding funds for non-compliance with the Supreme Court school segregation decision.

Perhaps Secretary Ribicoff of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare spoke for the Administration when at a press conference on the same day he said: I personally believe in the Supreme Court school desegregation decision. I believe it was right morally and legally. But my job is education, and my hope is that we would not block education with any other side issues. I want to see us help schools and students, North, South, East and West, Negro and white alike. I can't think of any worse tragedy for education than to put on its back all other problems facing the country. I will fight against anything that will hold back education."

Replying to a question, the Secretary said: "I know of nothing in law that would allow the secretary or the President to withhold the funds. Grants are made under acts passed by Congress. The secretary or the Chief Executive follows what is in the law... If the Congressional acts do not have the prohibition, I don't see how we can usurp the power of Congress."

Waiting in the wings to try to see to it that the missing prohibition is supplied was Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Negro Congressman from New York and

chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. Earlier Powell had said that he would not seek adoption of an anti-discrimination amendment to the education bill this year, if President Kennedy created the "proper atmosphere" of executive action in the field. Congressman Powell said that he would offer the anti-discrimination amendment if Secretary Ribicoff was "speaking the mind of the President." At the same time the Congressman expressed the hope that by the time the bill comes to the floor of the House the Administration's stand against racially-segregated education would be so clear that it would not have to be specified in law.

The Republican leadership in Congress was quick to react to the situation. On Feb. 23 Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen said that he would offer a civil rights bill "in the absence of any clear indication that the administration is going to submit anything." He said that his bill would provide federal financial aid to schools seeking to desegregate.

The United States Civil Rights Commission met at Williamsburg, Va., Feb. 25-26 for its third annual conference on schools in transition. In a telegram to Commission Chairman John A. Hannah, President Kennedy paid tribute to "the men and women responsible for maintaining our public schools and for carrying through the process of desegregation." The President said: "This is no time for schools to close for any reason, and certainly no time for schools to be closed in the name of racial discrimination." He referred to "the command of the Constitution" and said that "...we must be true to the great principles of our constitution." These remarks may be classified as "moral leadership," in support of the Supreme Court opinion, but they contain no hint of executive action to enforce it.

Unwilling to leave the decision on federal aid to either the President or to Congress, five Virginia Negroes filed a suit on Feb. 14 in the United District Court in the District of Columbia asking the court to enjoin the federal government from making appropriations to "institutions engaged in the nauseating practices of racial segregation by virtue of statute, ordinance, regulation, custom or usage."

Any move to tie expenditure of federal funds for education to compliance with the Supreme Court opinion will be vigorously opposed, as it has been in the past. Indicative of the opposition is the report adopted at Biloxi, Miss., by the Southern Assembly, composed of Southern leaders in education. The report said that "the union of educational and social objectives poses a special threat to colleges and universities and especially to private institutions." It warned that federal support designed to compel social change might terminate other support of equal or greater significance.

Of course, the federal government cannot force its financial aid on any institution or school system. The Houston, Texas, school board recently voted to reject all federal aid.

Where does all this lead? That is not for me to say. My function is to report what has happened. Our political and educational leaders will decide the course of the future.

Southern Education Reporting Service

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RICHMOND, VA.

April 5, 1961

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Congratulations on your appointment as executive vice president of the Potomac Institute. I am sorry indeed that you are leaving the Southern Regional Council, but I know that you will be able to render even broader service in your new job.

From the press release, I assume that the change will not take effect for several weeks. As you know, I plan to be in Atlanta next week, and I still would like to see you while I'm there. I would also like to meet Leslie Dunbar. I'll call you Monday morning to make an appointment.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Southern Education Reporting Service

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Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

May 1, 1961

Dear Leslie:

Please make it a point to come to Nashville whenever you can arrange it. I doubt that I can be of much help to you in giving advice and counsel about your operations and publications, but I'd like to have the opportunity to talk more with you and to show you what we're doing here.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Reed

October 10, 1961

Mr. Reed Sarratt, Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Many thanks for inviting me to attend your annual seminar. If it is convenient for you I'll plan to come Friday evening.

You don't say what time the party will begin but I suppose that if I wander in around 5:30 there should be a spot of cheer left.

Looking forward to seeing you,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

Southern Education Reporting Service

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October 4, 1961

Dear Les:

The correspondents for Southern School News will hold their annual seminar this year at the Atlanta Biltmore October 27-28. We would be delighted to have you join us for any or all of our meetings.

We plan to get underway at 3 p.m. on Friday, October 27, with a discussion of the work of the Southern Regional Education Board. A cocktail party and dinner will follow.

On Saturday morning, beginning at 10 o'clock, we will discuss the desegregation of Atlanta schools, and then we'll have lunch together. We have set aside Saturday afternoon for shop talk. Cocktails and dinner on Saturday will wind up the session.

While you would be welcome at any part of the seminar, we most especially would like to have you join us for cocktails and dinner on Friday or Saturday nights, or both. I'd appreciate your letting me know when you can be with us in order that I may make the proper arrangements with the hotel.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Southern Education Reporting Service

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SUPT. OF SCHOOLS
RICHMOND, VA.

October 16, 1961

Dear Les:

I'm delighted that you can be with us on Friday evening, October 27. We have planned a session with Winfred Godwin Friday afternoon, and I think it may run a little late. We have scheduled our cocktail party to begin at 6 p.m. in room ~~1210~~ 1012 at the Biltmore.

It will be good to see you.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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HENRY I. WILLETT
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RICHMOND, VA.

February 1, 1962

Dear Les:

Thanks for seeing me while I was in Atlanta. Our conversation has been very helpful to me in clarifying my own thinking. Besides that it was a real pleasure to have this opportunity to talk with you again.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 12, 1962

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

I finally have read your memo on "The Future of SERS and the SERS Library" You certainly have given your board a lesson in how to face up to a problem. I will be very interested to hear what came out of the March 26th meeting. I especially would like to know whether you got the go ahead for the book.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Memorandum on

The Future of SERS and the SERS Library

At the Directors' meeting on March 26, 1961, Mr. McKnight made the following comments:

"At our annual meeting next year, the question will be termination or renewal of the project. I would like to suggest, sir, that the Executive Committee at this meeting also prepare for the board a recommendation on the feasibility of continuing the library part of SERS beyond '63, if the board should decide to terminate SERS, either under the same sponsorship or new sponsorship . . . I feel very strongly if we can find the funds, if we disband SERS we should continue the library part of this operation."

The Chairman referred the matter to the Executive Committee. The future of the library is involved intimately with the future of the project as a whole. Presumably, so long as SERS continues to operate, the library will remain an integral part of the operation. Therefore, the first question to which the committee should direct its attention is the future of SERS. Should the committee decide that SERS ought to terminate on June 30, 1963, then it will be necessary to decide what to do about the library as a separate operation.

At some point during each grant period it has been necessary for the Directors to determine whether in their judgment SERS has fulfilled its objective to the extent that its services no longer are needed sufficiently to justify recommending another grant. This judgment must be based in part on the Directors' personal assessments of the school segregation-desegregation situation in the Southern and border states. At the same time there are certain objective measurements of the usefulness of SERS's services and the need for them.

The School Segregation-Desegregation Situation

At the time of the Supreme Court decision in 1954, public schools were segregated by law in 17 states and the District of Columbia. When schools opened for the 1961-62 academic year, 7.3 per cent of the Negro school children in this area were enrolled in desegregated schools. Of these, 97 per cent were in the District of Columbia and in the six border states of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, and West Virginia. The remaining three per cent were in the states of Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia. Desegregation in Louisiana was limited to 12 Negro children in schools with whites in New Orleans; and in Georgia, to 9 Negroes in Atlanta. In three states -- Alabama, Mississippi and South Carolina -- all public schools remained segregated.

The states in which 97 per cent of the desegregation has occurred have 14.3 per cent of the region's Negro school children. The eight states with three per cent of the Negro children in schools with whites have 60 per cent of the Negro school children in the region. The three states with no Negro children in schools with whites have 25.7 per cent of the region's Negro school children.

From these facts it is apparent that in this eighth school year after the Supreme Court opinion six states and the District of Columbia are in substantial compliance, eight states have taken some steps toward compliance, and three states have not begun to comply.

SERS Services

In this situation, is it reasonable to predict that the need for the services of SERS will continue beyond June 30, 1963? It may be helpful in answering this

question to examine the use now being made of these services. To list them, they are:

Southern School News
Race Relations Law Reporter
Statistical Summary
Press Releases
Information Bureau
Library and Facts on Film

Southern School News

Perhaps the best indication of the usefulness of Southern School News is paid circulation. The peak of 11,300 was reached in June, 1956. Two months later it had dropped to 8,221 and by December of the same year had climbed to 9,478. From then it declined steadily, falling to 4,792 in October, 1959. Until November, 1960, circulation held around 4,800. Since that time it has dropped to about 4,600. Circulation Department records show that SSN has had 15,345 subscribers since the policy of charging for subscriptions was inaugurated on July 1, 1955.

While total circulation has been stable for the last two years, it is constantly turning over. Figures compiled on the five issues August through December, 1961, show that 495 subscriptions were permitted to expire. During the same period 114 old subscribers whose names had been removed from the active files subscribed again, and 285 new subscriptions were received. The net loss for the five months was 96.

These figures suggest that there is a sustained interest in Southern School News and that subscribers who drop out are replaced by new ones. Although the long-range trend of circulation has been downward, the rate of decline for the last two years has been slow.

Confronted in the spring of 1960 with the question of whether to recommend extension of SERS for another two-year grant, the Directors retained Dr. William L. Rivers of the University of Texas "to conduct an independent survey regarding the usefulness of Southern School News and the need for its continuation." On the basis of Dr. Rivers' findings, the Directors voted unanimously to recommend an additional grant.

Many unsolicited comments come to SERS from the users of its services. These in effect provide a reaction-guage similar to the Rivers study. During the last years more than 60 such comments have been recorded. With few exceptions they are highly complimentary. The samples quoted below are representative:

> I want to thank you sincerely for the great service you are providing our entire region through the Southern School News. -- Dr. William C. Archie, Director, State Board of Higher Education, Raleigh, N. C.

> I've been to Harvard on a Nieman . . . I've been keeping up with the world of Southern affairs through the Southern School News. It is like never leaving home. -- Robert C. Smith, Associate Editor, The Virginian-Pilot and Ledger-Star, Norfolk, Va.

> I am an avid reader of your publication and am much indebted to it for so much valuable information. This is valuable to me as a teacher of "race relations" as well as a great boon in my personal research in this field -- Jonas O. Rosenthal, Sociology Department, Colby College, Waterville, Maine.

This publication is vital in my work. -- Jesse DeVore, Public Relations Assistant, NAACP, New York.

I have read your Southern School News for a number of years. You do a very fine job of reporting school news in an impartial manner. -- Edwin W. Davis, Associate Secretary for Special Studies, National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

The Southern School News continues to render a valuable service. -- John W. Letson, superintendent, Atlanta, Ga., public schools.

An activity such as yours is not only integral but central to the whole process of educational communication. -- J. Ben Lieberman, Director, Education Writing Program, Columbia University, New York.

I know the Governor has found Southern Education Reporting Service very useful and I particularly have. -- Graham Jones, Press Secretary to Governor Terry Sanford, Raleigh, N. C.

Your publications are frequently useful in our work . . . In the interest of meeting the needs of Congress efficiently and quickly, we would appreciate your authorizing us to copy from your publications . . . for use either in legislative matters or in connection with Members' correspondence . . . -- Burnis Walker, Executive Officer, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

Southern School News is important to me as a citizen of Mississippi . . . I find myself being largely guided by the source material coming to me in Southern School News. -- Worth M. Tippy, Laurel, Miss.

I count it as a privilege to have had some of my material published in Southern School News recently -- the condensed publication of the statement of the Louisiana State Sovereignty Commission on the Adoption (?) of the Fourteenth Amendment. -- Walter J. Suthon Jr., attorney, New Orleans, La.

Your co-operation and the special knowledge you have contributed have been of inestimable value in helping us evaluate and report the news more quickly and more authoritatively. -- Bernard M. Auer, Publisher, Time.

This is an excellent, indeed an indispensable service. -- J. Edward Sproul, National Board of YMCA's, New York.

I find the paper very informative and unbiased. You are rendering a great service to areas where such news items never reach the daily paper. -- Mrs. E. J. Cook, Mobile, Ala.

You are doing a tremendous job. I wish that more people could read your materials -- Miss Virginia Lerch, Chattanooga, Tenn.

May I take this occasion to express my appreciation of the high character of reporting which has characterized this publication. -- A. A. Bond, M.D., Jacksonville, Fla.

You have performed and are performing a most valuable service. -- J. L. Blair Buck, Richmond, Va.

Another index to the usefulness of Southern School News is the number of times it

is cited as the source of information.

A survey of books in the SERS library shows that 18 authors cited Southern School News in 228 instances. Occasionally authors mention SERS in their acknowledgements. For example, J. W. Peltason in his book "Fifty-Eight Lonely Men (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961) says: "I have relied heavily, as do all working in this area, on Southern School News, published monthly by the Southern Education Reporting Service, which provides detailed, state-by-state coverage." Fred P. Reuter, in his "An Administrator's Guide to Successful Desegregation of the Public Schools" (Ph. D. thesis, School of Education, New York University), writes: "For up-to-date accurate and factual news reporting devoted exclusively to school desegregation, the Southern School News is unparalleled."

In writing its annual reports to the President and Congress the United States Commission on Civil Rights has relied heavily on Southern School News. The 1959 report contains 142 SSN citations; the 1960 report, 81 citations; and the 1961 report, 67.

Southern School News is quoted with such consistency and frequency by newspapers, magazines and radio and television newscasters that it would be impractical to attempt to count the number of instances.

Race Relations Law Reporter

The relationship of SERS to the Race Relations Law Reporter is that of business agent. Full responsibility for editorial content rests with the Law School of Vanderbilt University. In handling circulation for the Reporter, SERS obtains information about it similar to that reviewed above for Southern School News.

Circulation of the first issue of the Reporter after SERS assumed responsibility for it was 1,772. This was Issue No. 1 of Volume 4. Circulation for Issue No. 4 of Volume 5 was 2,243. Beginning with Volume 6 the price of an annual subscription was increased from $3 to $5. This brought a decline in circulation to 1,569. But for the last issue, No. 3 of Volume 6, the circulation had climbed to 1,713. Thus, despite the drop of 530 in circulation, revenue increased by $1,836.

In correspondence about circulation, SERS receives many favorable comments on the Law Reporter. Some samples from the last few months follow:

> Your excellent publication has been recommended to me by both my Northern and Southern friends. -- Earl Johnson Jr., Chicago, Ill.
>
> I had thought it would be possible to get along without the Reporter during this, a sabbatical year away from teaching at the University of Wisconsin Law School. But I can't. -- G. W. Foster Jr., San Francisco, Calif.
>
> . . . one of the finest works in this field. -- George L. Moxon, attorney, West Hollywood, Fla.
>
> Race Relations Law Reporter is a highly worthwhile publication. -- E. Lee Trinkle Library, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Va.

The Law Reporter often is cited as a source of information. Thirteen books in the SERS library cite it 304 times. Peltason says of it: "The Race Relations Law Reporter . . . is the primary source for judicial decisions, legislative enactments, rulings of administrative agencies and reports of commissions." Wilson Record

wrote in his "Little Rock, U. S. A." (Chandler: 1960): "Race Relations Law Reporter . . . provides a comprehensive summary of legal developments . . . Required for those who have an interest in the legal aspects of race relations."

The United States Civil Rights Commission cites the Law Reporter 67 times in its 1959 report, 34 times in its 1960 report and 261 times in its 1961 report.

Statistical Summary

First printed in April, 1957, the Statistical Summary now has gone through ten revisions. Sales of the Summary increased dramatically with the ninth revision, published in May, 1961.

The maximum printing of any previous revision was 1,000 copies. The printing order for the November, 1960, revision was 800 copies, and 405 of these were sold. Of the 800 copies printed of the May, 1960, revision 411 were sold.

Prior to the May, 1961, revision, the Summary had been sold on an annual subscription basis, subscribers receiving two semi-annual revisions for $1, or at a rate of 50 cents a copy. With the May, 1961, revision a new policy was started of selling the Summary at $1 a copy. A first printing of 1,000 copies was quickly sold out, and a second printing of 1,000 also sold out.

By the time the November, 1961, revision was ready for distribution -- early in December -- orders already were on hand for 762 copies at $1 each. By Dec. 18 orders had been received for 1,240 copies. In view of the sale of the entire printing of 2,000 copies of the May, 1961, revision and of the pre-publication interest shown in the November, 1961, revision, 5,000 of the latter were printed. The Summary will be revised annually in the future rather than semi-annually, according to present plans.

Whether the growth in sales of the Summary is the result of greater promotion or greater interest in its subject matter, it is apparent that a substantial number of people feel a need for it.

Information Bureau

In addition to the information that it disseminates through its publications and microfilm, SERS frequently receives direct inquiries from news media, government officials, various organizations and interested individuals. In the first six months of the current fiscal year 115 such queries, excluding requests from students, were recorded.

Among those asking for information were the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Saturday Review Education Supplement, Newsweek, the New York Times, the Associated Press, United Press International, the Ford Foundation, Peabody College, Tuskegee Institute, the Methodist Board of Education, CBS, the United States Commission on Civil Rights, the Saturday Evening Post, the National Council of Churches, Time, the Southern Regional Council, U.S. News and World Report, the United States Information Agency, the Atlanta Constitution, the Wall Street Journal, the Christian Science Monitor, the New York Herald-Tribune, the Washington Post, the Board of Registrars of Macon County, Ala., the Encyclopedia Americana, the American Jewish Committee, the Potomac Institute, the Wilmington (Del.) News-Journal, Howard University, the Missouri Commission on Human Rights, the American Review (Rome, Italy), and the National Education Association.

Press Releases

Undoubtedly the widest distribution of information from SERS comes through its monthly press releases. At present these releases are going to 117 newspapers, news magazines, press associations and radio and television networks and stations that have requested them.

It is impossible to measure the use of the press releases, except in the publications received in the SERS library. If they are representative, the use of the releases is extensive. The library regularly receives 48 newspapers. The December, 1961, release was used in 28 of them. In November a special release on resegregation was mailed in addition to the regular release; 25 papers used the special release and 18 the regular one. The regular October release appeared in 24 papers.

The Associated Press and United Press International prepare stories from SERS releases each month for distribution over their news wires. In this way many newspapers and broadcasting outlets that are not on the press release mailing list obtain stories based on the releases.

It is no exaggeration to say that millions of people are exposed to SERS information through the use made of its press releases.

Library and Facts on Film

The library and the microfilm are inseparable. In Nashville the original library collection is in constant use by the SERS staff. Many outsiders come to the library to do research in the field of race relations. The most recent library visitor was James Jackson Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond News-Leader, who spent two days in December at SERS headquarters doing research on a book he is writing.

The use made of the library on microfilm is unknown, but its purchase by 41 libraries scattered throughout the country indicates that it is regarded as a valuable source of information.

Some Possibilities for the Future

This memorandum thus far has dealt with facts about SERS operations and services that the Committee may wish to consider in formulating its recommendations to the Board on the future of the project. Among the various possibilities for exploration are these:

1. That the project terminate on June 30, 1963, with the expiration of the current grant.

2. That the project continue on essentially the present basis for two years beyond June 30, 1963.

3. That the project continue, but on a curtailed basis.

4. That the project continue, and that it be expanded.

5. That the project continue for one year or two years during which a book on the first ten years of school desegregation would be prepared. Other phases of current operations could be continued, curtailed or expanded while the book was in preparation.

6. That the project continue for the sole purpose of maintaining the library.

The first two possibilities listed -- termination on June 30, 1963, or continuation on the present basis -- would seem to require no further documentation. Some elaboration on the others may prove to be helpful.

Curtailment

The project might be continued, but curtailed. The Committee will want to examine the points at which operations could be curtailed and the effect that this would have on services and costs.

By far the greater part of SERS costs of operation are for salaries and printing. The most obvious place to trim operations would be in the area of publications.

Already the Ford Foundation has suggested that Race Relations Law Reporter look to another source for funds after June 30, 1963. The cost of publishing the Law Reporter for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, was $66,619.79. The estimated cost for each year of the current biennium is $68,750.

Were the publication of Southern School News to be discontinued, operating costs would be reduced substantially. Printing and mailing the paper costs around $15,000 a year. Base salaries for correspondents amount to $22,800 a year. Elimination of the paper would remove the need for one, and possibly two, of the three men on the Nashville staff.

If both the Law Reporter and Southern School News were to be eliminated from SERS operations, there no longer would be any need for a circulation department. Salaries paid to the three circulation employees amount, at present rates, to $9,300 a year.

Retraction of the area covered by Southern School News is another possibility. The process of compliance with the Supreme Court opinion has proceeded in six states and the District of Columbia to the point that frequently correspondents there have difficulty finding anything to report. The savings to be realized from this step would be confined primarily to the salaries of the correspondents involved. This would come to $8,400 a year.

The fixed costs of the most recent revision of the Statistical Summary were $3,437.13. It costs SERS an additional 15 cents to sell a copy of the Summary. To break even on the issue, 4,044 copies must be sold. The staff is hopeful that the Summary will prove to be self-liquidating and even profitable.

Facts on Film could be discontinued, but as explained in the memorandum on microfilm, this would save no money. Indeed, Facts on Film should produce a profit in the future.

To summarize: Removal of Race Relations Law Reporter from SERS operations would reduce operating costs by $68,750. Discontinuation of Southern School News would make possible further reductions in costs of at least $57,000.

If SERS were to continue its library and general information functions, including the annual publication of Facts on Film and the Statistical Summary, a rough estimate of the net cost would be $70,000. This assumes a staff consisting of a director, a secretary, a librarian, three assistant librarians and a janitor. It provides for the irregular publication of monographs on various phases of the school segregation-desegregation question; these could be sold or distributed without charge.

Expansion

Almost from the beginning of SERS, proposals for broadening its scope have been discussed. So far SERS has limited its publications to coverage of public school segregation-desegregation in the 17 Southern and border states and the District of Columbia. That is to say, it has confined its reporting to developments that involve both public schools and race in the states which in 1954 had constitutional or statutory requirements that their public schools be racially segregated.

Already school segregation has become an issue in states where segregation is a fact but is not, and has not been, required by law. The first legal challenge of de facto school segregation in the North was in New Rochelle, N. Y. Other suits have been filed in Chicago, Philadelphia, Centreville, Ill., and Newark, N. J. Thus one possibility for expanding operations would be to continue the limitations on subject matter, but to cover the entire United States.

Another possibility would be to retain the present geographical boundaries of the area covered but to amend the limitations on subject matter. Reporting could be broadened to include all aspects of education and/or race relations. Even under present policies it often is extremely difficult to know just where to draw the line between strictly education-related race relations and other aspects of race relations.

Still another possibility would be to broaden the geographical area of coverage to include the entire United States and at the same time to report all significant developments in education and/or race relations. If a move were to be made in this direction, it probably would not be practical to give complete coverage to both education and race relations. A more feasible plan might be to concentrate on either education or race relations. The Southern Education Reporting Service might evolve into a National Education Reporting Service or a National Race Relations Reporting Service. In either eventuality the service would report on those developments in which education and race came together. Whether to emphasize education or race relations would hinge on judgment of relative need for complete, objective reporting in the two areas. Casual observation suggests that the need now is being met more nearly in the field of education than in race relations.

The Board may feel that any expansion of either geographical area or subject matter covered would be outside the concept of SERS. Should the SERS Board agree on the need for such expansion, it might wish to suggest to the Ford Foundation the creation of a new, national agency to meet the need.

In the absence of any concrete plan of expansion, it would be rather futile to attempt to estimate the cost.

Book on First Decade of School Desegregation in the South

Last spring the executive director presented to all members of the Board and to Mr. John Scanlon of the Ford Foundation a tentative proposal for the publication of a book on the first ten years of school desegregation following the Supreme Court opinion of 1954. The response was uniformly favorable to the idea. The proposal then was explored with Mr. Lambert Davis, director of the University of North Carolina Press, who was enthusiastic about the prospect of publishing the book.

Briefly put, the book would be a condensation of what has been published in Southern School News since 1954 and would include a refined and revised summary of statistics for the decade. Comprehensive treatment would be given to every major phase of

activity, including but not necessarily limited to the following: litigation; legislation; the pace of compliance; patterns of compliance and resistance; the roles of official and lay leaders, politicians, the press, the church, organizations and law enforcement agencies; the effects of desegregation on school personnel; the economic effects of school desegregation; the effects of population shifts; the effects of the school decision and its implementation on other aspects of race relations.

Were the book to be published, the cost and method of its preparation would depend on other decisions made about the future of SERS operations. The proposal originally outlined was that the publication of Southern School News cease on June 30, 1963, and that the SERS Board recommend to the Ford Foundation that another grant be made for a period of one year, July 1, 1963 - June 30, 1964, specifically for preparation of the book. Under this plan, a grant of $100,000 should prove ample. This assumes that most of the work on the book would be done by the Nashville SERS staff and that the library operations would continue unchanged.

An alternative to this plan would be a two-year extension, during the first year of which publication of Southern School News would continue, leaving a second year for preparation of the book. The advantage of this plan is that it would permit full coverage in Southern School News of the first ten years after the Supreme Court decision. The same advantage would hold for the book; to prepare it in 1963-64 would necessitate limiting factual review to something less than the full ten years. The extra year also would allow more time to work on the book. Under this two-year plan the maximum grant for the first year would be $195,000 (the same as the current annual grant) and $100,000 for the second year, or a total of $295,000.

Still another alternative would be to continue to publish Southern School News while the book was in preparation, either during a one-year or two-year period beyond June 30, 1963. Were this choice made, it would seem necessary to employ additional personnel and to add to the grant an amount sufficient to cover the extra salaries involved. The greater part of the research and writing on the two SERS books already published was done by persons who were not members of the regular Nashville headquarters staff. It is contemplated that very nearly all of the research and writing for the proposed book would be done by the Nashville staff. It would be extremely difficult for the present staff to undertake the preparation of a major book while continuing to perform all present functions.

The President and staff of the Fund for the Advancement of Education last spring discussed the book proposal. In a letter to the SERS executive director, Mr. John Scanlon summarized the conclusions they reached. He wrote:

"I brought the matter up at a recent Fund staff meeting, and the consensus of my colleagues was that we would look upon such a request with sympathetic interest, but that certain decisions needed to be made first by the board of directors of SERS. Briefly, we felt that these decisions were as follows:

"(1) Whether or not to request an additional grant from the Ford Foundation at the expiration of the present grant on June 30, 1963.

"(2) Whether or not to publish such a volume, and a decision as to its nature and scope.

"(3) Whether or not to have such a volume published by the University of North Carolina Press. (The University of North Carolina Press has, if you will recall, printed the original Ashmore report, so there is some logic in this.)"

In a telephone conversation with the SERS executive director, Mr. Scanlon raised two additional questions. They were:

(1) How long will it take to prepare the book?

(2) How much will it cost?

This memorandum addresses itself to the last two questions. The first three are for the SERS Board to answer.

The Library as a Separate Operation

The Executive Committee has been asked to give particular attention to "the feasibility of continuing the library part of SERS beyond '63, if the Board should decide to terminate SERS, either under the same sponsorship or new sponsorship."

If SERS continues on any basis after June 30, 1963, the library would remain a part of it. This would postpone until some future SERS termination date the activation of any plan for continuation of the library alone.

The Board already has taken action on disposition of the library upon termination of SERS. On March 6, 1955, the Board designated the Joint University Libraries as "the permanent site of the SERS library collection." On March 26, 1961, the Board rescinded its earlier action and designated Fisk University as repository for the library.

Presumably, unless the Board takes some further action, the future of the SERS library will rest with Fisk University once SERS terminates its operations. What Fisk would do with the library would have some bearing on any further action the SERS Board may wish to take.

Following the March 26, 1961, Board meeting, the SERS executive director conferred with President Wright, Dean Redd and Librarian Bontemps of Fisk to discuss the Board's action. They indicated their intent to maintain the library, once it was in Fisk's possession, substantially as it has been operated and to make it accessible to those who wish to use it.

To do this obviously involves more than the mere physical transfer of the library collection from SERS to Fisk. It would be necessary for Fisk to provide space and equipment to house the library, and funds would be needed to maintain and continue the collection of materials and to pay the salaries of staff.

At the request of President Wright, a statement was prepared on the direct costs of operating the SERS library. In preparing this statement, it was assumed that all equipment -- primarily filing cabinets for clippings and the card catalog -- now in use to house the collection would accompany it.

The statement shows that the total cost of operating the SERS library for one year, exclusive of salaries, is approximately $11,000. This includes the cost of books, subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals, materials, equipment and service and microfilming. In the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, SERS paid to library personnel salaries totaling slightly more than $14,500, making the total cost of library operations $25,500. The amount of $8,600 charged against the library for microfilming was recovered from the sale of microfilm. Thus the net cost of library operations, including salaries, was $16,900, and exclusive of salaries, $2,400. Any continuation of the microfilming should be self-liquidating.

Should the SERS Board decide to retain possession of the library and to continue its operations after termination of all other phases of the project, the cost would be approximately the same as indicated in the paragraph above. Added to this would be rent and perhaps a few other miscellaneous items. The total should not exceed $20,000 a year.

Such an operation appears to be feasible. The necessary funds probably could be raised -- if not from the Ford Foundation then from some other foundation or source.

The question that logically arises is: What would be the advantage of continuing only the library under SERS auspices rather than to let the library go to Fisk upon termination of all other phases of SERS operations? Fisk could collect, classify and process materials as well as could a separate SERS library. Whether Fisk or SERS operated the library, the materials in it would be equally accessible.

There is some question that Fisk could serve the function of a general information bureau as well as SERS does. The wide acceptance and use of SERS as a source of information stems from its reputation for objectivity. It is doubtful that Fisk would be so regarded by the press, by government officials, by the legal profession, by educational administrators or by the general public. This is not to the discredit of Fisk but is a normal product of its position of leadership in the effort to secure the civil rights of Negroes.

It also is doubtful that SERS as nothing more than a library could serve adequately the information function that SERS now serves. The library staff is trained in the techniques of collecting and processing materials and making them available. But it has no experience in dealing directly with those who call on SERS for information, nor is the staff trained in research, writing and editing.

If the Board wishes to extend the existence of SERS beyond June 30, 1963, primarily to operate the library, the proposal outlined in the last paragraph of the "Curtailment" section of this memorandum seems worthy of serious consideration.

The Question for the Board

Mr. John Scanlon, in a telephone conversation with the executive director of SERS, well described the situation and phrased the questions that the SERS Board must answer. He said:

"The people in the Fund and the Foundation feel that SERS has been a worthwhile enterprise and that it shouldn't just peter out. The initiative in determining whether the enterprise is going to terminate at the end of the current grant will be up to the Directors of SERS.

"The Foundation's attitude would be determined by the answers to such questions as: Have the major outlines of the story been told? Have the major developments unfolded?

"The Foundation has never abandoned a project in mid-stream. They would want to see this one carried to a successful conclusion, but if the major outlines are clear by the end of June, 1963, the Foundation probably would raise some questions before making another grant to extend it.

"The Foundation always has placed a lot of weight on the judgment of the SERS Directors. The Foundation is 1,500 miles away, while the SERS Directors are intimately involved. The Foundation would lean strongly on the judgment of the SERS Directors. SERS is one of the best things the Fund and Foundation have ever done."

Reed 4/16/62

Southern Education Reporting Service

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Publishers of
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April 13, 1962

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SUPT. OF SCHOOLS
RICHMOND, VA.

Dear Les:

You will find a report on the SERS Board meeting on Page 4 of the April issue of Southern School News. As you will observe, it does not mention the book.

The Board of Directors did not approve the book project. I suppose I would have to say that they disapproved it, since they deleted from the budget I submitted the amount included to cover the cost of the book's preparation.

Sincerely yours,

Reed

Reed Sarratt

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RS:tc

c/o Roosevelt Hotel
New Orleans

April 24, 1962

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Southern Education Reporting Service — file
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Thank you for your note of April 13. I will tell you now the reason I was especially interested in the book is that we have thought of doing this ourselves on the 10th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision. Although anything we did would differ markedly in character from an SERS publication, I am not sure that it would be worthwhile for both of us to do it. Beyond talking about it, we have made no plans at all, though our probable method would be to free Benjamin Muse from other duties so that he could write the book, perhaps with the help of other persons, in a couple of sections such as the exposition and analysis of legal decisions.

If this is a dead possibility with you now we would like to move ahead on plans. At the risk of seeming needlessly persistent, I wish you would let me know whether this is the case

or whether you still have hopes that SERS may undertake this. It may be, of course, that you, no more than we, can be at all definite at this time.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/nmj
cc to: Ben Muse (4/27/62)

Rec'd
Hze copy to Ben Muse (4/27/62)

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CYpress 1-1262

April 25, 1962

Dear Les:

It doesn't surprise me to learn that you are thinking about producing a book on the first ten years following the Brown decision. The need for it is obvious.

There is not much more I can say about the status of our plans for a book. Clearly, my Board of Directors has not given me the authority to go ahead with my book proposal. I would be less than honest, however, if I were to say that I accept this as a final decision. I cling to the hope that, after further thought, the SERS Board will see fit to approve the project.

This doesn't help you very much, I realize. You are correct, I think, in believing that what one of us does will have some bearing on what the other should do.

Regardless of what the decision about an SERS book is, should you decide to go ahead with yours, may I assure you of our full co-operation with you in making available the materials we have accumulated.

If there are any developments here, I shall keep you posted on them. I shall appreciate your letting me know what you decide to do. Certainly one, or both of us should turn out a book on the significant events since 1954. Were both of us to do so, our books might be competitive in the market, but in a real sense they would complement one another in their contents. We would concentrate on factual objectivity, while you would emphasize interpretation.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

May 9, 1962

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

The mailing room tells me that if you did not get the L-Reports it must have been a fluke. It won't happen again. We have, under separate cover, sent along the ones you are missing as well as a copy of my little piece.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

LWD from BP 5/8/62

Sarratt at the above address is on our mailing list. He must have escaped the mentioned L-Reports through a fluke. I have sent the materials he requests.

Rec'd 5/3/62

PA please add & mail & return to me for ack

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RICHMOND, VA.

May 1, 1962

Publishers of
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sent 5/8/62 BP

Dear Les:

It would seem that we're not on your mailing list for the L-Reports. We checked the list in the March issue of New South and found that we had received L-32 and L-33; however, we do not have L-29, L-30 and L-31.

I'd appreciate your having copies of the missing reports sent and having our library put on your mailing list.

It would appear that we also are missing "The Annealing of the South" by Leslie W. Dunbar. Could we have a copy of that too, please sir?

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

June 11, 1962

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Could you have someone send us a listing of the newspapers (and other periodicals) which would be included in the clipping service?

Best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

JS✓
MJ7

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July 3, 1962

Mr. John Constable
Director of Information
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Constable:

Some time ago I wrote to ask whether you would be interested in buying supplements to "Facts on Film" for 1961-62 and 1962-63, if they were produced, at a price as near cost as possible.

The decision now has been made to continue the annual microfilming of additions to the Southern Education Reporting Service library. The price to purchasers of all the microfilm for the period 1954-1961, of whom you are one, will be $300 for each supplement, or $600 for the two years. These supplements may be purchased separately by others at $350 a year; thus you are being offered a price advantage of $50 a year.

Since you are familiar with the content and value of the SERS microfilm, no effort will be made to resell it to you. To place your order for the 1961-62 and 1962-63 supplements, use the enclosed form and postage-paid return envelope.

rcvd
7/6
pa

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Enc.

July 24, 1962

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Following our telephone conversation of this morning, this is to confirm our order for the SERS clipping service. This is for the newspaper clippings only, which we understand is at a cost of $200 per month, plus postage.

If possible, we would like for this service to begin August 1.

All good wishes for the launching of this valuable service.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:nm

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE 12, TENNESSEE

July 18, 1962

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

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PA

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1962

RECEIVED
JUL 20 1962

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les,

The Xerox Corporation has notified us that our copier is due for shipment this week and delivery by next Wednesday, July 25. If this schedule is kept, we definitely should be in operation by August first.

Lists of the magazine and newspapers to be clipped for reproduction are enclosed. We hope that SRC can use this service.

Sincerely,

Jim Leeson

Jim Leeson

Enc. (2)

XEROX REPRODUCTIONS
of
CURRENT RACE NEWS AND COMMENT

Southern Education Reporting Service

MATERIAL REPRODUCED: All news stories, letters to the editor, editorials and cartoons on the subject of race, clipped by the SERS library staff from approximately 50 newspapers, and approximately 25 periodicals. The library staff frequently reviews the list of magazines and newspapers received, dropping or adding publications on the basis of news developments. A check in May, 1962, showed that the library clipped 1,662 news articles, 330 editorials, 120 letters, and 33 cartoons--totalling 2,145 separate clippings from newspapers alone.

REPRODUCTION: The clippings will be reproduced by a Haloid Xerox 914 office copier on standard, legal-size white paper (8½x14) with one item appearing on each page. The article will be continued on extra pages, if necessary, but extra-long headlines will be considered expendable. Each item will be identified as to source, date and page on which it appeared.

DELIVERY: The clippings can be mailed as often as preferred but twice weekly mailing dates of Wednesday and Friday are recommended.

COST: Newspaper clippings only--$200 a month, plus postage. Newspaper and magazine clippings, including the postage--$250 a month.

TERMINATION: The service can be obtained on a monthly basis and could be cancelled by notice at least two weeks before the end of the last month for which clippings are requested.

MAGAZINES CLIPPED FOR SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORTING SERVICE LIBRARY
June 20, 1962

American Library Association Bulletin
Atlantic
The Boardman
Christian Advocate
Christian Century
Commentary
Commonweal
Ebony
Editor and Publisher
Harper's
Life
Look
The Nation
National Review
The New Republic
N.C. Public School Bulletin
Newsweek
The Progressive
The Reporter
Saturday Review
School and Society
NSBA School Boards
Time
U.S. News & World Report
Vital Speeches of the Day
Wilson Library Bulletin

Occasionally clippings will be available from other magazines not regularly read or clipped by the SERS library staff. Magazines are dropped or added by the library on the basis of news developments.

NEWSPAPERS CLIPPED FOR SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORTING SERVICE LIBRARY

Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution (M)
Atlanta Journal (E)
Atlanta Journal & Constitution (S)

Atlanta Daily World (M&S)

Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock, M&S)

Baltimore (Md.) Afro-American (Weekly)

Baltimore Sun (M&S)

Baton Rouge (La.) State Times (E)

Birmingham (Ala.) News (E&S)

Birmingham World (Semi-weekly)

Carolina Israelite (Bi-monthly)

Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette (M)
Charleston Gazette-Mail (S)

Charleston (S. C.) News & Courier (M&S)

Charlotte (N. C.) Observer (M&S)

Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times (M&S)

Chicago Defender (Sat.)

Christian Science Monitor (E)

Daily Oklahoman (Okla. City, S)
Oklahoma City Times (E)

Dallas (Texas) Morning News (M&S)

Delaware State News (Dover, E)

Delta Democrat-Times (Greenville, E&S)

Florida Times-Union (Jax., M&S)

Greensboro (N. C.) Daily News (M&S)

Houston (Texas) Post (M&S)

Jackson (Miss.) Daily News (E)
Clarion-Ledger, News (S)

Knoxville (Tenn.) News-Sentinel (E&S)

Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal (M&S)

Macon (Ga.) Telegraph (M)
Macon Telegraph-News (S)

McComb (Miss.) Enterprise-Journal (e)

Memphis (Tenn,) Commercial Appeal (M&S)

Miami (Fla.) Herald (M&S)

Montgomery (Ala.) Advertiser (M&S)

Nashville (Tenn.) Banner (E)

Nashville Tennessean (M&S)

National Observer (S)

New Orleans (La.) Times Picayune (M&S)

New York Times (M&S)

Norfolk Journal & Guide (Weekly)
Norfolk Virginian-Pilot (M&S)
Pittsburgh Courier (Weekly)

Providence (R. I.) Bulletin (E)
Providence Journal (M&S)

Raleigh (N. C.) News & Observer (M&S)

Richmond (Va.) News Leader (E)
Richmond Times-Dispatch (M&S)

Roanoke (Va.) Times (M&S)
Shreveport (La.) Journal (e)
St. Louis (Mo.) Post Dispatch (E&S)

St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times (M&S)

The State (Columbia, S. C., M&S)

Smithfield (N. C.) Herald (Weekly)

Washington (D. C.) Post (M&S)

Wilmington (Del.) Morning News (M)

Winston-Salem (N. C.) Journal (M&S)
Twin City Sentinel (E)

Note: The library staff periodically reviews the list of newspapers received, dropping or adding newspapers on the basis of news developments.

LWD
m75

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE 12, TENNESSEE

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NASHVILLE, TENN

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

July 24, 1962

Dear Paul:

You have placed an order for our microfilm supplements for 1961-62 and 1962-63.

We're delighted that you are going to be a charter subscriber to our new Xerox reproduction service.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Research Department
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 28, 1962

Mr. Reed Serratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Ave., South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

To make certain that we and SERS were interested in and clipping the same items before discontinuing our subscriptions, we ran a comparison for the week of August 8-14 on three papers, the Observer, Constitution and Post. The results are enclosed.

Needless to say, we are disturbed at the differences and the number of items both of us missed. There are indications that with the Observer we clip different editions and this might well account for some of the omissions though hardly all. This is one of those bugs we spoke of. How do you suggest we go about getting rid of it? For instance would it be helpful if someone from your place came down here for a review or if our Research Assistant came to Nashville for a day?

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/hs

LWD
m7J

Southern Education Reporting Service

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Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

July 25, 1962

Dear Paul:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of July 24 formally entering your order for the Xerox service. We still are awaiting installation of the equipment, which is due any day. Regardless of when we're ready to go into production, we will send you all materials received on or after August 1.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

August 30, 1962

Mr. Reed Serratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Ave., South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

If it remains convenient with you and we hit no snags here, Miss Janet Smith, our Research Assistant and the person responsible for our files and clippings, will be in Nashville on Thursday, September 13. She will plan to stay over on Friday if it appears necessary.

In addition to helping out with the current "problem", I think it will be very good for her to get to know the SERS operation firsthand.

She will bring the clippings in question.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/hs

September 11, 1962

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Enclosed is our check for the service for August.

As mentioned earlier, Miss Janet Smith, our Research Assistant, will be at your place sometime after 9:00 a.m. on Thursday. She flies up Thursday morning and will plan to stay through Friday if it proves necessary.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA:mg

Enclosure

Southern Education Reporting Service

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NASHVILLE, TENN

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

August 31, 1962

Dear Paul:

We will be delighted to have Miss Smith visit us at the time you suggest. It will be our purpose to give her a thorough exposure to the contents of our library and our methods of handling the materials we collect. Possibly this can be done in one day, but if not there is no limitation on the amount of time we are willing to spend with her.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

September 17, 1962

Mr. C. A. McKnight
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville, 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. McKnight:

I have your letter of September 8, regarding the possibility of a national reporting service covering all principal problems of racial relations. I think I have probably little to contribute to consideration of this possibility other than some rather obvious expressions of preferences.

First, let me say that I believe Southern School News has been immensely and uniquely helpful during its life to many and varied persons and organizations. We recognize that good things have to end sometime, and this may be the case with SSN. If so, we hope very much that the Statistical Summary and the Race Relations Law Reporter, at least, will be continued.

I happen to be one who believes that racial adjustment is a national issue deeper and more momentous than seems to be generally recognized. Consequently, I would certainly applaud a reporting service which would give regular and widespread coverage.

I would add, however, a couple caveats. First, I doubt that worthwhile results could be had simply by giving Reed Sarrat another staff assistant or two. There will be a need for a staff strong enough to select stories and contributors, plan a publication, shape an editorial policy, read and process a mass of material.

Second, I doubt that a newspaper, along the lines of SSN, would be appropriate. The justification for handling SSN as news is that the stories in the South are fast-breaking. On a national scene, I don't believe sthis would be the case, in anywhere near the same degree. For the same reason, I would question seriously whether the new publication should bind itself to a state-by-state, or even region-by-region, coverage. Rather, it should follow a topical approach, and combine interpretation with description. I believe a periodical along the lines of the Sunday Times News of the Week section, without the editorials and with occasionally longer articles, might be approximately what seems to me most probably useful.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:MA

Leslie W. Dunbar

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE 12, TENNESSEE

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NASHVILLE, TENN

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

September 8, 1962

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Dunbar:

You know about the Southern Education Reporting Service and the important role it has played in gathering and disseminating factual information on the school desegregation problem in the Southern and border states.

With each passing year, what was once primarily a regional problem has become increasingly a national dilemma with serious international implications.

For this reason I now pose to you this question:

What would you think of a national reporting service covering all the major phases of the racial adjustment problem -- education, housing, economic opportunity, recreation, voting, personal and quasi-public services, public transportation?

Such a service would follow the basic SERS purpose, i.e., to report factually, objectively and in full detail the complex story of racial adjustment in the United States.

The information assembled would be made available to all persons and institutions interested in any phase of the problem.

I write you in the capacity of chairman of a special committee of the SERS Board of Directors appointed at a recent meeting to study the feasibility and value of such a service.

Your opinion would be of great value in drafting our conclusions.

I will need your reply no later than September 20. It should be sent to the address above.

Will you help us?

Sincerely,

C A McKnight

C. A. McKnight

Southern Education Reporting Service

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1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
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September 17, 1962

Dear Paul:

Janet Smith's visit with us last Thursday and Friday proved to be interesting and useful to us, as I believe it was to her. By now you have received a report from her, and she has told you that I look forward to the pleasure of seeing you and any others who are concerned and interested in Atlanta on Thursday.

If you have no other commitment, I should like to take you to lunch. My plane is scheduled to arrive in Atlanta at approximately 11 a.m., so that I should be able to be in your office around noon. I'll call you when I get there to see if this is convenient.

Rather than attempt to outline now the general impressions I have as a result of Miss Smith's visit, I'll wait until I see you.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LWD
SDB
MA

Southern Education Reporting Service

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NASHVILLE, TENN

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September 26, 1962

Dear Paul:

It was a real pleasure to see you and so many of your associates when I was in Atlanta last week. I particularly appreciated being extended the privilege of auditing a part of your Executive Committee meeting.

After our discussion of the Xerox service, I had the feeling that each of us understood better the other's situation and problems. I know more about your needs, and you know more about the policies by which we operate. We both realize that there is a gap in your requirements that our service won't fill. I appreciate your desire, despite this, to continue with our service until you have had the opportunity to test it more fully.

Within the next few weeks, I anticipate that our work will return to something like routine. That should produce some improvement in the Xerox service, particularly in the promptness of mailings. To be sure that I did not lead you astray, I have checked with the staff here my statement that we should be current by the end of each week. The staff confirms this.

As I have emphasized, we welcome your suggestions, and we always will give them serious consideration, whatever our decision on them may be. We want to accommodate you to the greatest extent possible without running afoul of our policies.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

December 13, 1962

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

You are very generous to offer to supply sample copies of Southern School News and the 1961-62 Statistical Summary to the delegates at our conference. I am passing word of your offer on to Herman Long, who is Program Chairman. I feel sure that he will want to take advantage of it.

Let's get together during the conference.

S

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar

LWD:A
CC: Herman Long
Charles Jones

Southern Education Reporting Service

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Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
CYpress 1-1262

December 10, 1962

Dear Les:

I have read with great interest the press release on the conference to be held at Vanderbilt Law School December 27-29. I want to attend as many of the sessions as possible.

If you wish, I shall be glad to supply sample copies of Southern School News for as many of the delegates as may want them. I shall also be willing to provide free copies of the 1961-62 Statistical Summary. The 1962-63 edition of the Summary will be off the press this week. I don't feel that I can give them away, but we do have some copies of last year's.

I shall look forward to seeing you. Maybe I can even drag you the short distance from the Vanderbilt Law School to the SERS office.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

January 29, 1963

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

We have ninety (90) Board members and some of them have expressed interest in a group order to Southern School News. What would be the rate of an order for 90? for 50? for 25? Frankly, I think nothing will come of this, so don't have any hopes. I would, however, like to be able to put a proposition before them.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

79

February 27, 1963

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

Mr. Dunbar has asked me to write you regarding the proposition you made to him on bulk subscriptions for Southern School News.

The executive committee of the Council was very interested in the proposition, but they had a couple of questions:

1) Would it be possible to add our six copies (subscribed for by SRC) to the list for the special price, and cancel our present subscription? This would make 96 subscriptions.

2) How much additional cost would there be if we had SSN mailed out from your office to the 90 board members, six to SRC? You have a cheaper mailing rate than we have; also our mailing department is pretty rushed as it is.

We will appreciate your consideration of these questions.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

Southern Education Reporting Service

P. O. BOX 6156, ACKLEN STATION
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February 5, 1963

MA' pls do something

Dear Les:

Hope springs eternal. The members of your Board all should see Southern School News, so I'm going to make a proposition to you that you can't possibly turn down.

Before I do, I will answer your questions.

We have established rates for bulk subscriptions. Groups of five or more copies mailed to different addresses are $1.75 each per year. If all copies go to one address, the subscription price is $1.50 each per year. From these figures, you can determine what the cost to you would be for 90, for 50, for 25 or for any other quantity you might want.

For my purposes, let's assume that you take 90 subscriptions at the $1.50 rate. This would come to $135 a year.

When I talked with you in Atlanta, you suggested that you didn't have the money to pay for these subscriptions. I'll take you at your word.

Now, here's my proposition. If you will subscribe to as many as 70 copies, at the bulk rate of $1.50 each, all to be mailed to your office in Atlanta for redistribution by you, I will make these copies available at practically no cost at all to you, as I shall explain. Under the arrangement now in effect with you, we add the cost of postage to our fee for the Xerox reproduction service. Postage for the first six months of this service totals $48.25. Assuming that the postage for the next six months would be the same, this would amount to $96.50 a year. If you take 70 subscriptions to Southern School News at $1.50 each, the total cost of which would be $105 a year, I will supply the Xerox service to you at the present flat fee of $200 a month, and we will pay the postage.

This may seem like pressure selling. It is. I'm trying to give you no choice but to enter a bulk subscription for 70 or more copies of Southern School News. Of course, I would be pleased were you to take more. If you were to take 90, the net cost to you would be $38, or just over 42 cents for each subscription. Why not make it 100?

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

March 18, 1963

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156, Acklen Station
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

Your letter of the 28th came just as I succumbed to the flu, and I'm sorry about the delay. The figures you included in your letter are satisfactory. We appreciate your making it possible for us to take advantage of this bulk subscription rate by absorbing the Xerox service postage.

We do want you to mail out the subscriptions from your office, and a list of SRC board members is enclosed. There will be 89 instead of 90; Dr. Trenholm is deceased and this is so marked on the list.

I suppose we are too late for the March issue. If so, please begin in April. Again I apologize for the delay.

Sincerely yours,

encl - list alphabetical

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Administrative Assistant

LWD

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February 28, 1963

Transcribe on 77 list

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Since talking with you this morning, I have rechecked my arithmetic, and I am really not surprised that in my earlier quick figuring I made some mistakes. Still the correct figures are not too different from those I gave you.

In answer to your first question, the six copies of Southern School News that would be sent directly to the SRC offices in Atlanta would cost you $1.50 per subscription, or $9 a year for six subscriptions.

If we were to send 90 additional copies to your Atlanta office at the same bulk subscription rate of $1.50 each, the total annual cost would be $135. If we were to mail each of these 90 copies directly to the individual subscriber, the cost for each subscription would be $1.75 a year, or a total of $157.50. Therefore, the difference in cost to you if the mailing were to be done from here would be $22.50 a year.

These are not special rates. They are our established rates for bulk subscriptions. I am offering you a substantial price advantage, however, by agreeing to absorb the cost of mailing Xerox reproductions to you. As I indicated in my letter of February 5 the postage for the Xerox service for one year should be approximately $96.50, based on the actual cost for the first six months. This would mean that, in effect, you would receive 96 copies of Southern School News each month for a net cost to you of $70 a year. This amounts to approximately 73 cents for each subscription.

As I said in our telephone conversation today, I would like to begin these subscriptions with the March issue of Southern School News, which is now being prepared for publication. For that reason I shall appreciate your sending me the mailing list for the subscriptions immediately in order that we may have time

to prepare the necessary addressograph plates.

I hope that my statement as to charges is clear. If you have any further questions, please call me collect.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

June 17, 1963

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville 12, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

Enclosed is the Council's check for $7.50 for five (5) bulk subscriptions to SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS, representing our renewal for one (1) year from June, 1963 to June, 1964.

You will note that I have cancelled two of the three semi-bulk subscriptions because they are receiving them as indicated. Another SRC Board Member is deceased as of June 11, 1963, Mr. Charles A. Shaw, Houston, Texas. Please see that his name is removed from the mailing list. Could Dr. C. H. Parrish, Louisville, Kentucky, receive his unexpired subscription? He is listed as the third person receiving a subscription under our semi-bulk arrangement.

If this is satisfactory, please let me know at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Ruth House Alexander
Secretary-Treasurer

RHA/hs
Enclosures (2)

SRC Check + List with Corrections
Cancelling Mrs. Cantler Latimer's and Mrs. Maclard Smith's Subs.

LWDV

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Publishers of
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CYpress 1-1262

March 19, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Albright:

I'm delighted that you have subscribed to Southern School News for SRC board members. We will begin the subscriptions with the March issue.

According to the agreement between us, we will absorb the cost of postage in the fee charged for our Xerox reproduction service. You will be billed for the 89 subscriptions according to the rates I gave you.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

File

August 14, 1963

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156 - Ackmen Station
Nashville 12, Tennessee

File

Dear Mr. Sarratt:

Pursuant to your conversation with Les and your letter to him of August 9, we are happy to set forth our agreement with your suggested changes regarding the invaluable services rendered us by Southern Education Reporting Service.

We agree to pay 5 cents a sheet for the Xerox reproductions of clippings. Our enclosed check for the amount of Four Hundred Ninety-Five and 95/100 Dollars ($495.95), evidences our agreement that the new rate be retroactive to July 1, 1963.

Please discontinue reproductions of letters to the editor and editorial cartoons. In addition, eliminate clippings from the New York Times, The Washington Post, and the Atlanta papers, if it is convenient for you to do so. We are aware of the difficulties involved in such a process, but would appreciate your efforts to do so, if possible.

Ltr., Mr. Reed Sarratt
SERS - Nashville, Tenn.

My notes from our phone conversation reveal that you promised to assume the cost of postage. Inasmuch as you did not mention same in your letter of August 9, we assume that SERS will be responsible for the postage.

The Council looks forward to the continued service from SERS.

Sincerely yours,

Vernon E. Jordan, Jr.
Assistant to the
Executive Director

VEJ:nm
Enclosures

1. SERS Invoice
2. Check - $495.95.

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August 9, 1963

RECEIVED
AUG 1963

Dear Les:

Earlier this week I talked to Vernon Jordan about the situation I outlined to you in my letter of July 25 relative to the charge we had been making for Xerox reproductions of our clippings. As I explained to Mr. Jordan, our records show that in the month of July we sent you 9,919 sheets of reproductions and paid postage of $19.85.

At the rate of $200 a month, which you have been paying, this means we are supplying the Xerox service at a considerable loss to us. You understand why I cannot continue this arrangement.

In talking with Mr. Jordan, I suggested that we charge, retroactive to July 1, 1963, at the rate of 5 cents a sheet. Mr. Jordan was amenable to this suggestion, although he made it clear that he wanted to have the opportunity of discussing it with you before making a commitment. It is at his request that I am writing this letter embodying the proposed change. OK

Assuming that you will agree to the proposal, I am enclosing a bill for the material sent you during July based on a charge of 5 cents a sheet.

Mr. Jordan explored with me the possibilities of our discontinuing the reproduction of certain types of materials for you. I specifically suggested that we might drop letters to the editor and editorial cartoons. For your guidance in deciding whether you want to do this, we sent to you during July 867 sheets of letters to the editor and 315 sheets of editorial cartoons. drop

In addition, Mr. Jordan asked whether we could eliminate clippings from the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Atlanta papers, since you are clipping these papers in your office. This creates some problem for us because of the routines involved in our handling of these materials. I have discussed it with our Xerox operator, however, and we believe that we can do it. drop if convenient

I would like to know your decision as soon as possible. I would appreciate it if you or Mr. Jordan would call me collect at CY1-1262.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Enc.

9,919 separate X Rox

$19.85 postage

20 cents per sheet
15 for CRC
5 cents per sheet to SRC in lieu of $200 flat fee

SERS will pay postage

9 919
5
$495.95

12 h 1943

Courtesy—TUCKER-CASTLEBERRY PRINTING, INC. • JAckson 5-8654

Memo from **LESLIE W. DUNBAR**

V

pls get together
with Stange,
& then advise me

Memo from **STAIGE BLACKFORD**

7/26/63

Les,

Mildred showed me this letter. Re his proposals (see last graf, p. 1), we will happily drop: 1) all editorials, only?? 2) letters to editor, 3) cartoons, 4) clips from NY Times, D. C. Post, Atlanta Papers, Providence Journal and NY Times.

— SB

Rec'd 7/26/63

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July 25, 1963

Dear Les:

On July 15 I called your office in response to a letter I had received from Staige Blackford asking whether we could "close the gap" between the date of a newspaper's publication and the date of delivery to you of Xerox reproductions of clippings. Realizing the seriousness of this to you, I called immediately, but both you and Staige were out. I talked with Paul Anthony, and I assume that Paul relayed to both Staige and you the substance of what I said.

As to the immediate point of closing the gap, we are doing our very best to keep up with the tremendous quantity of material now being published about race relations. In the month of June we had 13 people working in our library. While this was not sufficient to keep on top of the job, it exceeds our financial and space resources. I regret that I can't assure you that we will catch up by any given date, but I can say we are making a strenuous effort.

Beyond this current situation there is another problem which I mentioned to Paul and which I must call to your attention. It is that the price you now are paying for our Xerox service bears no relationship at all to the quantity of materials you are receiving. Some adjustment in price or the service itself is mandatory.

When we began the service to you approximately a year ago, we were processing an average of some 2,000 items each month. The flat rate of $200 that we have charged you for the service was fixed at a point that barely covered our costs for the volume of material being sent to you at the time.

We now have complete records for the fiscal year ending June 30. Instead of sending you an average of 2,000 reproductions a month, we have sent you more than 3,500 as a monthly average, or an average of 1,500 sheets each month above the estimate on which the price was based.

This situation is bad enough from our point of view, but it would seem to me that it can do nothing but become worse. During the month of June we sent you more than 6,800 items. The May total was more than 5,000. Your guess is as good as, or better than, mine as to the tempo of race relations activity to be expected during the next year, but I believe that it will continue at a relatively high level.

Before proposing any specific change in our present agreement, I wanted to give you the opportunity to react. Several possibilities occurred to me: (1) We might raise the present flat rate from $200

a month to some figure substantially higher, (2) we might discontinue sending you certain types of materials which may be of relatively less value to you than others or (3) we might supply the service on a piece-rate basis or a combination flat rate and piece rate. You may have other ideas.

Whatever we do, I hope that we will be able to find some arrangement that will make it possible for you to continue to receive this service. I have no desire to make money on it, but I cannot continue to supply the service at a loss, as we have been doing for some time now.

This is of such importance to me that I will come to Atlanta at any time to discuss it with you, if you think that either necessary or desirable.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

LWD. Fyi

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Sept. 19, 1963

Dear Staige:

You haven't received your copies of Southern School News since July, I have discovered upon investigation prompted by your note. A mistake was made in our circulation department, but it now has been corrected. Today we are mailing the Council's copies of the August and September issues. I'm terribly sorry this happened and hope there will be no repetition of it.

I'm quite sure you will not want to adopt our indexing system, but I thought it might be of some interest to you and your staff to see how we file the materials we collect for our library.

You're right in guessing that we had our hands full with the opening of school. More has happened this fall than during any other school opening since I've been here. As you are so acutely aware, we've had our hands full since last spring, when the general civil rights movement took on new life and vigor. We seem to be holding our own and even making a little progress. I remain hopeful that soon we will be current with our work.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Mr. Staige D. Blackford
Research Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

file

April 3, 1964

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

We are sending you under separate cover one copy of Ben's book; publication date is May 18.

Ben acknowledges his dependence on SERS at page 289. I would like to add my personal thanks for all the assistance you have been to him and to us.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

Southern Education Reporting Service — file

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NASHVILLE, TENN.

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
291-1262

April 6, 1964

Dear Les:

The publisher sent us a review copy of Ben's book, and I already have read it. In my opinion the book is excellent in every respect, and fully lives up to my high expectations for it. Thank you for sending another copy, one which I shall feel free to keep for my own.

I noted with pleasure Ben's comments about Southern School News. He was very generous.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

cc: Mr. Benjamin Muse

File
Southern Education
Reporting Service

July 31, 1964

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

We have your letter of July 28. I can well understand the need to raise your price, and the cost problems of reproduction. I have only this morning signed a contract for a Xerox 813, to be installed here. We are doing this because the Xerox cannot help but be cheaper than the shockingly high paper costs of the fluid copying machine we now have. This whole reproduction business is a great thing, but it doesn't come cheap. So, though we regret the price increase, we accept it with no objective complaints.

Our research staff is rather deliriously happy over your announcement of sharply reduced clipping. As you know, there has been a large amount of duplication, and it is our belief that you can make the reduction you intend without hurting the coverage.

Do please remember that we do not order from you clippings from the New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Atlanta Constitution.

We looked over your list of papers to be surveyed. We are in agreement with you that a Dallas paper and a Houston paper should certainly be kept. Of the others on the list, we would like to advise that we find the Baton Rouge State Times, the Roanoke Times, and the Columbia State to be particularly helpful in their coverage.

And, most of all, the Chattanooga Times. If you ever decide to stop clipping it I wish you would call our attention to the fact, because we would than want to subscript to it directly.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

bc: Mr. John Popham (Chatt. Times)

Southern Education Reporting Service
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STEPHEN J. WRIGHT
PRESIDENT
FISK UNIVERSITY
NASHVILLE, TENN.

Publishers of
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS
291-1262

July 28, 1964

Dear Les:

We have made some rather drastic changes in our operations, and they will affect our Xerox reproduction service to you. Before I describe these changes in detail, let me say that one of the compelling reasons for them is our financial situation. We have been spending money at a considerable higher rate than our resources permit, and we are trying to reduce, if not eliminate, our deficit.

Under these circumstances I feel compelled to increase the price per sheet we have been charging you for Xerox reproductions. You know that the current price of 5 cents a sheet is well below our actual cost. Every time a sheet of paper goes through our machine, it costs us 7½ cents. Effective August 1, I should like to raise the price to you by 2½ cents a sheet so that we will at least recover our minimum costs. As it is now, we actually lose money every time we make a reproduction for you.

The probability is that the total cost of the service to you at this new price will not be as much as you are paying now. The reason is that you will be receiving many fewer items, as I shall explain.

Briefly stated, we are curtailing our operations by focusing more precisely on the 11 states of the old Confederacy. One of the effects of the new policy will be to discontinue state-by-state reporting in Southern School News on school desegregation in the six border states and the District of Columbia. Of greater pertinence to the subject of this letter is the change being made in our library.

You know something of the problems we have had in handling the vast mass of materials we have been collecting. Our objective is to reduce by at least 50 per cent the quantity of these materials. You may welcome this development, as I do. But, because it affects our Xerox reproduction service, I shall describe the change in some detail.

Enclosed with this letter are four lists of newspapers. One of them is labeled "National Papers." From these papers we will

continue to clip as we have in the past everything dealing with race relations in the United States. From the list headed "Southern Papers" we will clip only items dealing with race relations in the 11 states of the old Confederacy. Another list is headed "Papers to be Surveyed," and we will clip from them items dealing with race relations in the 11 Southern states pending later decision on whether to continue or drop them. This decision will be based on the relative productivity of the papers. You will note that two papers from Dallas and two from Houston are on the list, and from each city we will keep the more productive paper. The fourth list is headed "Discontinued Papers," and we no longer will clip anything from them.

You will continue to receive from us the same categories of newspaper material that you have been receiving except that the volume will be much lower. If you and your associates have suggestions to make about papers that should be on the list of those to be clipped, we would welcome your ideas. Whatever papers we clip, we want to reduce the volume of clippings at least 50 per cent.

Our clipping from periodicals will continue as in the past except that we will be much more selective than we have been. That is, we will clip only those articles of relatively greatest significance, whereas in the past we have clipped everything that has dealt with race relations regardless of its importance.

Obviously these changes will affect our Xerox reproduction service. It seems to me that the reduction in volume might be as advantageous to you as it is to us. Despite the increase in price per sheet, the cost of the service to you will be reduced, as will the difficulty of processing the materials you receive. I hope the changes will meet with your approval. In any event I wanted to inform you of this change and to invite your reactions to it.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
tc

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Enc.

July 20, 1964

NATIONAL PAPERS

Baltimore Sun

Chicago Sun-Times

Louisville Courier-Journal

Los Angeles Times

(New York Times)

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

(Washington Post)

we don't get these from SERS anyway

July 20, 1964

SOUTHERN PAPERS

Arkansas Gazette

Atlanta Constitution We don't get this either

Atlanta Daily World

Baltimore Afro-American

Birmingham News

Charleston News and Courier

Charlotte Observer

Delta Democrat-Times

Greensboro Daily News

Jackson Daily News and Clarion-Ledger

Montgomery Advertiser

Nashville Banner

Nashville Tennessean

New Orleans Times-Picayune

Norfolk Journal and Guide (weekly)

Norfolk Virginian-Pilot

Richmond News-Leader

Richmond Times-Dispatch

St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times

Memphis Commercial Appeal

Miami Herald

July 20, 1964

PAPERS TO BE SURVEYED

yes Baton Rouge State Times

Chattanooga Daily Times

Dallas Morning News

Dallas Times Herald

Florida Times-Union

Houston Chronicle

Houston Post

Knoxville News Sentinel

Macon Telegraph

Pittsburgh Courier, Southern ed. (weekly)

~~yes~~ Raleigh News and Observer

yes Roanoke Times

yes The State (Columbia, S.C.)

Winston-Salem Journal

July 20, 1964

DISCONTINUED PAPERS

Charleston Gazette

Chicago Defender

Crimson White (Univ. of Ala.)

Christian Science Monitor

Daily Texan (Univ. of Texas)

The Hustler (Vanderbilt Univ.)

The Plainsman (Auburn Univ.)

Providence (R.I.) Journal

Wilmington Morning News

The Mississippian (Univ. of Miss.)

File BT ✓ LD ✓

Southern Education Reporting Service

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August 3, 1964

File

Dear Les:

Thank you for your understanding. We will bill you at the new rate of 7½ cents a sheet for Xerox reproductions after August 1.

The lists that I sent you were prepared for our general use. That's why the New York Times, the Washington Post and the Atlanta Constitution appeared on them. We, of course, do not send you materials from these newspapers.

Our survey to date suggests that we will continue to clip the Baton Rouge State Times and the Columbia State. The Roanoke Times and the Chattanooga Times appear to be doubtful on the basis of non-productivity. In view of your interest in these last two papers, we will continue to clip them and will check them with exceptional care. I'll let you know before we come to a final decision about clipping them so that you can make arrangements for subscribing to them before we drop them.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File

May 18, 1965

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

I discover that Samuel F. Yette has the title, Special Assistant to the Director, Office of Economic Opportunity. Best of luck.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

July 1, 1965

Mr. Reed Sarratt
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Reed:

Thank you for the thoughtfulness in writing to us again. I think we will not be interested in subscribing to a Xerox service on the new basis. As you well know, we do need many items other than education, and as long as we are reading and clipping the newspapers for them it will be fairly simple to clip the education news as well. In anticipation of the dreadful day of June 30 we had already entered subscriptions to a number of southern papers, and have also replaced the young lady who left us when we began our subscription to your service. You will be interested, I think, to know that Glenda Bartley is coming to work here next week.

Again, as I have before, I want to wish you all success with the new venture; I know that you will have this success. Living without Southern School News seems strange -- almost as if another southern tradition had ended. It has been a tremendously valuable publication.

I want to tell you also how helpful and valuable the Xerox service has been to us. We now go back to our old methods, but we are most grateful to you for enabling us, these past couple of years, to have had the advantages of this service.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Rec'd 7/1/65

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NASHVILLE, TENN.

June 30, 1965

Dear Les:

Today marks the end of the old SERS program. Tomorrow we start our new project. The change will affect all of our operations, including the materials that we place in our library.

The last time I talked with you about this, it was my impression that you wished to discontinue our Xerox service. We will, of course, finish clipping and reproducing materials from all newspapers dated through June 30.

Unless we hear from you to the contrary, we will stop the service at that point. We still will clip items about the desegregation of education and will be glad to supply reproductions of them if you want them.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt
Executive Director

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File

Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. BOX 6156
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

PUBLISHERS OF
SOUTHERN SCHOOL NEWS

July 20, 1965

Dear Les:

Thank you for the information about Yette. I'm in hot pursuit.

Sincerely yours,

Reed Sarratt

Dr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

File → SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORTING SERVICE

Memo FROM THE DIRECTOR

File

Aug. 21, 1965

Dear Leo –

We were so pushed for time while we were in Atlanta this week that I had no time even to call. We bought a house which I think we will enjoy very much. I'll start work about the middle of the month and hope I'll have a chance to see you before you leave.

Reed

File
Southern Edu. Reporting Service

November 23, 1965

Mr. Robert F. Campbell, Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
P.O. Box 6156
1109 Nineteenth Ave., South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Mr. Campbell:

Thank you for your comments about our report and the position of S.E.R.S. We certainly don't think they constitute a federal case and appreciate having them.

We regret any misinterpretation we gave to the present and future role of S.E.R.S. or any difficulty this may have caused you. Actually, we tried to indicate in our report the assistance we received from your staff in rather frequent correspondence and telephoning. Our reference to Southern School News no longer being published was meant only to imply that we missed this valuable source of information at a time when we felt it was more needed than ever.

We did feel that at no time in recent years had so little factual information existed and that we all were experiencing more difficulty in obtaining such information than in the past. And, while we understood that S.E.R.S. was still very much in business and knew something of your attemps and interests in collecting information, we did not know that your previous practices of collecting statistical data by districts and publishing them was to continue. We are delighted to know this.

While we occasionally stumble into such a mess, please know that we try to make a very determined attempt to avoid

inter-organizational rivalry. Too many years of experience have proved to us that we all together have little enough resources to do our jobs and not only is there room for all of us - and enough credit to go around - but clearly we can achieve far more by cooperation and sharing than anyone of us could achieve singularly.

S.E.R.S. has made a tremendous contribution during its lifetime. We are delighted to know of your appointment, and extend to you our best wishes and sincere congratulations.

I, too, look forward to an opportunity of meeting and visiting with you.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/pf

Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. BOX 6156
1109 NINETEENTH AVE., SOUTH
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37212

Nov. 17, 1965

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I don't want to make a federal case of it, but I do want you to know that we noted with some concern the implication in the Southern Regional Council's report on School Desegregation that Southern Education Reporting Service had stopped collecting data on the subject. I enclose a copy of the section of the report that gives rise to our concern. Unfortunately some newspapers have picked up the statement, with the result that a misleading impression has been created concerning SERS.

It is true, as the SRC report indicates, that Southern School News ceased publishing in July, 1965. But as Mr. Jim Leeson pointed out some time ago to Mr. Sam Adams, this did not mean that SERS stopped collecting data. Actually, our correspondents have continued to supply monthly reports on desegregation in education. These reports have been Xeroxed, bound and sent to the U. S. Office of Education. They are available to any other individuals or agencies that wish to pay the established price; furthermore, we are glad to answer specific questions regarding the reports without charge.

As a matter of fact, we had all the information on school desegregation in September of 1965 that we have had in September of any other year -- that is, the number of districts where desegregation had taken place. Information on the number of schools desegregated or children attending desegregated schools has not become available in this or any other year until November.

Following our annual custom, we plan to publish not later than December all the statistical information that our correspondents in the Southern and border states can dig up. This report will be available to anyone for $1 a copy.

In making these comments, I do not mean to dispute the Southern Regional Council's recommendation that surveys should be made in all districts, presumably by the federal government, to determine the proportion of Negro school children. The Office of Education, acting under the authority of law, should be able to get reliable information on desegregation more quickly than an unofficial organization such as yours or ours.

My comments, moreover, are not inspired by any inter-organizational rivalry. Southern Education Reporting Service claims no monopoly in gathering information on school desegregation. We recognize the vital and wholesome interest of the Southern Regional Council in charting the progress of desegregation. Your current report on the subject is useful in pointing out the slow rate at which the process is progressing. I simply wanted you to know that we are still in business here and that we want to be helpful in any way that we can.

As you may know, I am new on the job here in Nashville. I hope to get to Atlanta soon and to have an opportunity to meet you. Especially do I want to get your reaction to our new venture, Southern Education Report.

Sincerely yours,

Robert F. Campbell

Robert F. Campbell
Executive Director

Enc.

File
Southern Ed. Reporting Ser.

March 16, 1966

Mr. Robert F. Campbell
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Bob:

It was good having you visit and I, too, enjoyed the opportunity for us to get together.

We will make certain that you receive New South, and our other materials. I hope some of the people here can visit SERS soon.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj

MEMORANDUM March 16, 1966

To: EL

From: MMJ

Ed,

Paul would like the following person to be put on our mailing list (Category #3, Interagency-1). Also, a complimentary, one-year subscription for NEW SOUTH should be placed for him, beginning with the spring issue.

Mr. Robert F. Campbell
Executive Director
Southern Education Reporting Service
1109 - 19th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

thanx, mmj

SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORT

PUBLISHED BY SOUTHERN EDUCATION REPORTING SERVICE

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Interagency

March 11, 1966

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It was a great pleasure to talk with you in your office on Wednesday and to have a chance to meet some of the members of your staff. I especially appreciated the ride to the airport and the opportunity to get better acquainted while we were riding out.

I have long admired the work of the Southern Regional Council, and now that I have met several of you who are responsible for its activities my admiration has increased many times. Although we operate on a smaller scale, I feel that SRC and SERS complement each other.

I read a good portion of New South during the plane trip back to Nashville. You are off to an excellent start with your quarterly. As far as I can determine, we did not receive a copy in the mail, so I would appreciate it if you would ask Bob Anderson to check his mailing list and make sure that we're still on it.

Please don't hesitate to call on us whenever we can help you in any way.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert F. Campbell

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Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
Atlanta, Ga.

John Seigenthaler
Editor
Nashville Tennessean
Nashville, Tenn.

Bert Struby
General Manager
Telegraph and News
Macon, Ga.

Henry I. Willett
Superintendent of Schools
Richmond, Va.

W. D. Workman, Jr.
Editor
The State
Columbia, S. C.

Stephen J. Wright
President
United Negro College Fund
New York, N. Y.

file - Southern Education Reporting Service

Sept. 12, 1966

You will receive in the mail, within the next week or so, a copy of The Ordeal of Desegregation by Reed Sarratt, who was executive director of Southern Education Reporting Service from 1960 to 1965. This book is published by Harper & Row.

Distribution of a limited number of complimentary copies to individuals concerned with education and race relations is made possible under our grant from the Ford Foundation.

The Ordeal of Desegregation describes in detail the way the people of the South reacted to the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision. The approach is in keeping with the policies of Southern Education Reporting Service, which was established in 1954 by a group of Southern editors and educators to collect and disseminate factual, objective information about developments in education arising out of the court decision.

Both Mr. Sarratt and I would welcome your comments.

Robert F. Campbell

Robert F. Campbell
Executive Director

From: Southern Education Reporting Service
P. O. Box 6156
Nashville, Tenn. 37212

A.C. 615-291-1262

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June 19, 1969

Advance For Use in A.M. Papers, Sunday, June 22, 1969

NASHVILLE, Tenn. -- Southern Education Reporting Service, which has reported on race and education in the Southern and border states for the past 15 years, is going out of business. It will be replaced by the newly organized Race Relations Information Center which will gather and disseminate information about major aspects of race relations in the nation.

Termination of the reporting service and the establishment of the new center, with headquarters in Nashville, were announced in the June issue of Southern Education Report, a monthly magazine which is being discontinued after four years of publication.

Dr. Luther H. Foster, president of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama and chairman of the board of directors of Southern Education Reporting Service, will also serve as board chairman of the center. John Seigenthaler, editor of the Nashville Tennessean, is vice chairman, and Robert F. Campbell is executive director.

The Race Relations Information Center will provide reports for distribution to educational institutions and news media and also occasional papers for general distribution. It will perform journalistic research in race relations for foundations and educational institutions. A library will be maintained, enabling the center's staff members to answer questions about race relations from journalists, scholars and the public. The present SERS library, consisting of hundreds of thousands of items from newspapers and magazines, as well as pamphlets, laws, court decisions and books, will be the basis for the center's library.

Dr. Foster said that substantial funding of the center is anticipated so that it can begin its service on September 1. With the activation of the center, Southern Education Reporting Service will cease to operate.

Like SERS, the new center will be essentially journalistic in nature, and will also make broad use of the academic resources available in Nashville and elsewhere. It will not advocate any point of view or course of action.

A major area of reporting will be school and college desegregation, the primary field of interest for SERS. In addition, the reports will deal selectively with politics,

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employment and economics, housing, religion, public health and welfare, the arts, athletics, lawmaking and enforcement, and the courts.

"With the changes that have taken place over the years," Dr. Foster said, "it is no longer appropriate to report on race relations in a regional or sectional context. The Race Relations Information Center represents an effort to broaden race relations reporting geographically, as well as by subject-matter scope."

Members of the board of directors who have been selected so far include, in addition to the three officers, Harry Ashmore, executive vice president, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Mrs. Mamie Phipps Clark, child psychologist and executive director, Northside Center for Child Development, New York; Dr. John M. Claunch, president, George Peabody College, Nashville; Dr. Alexander Heard, chancellor, Vanderbilt University, Nashville; Vernon Jordan, director, voter education project, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta; Dr. James R. Lawson, president, Fisk University, Nashville; Mrs. Ruby Martin, attorney, Washington, D. C.; C. A. McKnight, editor, The Charlotte (N.C.) Observer; Charles Moss, executive editor, The Nashville Banner; Dr. Thomas Pettigrew, professor of social psychology, Harvard University; John N. Popham, managing editor, The Chattanooga Times; John Sengstacke, editor, The Chicago (Ill.) Defender; and Don Shoemaker, editor, The Miami (Fla.) Herald.

Additional directors will be announced later, Foster said.

In an article in the June issue of Southern Education Report, McKnight, the first executive director of SERS, summarized the activities of the agency, which was established in 1954 by a group of Southern editors and educators to report on events growing out of the U. S. Supreme Court's school desegregation decision of that year. The agency's principal support has come from the Ford Foundation, which has made grants totaling more than $2,600,000 during the 15-year period.

McKnight's article discusses Southern School News, a monthly tabloid which was published from 1954 through the summer of 1965, and the Statistical Summary, a periodic report of school segregation-desegregation in the region, as well as Southern Education Report, which was established in 1965 to report on programs for the education of the culturally disadvantaged.

"Future historians," said McKnight, "will have to evaluate the contribution of SERS to public education when they write the minutes of this 15-year period. But it would seem clear even now that without the factual information made available throughout the South, and without the central store of information that guided journalists, magazine writers, radio and TV networks, and public officials at all levels, the South would have had more difficulty picking its way along a dim and uncertain path.

MORE

"I have no doubt about the ultimate judgment of SERS as a journalistic undertaking. In thoroughness, accuracy and objectivity, it is without parallel in the history of U. S. journalism."

Thirty-one editors and educators have served terms as members of the SERS board. Dozens of newsmen, working in the SERS headquarters on the edge of the Peabody College campus and in the various states of the region, have produced SERS publications. The present editorial staff of the agency consists of Campbell, the executive director; Tom Flake, director of publications; Jim Leeson, director of information and research; and Clayton Braddock and John Egerton, staff writers.

# # #

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SEP SOUTHERN EDUCATION PROGRAM, INC.
859½ Hunter Street N.W. Atlanta, Georgia 30314 404/525-6042

February 9, 1968

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I became the director of this organization when the Southern Teaching Program merged with the Recruitment of Southern Teachers last summer. I am aware that you followed the progress of STP very closely for several years when Fred Schulze was the director.

The purpose of this letter is to solicit your advice and possible financial assistance in support of our program to recruit teachers for Negro colleges.

The enclosed proposal is now being considered by several foundations, including Ford, Carnegie, Taconic and Field. The Ford Foundation has given us strong assurance of their continued interest in supporting our summer and academic year teacher recruitment program. We are faced, however, with a serious problem in that our current funds will be totally exhausted by the end of the month; and, none of the foundations we have approached are able to fund us before Spring; the Ford Foundation cannot fund us before summer.

A member of my staff spoke to Winifred Greene and Tom Wholman of the American Friends Service Committee, who suggested that the Southern Regional Council might have funds available to help us to continue our recruitment activities over the next three months. Our monthly budget amounts to $2,936. We could reduce this amount further by eliminating all salaries except a small sum paid to our part time typist, and still be able to operate temporarily with $1,561 per month.

If this is not possible, could you recommend any sources of support of our program for the months of March, April, and May?

Thank you very much for considering this matter.

Sincerely yours,

Lawrence Rushing

Lawrence Rushing
Director

enclosure

SOUTHERN EDUCATION PROGRAM PROPOSAL for 1968-69

Submitted by:

Lawrence Rushing, Director
Southern Education Program, Inc.
859½ Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Tel. (404) 525-6042

Proposal for 1968-69

Summary

The main purpose of the Southern Education Program, Inc. is to assist Negroes in the south, through education, in fully realizing their potential as human beings. Over the next two years we propose to continue and to improve our existing programs by:

1. Assisting Negro institutions of higher learning to attract and retain qualified faculty members for the regular academic year and for summer programs.

2. Supporting local communities in the south in establishing and operating educational enrichment programs for high school aged students.

3. Orienting and training SEP-placed teachers by means of (a) intensive three-day conferences and (b) the establishment of a Clearinghouse which will collect and disseminate relevant information to teachers.

The Southern Teaching Program, Inc.

The Southern Education Program, Inc. (SEP) represents a merger of the Recruitment of Southern Teachers (RST) and the Southern Teaching Program (STP). STP was formed in the spring of 1964 by several Yale Law School students to place graduate and professional students as teachers in the summer sessions of southern Negro colleges. The summer instructors replaced regular faculty who were studying, filled vacancies, and helped to staff special Pre-freshman, Pre-college, and Upward-Bound programs. During the following summers, recruitment spread to over a dozen additional graduate schools, both north and south. In four summers, over 350 instructors have taught at a total of 35 different colleges. In addition, STP placed twenty-five teachers in regular academic year positions.

Beginning in 1965, STP also recruited teachers for special summer enrichment programs for high school students in six towns in South Carolina. Over one hundred teachers have worked in these programs during the past 3 summers. Each of these programs has been organized by a community group such as the Human Relations Council or the YWCA, with the cooperation and participation of the local schools.

Most of the summer instructors have been young, with an M.A. and usually a year or more of teaching experience. Both the colleges and outside observers felt that their major

contribution was an interest in their students and enthusiasm for teaching. The instructors put in many extra hours, meeting with students outside the classroom, starting or participating in such activities as drama, debating, art and discussions.

Not all of the summer instructor's work has gone smoothly of course. Some instructors had difficulty working with administrations and older faculty whom they considered inflexible. There were the usual problems of lack of textbooks, overly heavy teaching schedules and last minute course changes. The overwhelming majority of instructors, however, took matters in their stride and over the years a growing number of instructors have returned, either for another summer or for a full year. Better than one of every six of last summer's instructors returned in 1967, and four have remained in the south to teach for a full year.

Negro college administrators and outside observers agree that summer instructors can be valuable in filling certain limited needs, such as freeing faculty for study or research, or making special programs possible. A more serious need of most colleges, however, is for faculty who will remain long enough to have an impact on the institution, as well as on individual students.

The Recruitment of Southern Teachers

Recognizing the great need for qualified faculty personnel

in the Negro colleges, a young physics instructor at Stillman College began in late 1964 to recruit teachers in his spare time. His efforts resulted in the recruitment of 11 teachers from northern universities to teach in Negro colleges in the south beginning in the 1965-66 academic year.

With the assistance of foundation funds and the employment of a full-time director and assistant director, the program, located at Stillman College in Tuscaloosa, Alabama, expanded its operations to locate teachers at 41 universities in the north and south. Using posters, advertisements in the college press, and volunteer interviewer-representatives, RST recruited 134 full-time college instructors to serve in 50 different Negro institutions during the past two years. Ninety percent of the qualified teacher-candidates, whose credentials were forwarded to the colleges, were successful in finding positions. Out of 80 teachers recruited for the 1967-68 academic year, all except one (a dance instructor) hold advanced degrees, and thirteen teachers have earned doctorates.

There is a critical shortage of faculty members in the 94 Negro colleges served by SEP. Most of the colleges are poor and cannot compete with the majority of colleges in the United States in offering attractive salaries and working conditions. Sixty of the colleges recently reported, on a questionnaire circulated by SEP, a total of 159 full-time faculty vacancies as of January, 1968. At the beginning of the academic year

this number will multiply several times. This appallingly large number of unfilled teaching positions serves to underscore the finding of Earl J. McGrath in his comprehensive study of the Negro Colleges: (The Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in Transition). "The most serious weakness of most Negro colleges in the United States stems from the inability to seek, obtain, reward, and retain faculty members rich and growing in scholarship."

One hundred eleven SEP-recruited teachers are presently employed in Negro colleges. Their value to the colleges and their students is considerable. SEP teachers have helped to design new curricula at their colleges; they have initiated and staffed honors programs to prepare talented students for graduate study, and set up special remedial and tutorial projects. One SEP teacher is Chariman of the Humanities Department at Bishop College; another teacher founded the first statewide mathematics talent search project for high school students in Alabama.

Some SEP teachers intend to remain permanently at Negro colleges. One of these recruits is now serving as an Administrative Interne at Texas Southern University under the auspices of the Southern Education Foundation. Another former recruit was awarded a graduate study fellowship by the Southern Fellowships Fund; he will return to teach at a Negro college as a career upon the conclusion of his studies. Probably the best indicator, however, of the value to these young instructors

of teaching at a Negro college was revealed when better than half of the teachers recruited for 1966-67 remained to teach for a second year.

The Merger of RST and STP

In July of 1967, the STP and the RST completed final steps in their long planned merger. The establishment of the Southern Education Program, Inc., has for the following reasons, greatly improved the organizations services to the colleges, teaching applicants, and local communities:

1. SEP now maintains a single office in a centrally located area of the Southeast resulting in reduced administrative costs.

2. The administrative red tape encountered by the colleges and teaching applicants has been considerably reduced.

3. The board of university representatives has increased, resulting in an increased number of teaching applicants.

4. SEP's close proximity to the colleges and community programs has led to improved communication.

5. Better coordination of summer and academic year programs has enabled SEP to place summer instructors who have decided in advance to remain a full year.

The Southern Education Program was established for the sole purpose of serving Negro colleges and local southern Negro communities. Our aim is to form as close a bond between the organization and its' clientele as possible. In order to forward this objective, over the coming two years, we intend to continue to invite outstanding individuals connected with the Negro colleges and the community programs to join the

policy making body of the organization, the Board of Directors. We will, consequently, be moving the control of the organization to the persons most intimately connected with SEP's program. Two outstanding educators, Dr. Prince Wilson, Executive Secretary of the Atlanta University Center Corporation, and Mr. Butler Henderson, Assistant to the President of Morehouse College, have accepted invitations to serve as members of the Board, beginning in 1968.

PROGRAMS FOR 1968 and 1969

A. Recruitment of Regular Academic Year Teachers

The aim of the regular academic year recruitment program will continue to be one of attracting highly qualified faculty members willing to commit themselves to teaching in a Negro college or university on a long term basis. SEP has found an enthusiastic response on the part of graduate students and teachers to the challenging opportunities offered by teaching in a Negro educational institution. This response which is reflected in the increasing number of teacher placements over the years makes it readily apparent that far greater numbers of skilled and dedicated individuals could be recruited if the work of SEP was better known. SEP intends, therefore, to (1) increase paid publicity in college newspapers, and magazines and national publications widely subscribed to by teachers, such as the New York Times; (2) to increase the number of universities from which we recruit teachers from 41 to at least 60, with a commensurate increase in the number of volunteer representative-interviewers; and, (3) to improve communications between SEP, recruitment universities and the Negro collegs through use of more field visits and long distance telephone contacts. (4) A special emphasis will be placed over the coming years on recruiting more black teachers. Only a small percentage of teachers recruited in the past were black (about 5% in 1967-68). Today, the Negro colleges are

increasingly seeking out Negro teachers who can provide positive role models for Negro youngsters, and thereby assist them in raising their career aspirations and self esteem. This special program, initiated in December, 1967, will continue with advertisements in the Negro press, and personal contacts with black student groups on university campuses.

B. Summer College Teacher Recruitment

Sixty-two teachers were placed in 13 colleges throughout the south in the summer of 1967. We anticipate, as a result of the merger of RST and STP, an increased number of applicants for summer positions and requests from the colleges for summer instructors. Since 35 colleges have already expressed interest in hiring instructors through SEP for the summer of 1968, it is possible to conservatively estimate placing at least 100 college instructors this year.

As a result of the merger of RST and STP, closer coordination between the summer college program, academic year teacher recruitment program, and the community educational enrichment project is now possible. An example of such cooperation occurred in the summer of 1967. SEP instructors at several colleges, including Tuskegee, Prairie View and Texas Southern used as the basis of their instruction in Pre-College-type programs the curricula developed by SEP for the South Carolina educational enrichment project. Most of the

30 instructors using these materials reported later on their effectiveness with beginning college students.

Also, during the course of the summer, the English and mathematics master teachers from the community programs visited the colleges to discuss and interpret these materials with the college teachers. They sat-in on classes, offered suggestions on the use of the materials and were available to answer questions, clarify points of interest, and introduce new methods of teaching.

Another means of cooperation between these programs occurred during the orientation programs before the school term began. Information, invaluable to new teachers--new curriculum units, teaching techniques, background data concerning southern history and traditions and the nature of southern public school education for Negroes--was effectively presented before a mixed group of high school teachers and beginning college teachers. From this it was shown that the orientation and training of teachers in both programs could be simultaneously accomplished.

SEP intends to continue to exploit such possibilities for coordinating programs in all future planning. We will continue to develop and test curriculum materials for the same age level of students--primarily, 10th grade through college Freshmen. Priority will be given to placing college instructors in the most effective summer programs--Pre-College and Upward

Bound.

Further cooperation will be achieved through giving the first order of priority in the selection of summer teachers to applicants who will remain to teach for the regular academic year. Thus, teachers, with 6-8 weeks prior experience in the summer, who have been provided with teaching materials and methods by SEP, will be better equipped for their roles as full-time college teachers. (The merger of RST and STP has made such placements easier to accomplish; over 50 per cent of new applicants for academic year positions have also applied for the summer.) In addition to this, the Clearinghouse will function to tie all of the programs together by providing all SEP teachers with relevant pedegogical material on a continual, year round basis.

The success of the summer college program continues to depend, in part, on the ability of SEP to pay the salaries of some teachers and the round trip transportation expenses of all teachers. Funds are requested to pay the salaries of 30 out of the 100 instructors we anticipate placing this summer. Though our aim has been to encourage colleges to assume the full costs of salaries--and this has been increasingly the case over the past two years--there are still many institutions with which we have worked successfully in the past, that would be unable to operate expanded summer programs or special Pre-Freshman programs without this assistance. Transportation

expenses for teachers to and from the Negro colleges is included in our budgetary request because most of the teachers recruited from the ranks of advanced graduate students are unable to assume this expense; the salaries paid by the colleges and SEP are generally not sufficient.

In summary then, the aims of the summer college program are:

1. To advance the educational opportunity of Negro students by assisting the Negro colleges in attracting qualified faculty.

2. To financially assist a limited number of institutions unable to afford special summer programs.

3. To concentrate placement efforts in the Pre-College type programs; offering assistance to colleges interested in establishing such programs by supplying teachers, curricula, and advice.

4. To coordinate the summer college program with the regular academic year recruitment programs and the high school educational enrichment programs. This will be accomplished by (a) developing and collecting curriculum materials; (b) training and orientation of summer instructors and (c) giving priority in the selection of summer college instructors to applicants who will remain for the academic year.

C. Community Educational Enrichment Programs

1. History

In 1965, a community group in Charleston, South Carolina, composed of parents, teachers, and guidance counselors,

requested teachers from STP for a special summer program for local Negro high school students with high potential. The program, in which five teachers worked with 45 students, emphasized small classes and individual attention in English, reading and mathematics. The success of the program was illustrated by greatly improved scores on standardized tests, and by a greater self-confidence which showed during the following years when many of the students transferred to white schools and did well, or went on to college, generally out of state or to recently integrated colleges within South Carolina.

STP encouraged five other South Carolina communities to start similar programs the following summer. In 1966 and 1967, six South Carolina towns had such programs, the only programs of this nature in the state. They were sponsored by various groups and with the cooperation of the local schools. In each town the sponsoring organization raised funds locally to oover costs of materials and room and board for the teachers, who usually lived with local families. STP provided the salaries. The curriculum generally included classes in English and mathematics, with only ten students per class, and individualized work in reading. In some programs social studies was offered; in all programs, optional classes or interest groups in such areas as art, drama, and French were formed.

An extra activity which was tried successfully in one program in 1966 and then extended in 1967 was tutoring of younger students enrolled in the program (see appendix I).

Each student, 8th through 12th grade was required to tutor an elementary school student 2 days a week. In some towns where this type of tutoring had the full support of the teachers it proved valuable for the tutor in an educational sense and also as a means of emphasizing community responsibility.

Another activity begun only last year, and which shows great promise, is the integration of Negro college students into the program in the capacity of Teacher's Assistants. In Charleston and Sumter where this was tried, the students, employed under the College Work Study Program, proved extremely valuable. They assisted the regular teachers in their classroom duties, provided younger students with individual instruction through one to one tutoring, and led special interest groups. Many of these college students are continuing to work as tutors during the regular school year in the winter tutorial programs.

Perhaps the most significant development of the past summer was in terms of steps taken to institute a year round program. Four towns have moved ahead with a winter program which can operate on a limited scale with volunteer help from the community and some SEP support. Such programs are presently operating in Aiken, Columbia, Charleston, and Greenville. The towns of Sumter, and Anderson will start their winter programs in February, 1968. Each program is using college students or qualified adults from the community to tutor summer participants in a program specifically designed to continue the summer work. SEP now has an Assistant Director

who concentrates on developing this winter program and offering assistance to other towns interested in developing similar projects.

Most of the summer programs are attempting to obtain independent sources of funds which would enable the programs to be expanded to include more students and to assume the entire costs of teachers' salaries and materials. One obvious source of support is the Office of Economic Opportunity. This approach has been successful in one case, Charleston, which obtained OEO funds for a year round program involving 150 students. Though the Sumter program submitted a proposal for similar funding through this source and other programs in Aiken and Greenville are planning to submit proposals for next summer, the chances of success are not good. Many of the local community action agencies and local boards of education are hostile to educational enrichment programs for Negro students. For instance, the Board of Education in the town of Anderson recently voted to deny the use of the local segregated high school for a summer educational enrichment program or winter tutorial program. This action was taken in spite of the obvious benefits of the 6-week summer program to college bound students, as reflected in test score gains averaging 5 months in reading and mathematics. Efforts are being made, with strong community support, to organize a winter tutorial program using the facilities of a local church.

2. Future Needs

The expansion of these enrichment programs in South Carolina and other states is limited only by financial resources. There are no other summer opportunities of this nature in South Carolina. Five other towns have already expressed interest in programs for the summer of 1968; several times this number could be easily organized if funds were available.

The major expense of running and expanding these programs--teachers' salaries-- will probably have to be met by foundation grants for another several years at least, and until local power relationships change and federal money begins to become more avialable. In 1967, representatives of each town formed the South Carolina Educational Project, a state-based group, for the purposes of exchanging information and of raising funds from foundations and local businesses. Perhaps in the future a federal grant to this organization will be possible. For the present, however, to continue working with the present six programs and to initiate three new programs in 1968, a total budget of $37,000 is foreseen. This amount excludes the local communities' contributions for room and board, materials and school facilities, which makes up about one third of the total cost.

D. Orientation Programs

1. History

From the beginning, the staff of STP felt that all summer instructors nneded some orientation about the south,

about race relations, and most importantly, about teaching. Each spring, weekend sessions for all teachers were held, at four or five regional centers, at which general problems and past mistkaes were discussed and teachers from previous summers talked with the new teachers about specific colleges. It became clear from observing out teachers, however, that we needed to give them much more guidance in the areas of teaching methods and selection of materials.

In 1967, STP hired one person part time to work on curriculum. He collected and sifted through the suggestions of past teachers, examined recently developed materials from such groups as Educational Services, Inc. (ESI), and prepared for the orientation, a list of recommended materials and several units in English and mathematics. For English teachers, STP made available in quantity, mimeographed copies of several of the most widely successful short stories. (One frequent problem is that book orders arrive 2 or 3 weeks into the summer session.)

During the summer of 1967, most of our suggestions on curriculum have been followed in the South Carolina Enrichment Programs. In addition, many instructors in Pre-freshman programs in the colleges have used some of the materials and ideas. We are presently evaluating the experiences of this summer's instructors, with the purpose of improving the orientation of future teachers. The curriculum developed so far in the South Carolina and Pre-freshman programs will be one source

of the materials for the Clearinghouse.

Since the establishment of the Recruitment of Southern Teachers, the administrative staff had feelings similar to STP regarding the need for orientation of teachers recruited for the regular academic year. It was apparent that recruiting and placing teachers was not sufficient if the long range goal of helping to improve the quality of education for Negroes in the south was to be achieved.

Although applicants are screened and selected for scholastic competence, personal maturity and likely success in finding a satisfactory position, many are faced with the following problems: few have taught extensively; almost none have taught Negroes from deprived schools; they do not know where to find curriculum ideas, materials and resources; few know the full extent of the legacy of segregated society on the Negro student's attitudes and preparation.

The first orientation conference for academic year teachers, addressed to these and other related topics, was held at Morehouse College in November, 1967. (see appendix for program). The conference provided a unique opportunity for 62 teachers from more than 30 Negro colleges to meet with outstanding Negro college educators and administrators, to confer with colleagues, and to be introduced to new teaching ideas and curricula being developed specifically for Negro college students. The materials developed by STP were made available.

Topics of vital concern to new teachers-- the future direction of the Negro colleges, student unrest, racial tensions, were explored in depth. The generally agreed upon value of this conference on the part of the conferees and guest experts, gave added support to the need to continue such programs in the future.

2. Future Needs

SEP proposes that each year a three day orientation workshop be held for summer and academicyyear teachers. Both convocations will be held in Atlanta, Georgia, at the beginning of the summer for summer personnel and the end of the summer or early Fall for regular academicy year teachers. The total anticipated cost of these annual conferences is $15,831.80.

E. Clearinghouse

Our past experience with orientation programs has shown that a great deal can be accomplished through short, but intensive teacher-training, however, such programs can be viewed realistically as only a beginning in the process of education of teachers. There is not sufficient time in three or even ten days to discuss all of the relevant curriculum ideas, and important teaching teacniques. Nor is there time to investigate all of the latest and most applicable developments going on inthe Negro colleges generally in the United States. Most importantly perhaps is the fact that short conferences do not provide sufficient time for teachers to

share fully the useful ideas and experiences they have acquired through teaching.

A resource, relatively easy to establish, and of great potential value to young teachers, is a central clearinghouse which would maintain a resource library to collect, organize, evaluate and disseminate pertinent information on a continuing basis.

The major purpose of the Clearinghouse which we are proposing will be to maintain a continuing interest in, and commitment to improvement of the quality of teaching, in its fullest sense, at the Negro colleges. The Clearinghouse will assist teachers in keeping informed of techniques and approaches to pedagogy which have been effectively demonstrated to have been of value in solving the problems they face. Thus, instead of leaving our recruits on their own to repeat the failures and initial successes of others, the Clearinghouse will help to establish a community of teachers in similar fields. A future teacher will be permitted to not only start at the present level of understanding of teaching problems, but also participate in advancing that level, and in passing his developments on to his successors. In order to carry out these objectives, the Clearinghouse will initiate the following programs:

1. Establish a resource library which will collect, organize and evaluate existing material for SEP teachers. The staff will continually seek out reports and essays of interest from

our recruits, from other teachers and educators in the South, and from Northern universities and schools of education.

2. The Clearinghouse will encourage the generation of new material to add to the library and to share with SEP taachers. In particular, it would attempt to have any and all interested teachers at the Negro colleges write out information on units and courses they have developed, statistics they have compiled, descriptions of programs for advanced students and other information which could be of use to successors or colleagues elsewhere.

3. The Clearinghouse will emphasize the dissemination of this information without cost to SEP teachers and to anyone at the Negro colleges interested. Multiple copies of important documents, essays, bibliographies will be mimeographed as received or needed. Any teacher at any Negro college will be able to request by mail essays which interest him.

4. The Clearinghouse will work closely with the SEP orientation programs, provide working papers, make its files available to conferees, and transcribe for its library, the more significant addresses.

5. The Clearinghouse will publish a monthly newsletter which will be routinely sent to all SEP teachers. The newsletter will summarize essays and publish in brief all relevant information accumulated by the Clearinghouse.

APPENDIX I

*SOUTH CAROLINA ENRICHMENT PROGRAM OF THE SOUTHERN EDUCATION PROGRAM

SUMMER, 1967

Introduction

No attempt will be made in this report to trace the entire three-year history of the program. For information basic to the history and philosophy of the program, but omitted here, the reader is referred to the report on the program for summer, 1966. In particular, this report discusses:

- History of the program - p. 1-3
- Roles of the community groups and the Southern Education Program in program conduct p. 3
- The advantages of a community-based program over such programs as Upward Bound - p. 10-14.

This report will describe the functioning of the program during the summer of 1967 with special emphasis on changes and improvements that have been instituted.

Participating Communities

The six South Carolina communities which conducted summer programs in the summer of 1966 once more participated. Below is a brief description of the nature of the program in each community

*Report prepared by Donald Moore, SEP Program Coordinator.

Aiken, South Carolina. sponsored by local Human Relations Council. 70 students. grades 7-12. local schools cooperated with program by allowing the use of classrooms, offices and libraries.

Anderson, South Carolina. sponsored by local high school principal and PTA. 35 students. grades 11 & 12. local schools donated free use of buildings.

Charleston, South Carolina. program funded year-round for 150 students. grades 10-12. local schools supplied facilities for the program.

Columbia, South Carolina. sponsored by a group of local school counselors and principals. 40 students. grades 7 -12. local schools donated facilities.

Greenville, South Carolina. sponsored by the Greenville Education Committee, a group organized to promote school desegration. 60 students. grades 1 - 12.

Sumter, South Carolina. sponsored by local YWCA and interstted parents. 50 students. grades 1-9. local school cooperated by donating facilities.

In general, the relationship between the community and the summer teachers was excellent. All teachers lived in the community. Because of the past year's experience, local sponsors anticipated many problems and the summer ran very smoothly.

Once again, the programs cooperated with local educational institutions and were allowed the use of their building. Charleston's school board has finally allowed the program to be conducted in the public schools. Greenville is the only program still denied the use of public school buildings; however, this summer the parochial schools donated adequate facilities.

Program Innovations

A number of changes and improvements in the program were suggested on the basis of experience from summer, 1966. These were instituted on an experimental basis this summer.

A. In 1966, the program had no state-wide coordination. This summer, Donald Moore, an experienced master teacher in English, and Claude Case, an experienced master teacher in mathematics, coordinated the program. They were able to do the following:

(1) Oreint teachers more thououghly to program goals and local situations.

(2) Obtain and suggest materials appropriate for special groups and situations.

(3) Institute special activities like tutoring, team teaching, training sessions, trips, etc.

(4) Observe classes and assist teachers in becoming more effective.

(5) Evaluate the curriculum materials which were used and discover ways in which they might be made more effective.

B. As suggested in 1966, several changes were made in the curriculum , consistant wi th the general conclusion that a "basic skills" orientation was too narrow for our program. The replacement of reading with social studies was definitely a success. Students enjoyed the social studies program and became deeply involved nn discussions and research in the community on problems and issues relevant to them.

The mathematics program was also changed from preparation for next fall's math course to examination of topics not generally encountered in regular school. The emphasis in English, Social Studies and Mathematics was on involvement and critical thinking. We did not ignore the so-called basic skills in our program, but

rather held that the most basic skill our students needed, and on which others depended, was the ability to think critically. Gains on standardized tests of reading and mathematics discussed elswwhere bear out the validity of our approach.

C. Another attempted innovation was the introduction of team teaching between cooperating English and Social Studies teachers and between mathematics teachers. Our attempt met with moderate success. Some teams did excellent work. Others never really got togehher. Our failures stemmed from (1) teachers not understanding that they would be teaching on teams when they were hired; (2) teachers not having enough ideas about how to utilize the team properly, (3) teachers with little experience wanting to be left alone. If we are to continue to combat the authoritarian educational background of our students, the give and take, the contrasting views and discussions, that team teaching allows are valuable means for reaching this goal. If there is to be interaction between local teachers and outside teachers during the summer so that local teachers can carry on the program, then team teaching is a necessity. We had enough successful team teaching work done this past summer that I am certain team teaching can be brought up to a satisfactory level of performance by:

(1) Hiring of more experienced secondary school teachers (Discussed elsewhere)

(2) Teacher awareness at the time of hiring that he is going to team teach.

(3) More extensive orientation about the possibilities of team teaching.

D. An attempt was made to have all students tutor a younger student in the community. Like the introduction of social studies, this was intended to get students away from the basic skills approach and more involved in community problems. In Charleston, Columbia and Aiken, where strong support for this idea came from teachers and community sponsors, this part of the program was a success. However, in the other towns, largely because there were so many other activities taking place, tutoring was never acutally conducted. I would recommend that it be continued only in those towns where sponsors have a strong positive feeling about it.

Curriculum Development

Units in mathematics, English and social studies were prepared by the master teachers for the use during the summer program. The materials and the approaches they embodied were employed by all of the teachers. On the basis of observation of classes by the master teachers and extensive comments about the materials written by teachers, the materials have been revised. They are available to all SEP teachers for this academic year in the college and for subsequent summer programs.

This has proved an excellent method for developing curriculum materials. I recommend that new units be written and tried out next summer. This was not only desirable from the curriculum development standpoint, but also because many returning students must have new material if they are to be encouraged to return.

This Summer's Teachers

Once again, the program was able to employ teachers of a generally high calibre. We had approximately three applicants for each position we were able to fill in the community programs. Of this summer's 33 teachers, 16 had full-time teaching experience at either the high school or college level, and all the rest had some form of tutoring experience. All except one had a master's degree or its equivialent. The exception was made in the case of a student with special experience in a ghetto teaching program. With a few exceptions all teachers did a creditable job, and about half were especially outstanding. As a group the experienced secondary school teachers were almost uniformly outstanding and more such teachers should be recruited in the future. Also valuable were four teachers returning from past years who were able to orient the new teachers to local situations and expectations. A special effort should be made to get strong teachers from this summer to return next year.

School Achievement

The outstanding achievment of some past program alumni in attending college and attending integrated schools is outlined in the past report and will not be repeated. Of graduates from summer, 1966, 90% are attending college, including such schools as Barnard, Yale, University of Illinois, Seton Hall, Clemson, Furman and the University of South Carolina. Intensive work was done this summer on raising sutdent aspirations for college.

In addition, students were interviewed during the summer for special programs and college placement services. Indications are that about 15 of our top students have excellent chance to attend prestige colleges and that about two-thirds can attend schools at least of the quality of the state schools in South Caronina.

On a more short-term basis, achievement tests in mathematics and reading were administered to all program participants at the beginning and end of the summer. Average gains of five months were recorded during the six weeks program in both mathematics and reading. Over one-third of the students made gains of one year or more. In view of the statement in the recent report on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools that no compensatory education program has achieved significant gains in achievement, these results take on special meaning.

SUMMARY: FUTURE ROLE OF THE PROGRAM

I have made some specific suggestions earlier in the report which I will not repeat. As important, I think are some general observations about the programs successes and future role. Our experience has, I believe, established the following:

(1) That intensive enrichment programs like this one can prepare Southern Students of average or above average ability to attend good colleges.

(2) That such programs can be used to start larger, year-round programs that involve both local teachers and local educational institutions.

(3) That such programs can realistically hope for alternative forms of funding so that SEP can play an initiating role without being permanently responsible for financial support of the programs.

In light of these past successes, I would recommend that more programs of this type be initiated with similar long-range goasl of preparing students with potential to attend good colleges and return to their communtties as leaders; to involve local teachers and educational institutions in the program; and to phase out of financial support of the programs as they become a established, later serving only the role of locating outside teachers and other staff members.

APPENDIX II

TEACHERS RECRUITED FOR REGULAR ACADEMIC YEAR

1. Number of teachers placed by RST

1965-66	12
1966-67	54
1967-68	80
SUB TOTAL	146

No. of teachers placed by STP

1964	2
1965	10
1966	13
SUB TOTAL	25

TOTAL STP- RST TEACHERS PLACED....171

2. Number of teachers teaching 1967-68

No. of first year teachers placed	80
No. of teachers returning for 2nd year	31
TOTAL NUMBER OF TEACHERS 67-68	111

3. Black Colleges hiring SEP teachers

COLLEGE	No. of SEP-placed teachers
Alabama A&M College	1
Barber-Scotia	2
Benedict College	6
Bishop College	2
Bethune-Cookman	1
Cheyney State	1
Claflin	2
Elizabeth State	2
Fayetteville State	2
Florida A&M	2
Friendship Jr. College	1
Fort Valley	1
Grambling	2
Hampton	1
Huston-Tillotson	1
Jackson State	1
Johnson C. Smith	1
Lane	1
Lincoln	1
LeMoyne	2
Loyola	2
Maryland State	1
Miles	2
Marshall Univ	1
Morgan State	1
TOTAL COLLEGES:	50

COLLEGE	No. of SEP-placed teacher
Morris Brown	2
Morehouse	2
N. Carolina A&T	2
Paine	1
Rust	4
St. Paul's	3
Spelman	5
Savannah State	2
So. Carolina State	1
Shaw Univer	1
Southern Univ	1
Stillman College	2
Talladega	3
Texas College	1
Tougaloo	4
Tuskegee	3
Texas Southern	1
Tenn. A&I	2
Va. State	2
Va. Union	6
Voorhees	2
Wilberforce	5
W. Va. State	1
Winston Salem	2
Xavier	2
TOTAL TEACHERS:	80

4. Areas in which SEP teachers (1966-68) are teaching:

	1st yr. teachers	2nd yr. teachers
art.....	3	3
business.....	5	0
history.....	12	6
education.....	2	2
political science.....	3	2
English.....	15	6
Languages.....	4	0
Biology.....	5	4
math (physics).....	12	3
chemistry.....	5	2
sociology.....	8	1

5. Number of teachers (1967-68) with PhD. degree who were placed..13

APPENDIX III

TEACHERS RECRUITED AND PLACED FOR SUMMERS

1. Number of teachers placed in summer positions

1964	53	Total 28 taught in regular courses 25 taught in special pre-college programs
1965	145	Total 50 taught in regular courses 80 taught in pre-college programs 15 taught in community programs
1966	154	Total 30 taught in regular courses 80 taught in pre-college programs 44 taught in community programs
1967	93	Total 62 taught in regular and pre-college cour 31 taught in community programs

TOTAL for 1964-67 - 470

2. *Number of colleges hiring Summer teachers
   1964.....13 colleges
   1965.....27 colleges; 2 community programs
   1966.....19 colleges; 7 community programs
   1967.....13 colleges; 6 community programs

*During four summers, STP has worked with 35 different colleges. Four colleges have employed teachers all four summers; seven colleges for three summers; eleven colleges for two summers; and thirteen colleges for one summer.

APPENDIX IV

COMBINED SUMMER AND FULL YEAR TEACHER PLACEMENTS

1. Total number of teachers placed
   1964-67-----616

2. Total number of teachers placed in 1967 (summer & academic yea
   -----204

3. Total number of colleges hiring RST and STP teachers.....66
   (72% of the colleges served by RST and STP)

COLLEGES FROM WHICH SEP RECRUITS

Arkansas, Univ. of
Arizona, Univ. of
Berkeley
Boston U.
Carneige Inst. of Tech.
Chicago, Univ. of
Claremont
Colorado, Univ. of
Columbia U.
Cornell U.
Detroit
Duke Univ.
Georgia, Univ. of
General Seminary, N.Y.
Howard U.
Illinois, Univ. of
Indiana, Univ. of
Iowa, Univ. of
Michigan, Univ. of
Mass Instit. of Tech.
New Mexico, Univ. of
New York Univ.
North Carolina, Univ. of
Ohio, Univ. of
Pennsylvania, Univ. of
Princeton U.
Queens College
Rutgers
San Jose State
Stanford
S. Carolina, Univ. of
S. Carolina State
State Univ. of Buffalo
Texas, Univ. of
UCLA
Vanderbuilt
Virginia, Univ. of
Wilberforce, Univ. of
Y ale Univ.

TOTAL NUMBER OF UNIVERSITIES FROM WHICH SEP RECRUITS.....41

APPENDIX V

STATISTICS ON THE SEP CONFERENCE - HELD IN ATLANTA, GEORGIA, NOVEMBER 24 - 26th, 1967

1. Number of Participants

   a. Number of SEP teachers
      First Year teachers.....38
      Second year teachers.....17

      SUB TOTAL 55

   b. Number of Southern Education Foundation Participants.....2

   c. Number of participants from the Regional Educational Labratory, N.C.....5

   d. Staff.....5

      TOTAL 67

2. GUEST SPEAKERS AT THE CONFERENCE

   a. Rep. Julian Bond, Assemblyman, Georgia House of Representatives.

   b. Dr. Edward Brantley, Director of 13 Colleges project, Clark College (and instructors from the project)

   c. Mr. Finley Campbell, Dept. of English, Morehouse College

   d. Dr. Vincent Harding, Chairman, Dept. of History and Social Sciences, Spelman College

   e. Dr. Nathan Hare, former Assistant Professor of Sociology, Howard University

   f. Dr. Vivian Henderson, President, Clark College

   g. Dr. Lionel Newsom, Southern Regional Education Board, former President, Barber-Scotia College

   h. Dr. Harold Stinson, President, Stillman College

   i. Dr. Prince Wilson, Executive Secretary, Atlanta Univ. Center Corporation.

AGENDA OF SEP CONFERENCE

NEGRO INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING: THE PROBLEMS OF TEACHING

a conference sponsored by the
Southern Education Program, I

Schedule of the Conference

Friday, November 24, 1967

1:00-2:00 p.m. Registration at Paschal's Motor Hotel

2:00-3:00 p.m. Welcome Remarks: Lawrence Rushing, Director SEP; Dr. Edward J. Brantley, Director, 13 Colleges Curriculum Project.

3:00-4:00 p.m. Workshops in Curricula, led by teachers from 13 Colleges project at Clark College
- a. ideas and their expression
- b. analytical and quantitative thinking
- c. the natrual sciences
- d. the social sciences

4:00-5:00 p.m. Discussion Groups led by Second Year SEP teachers

5:00-5:30 p.m. General Session: Reports from Workshops

5:45-7:00 p.m. Dinner

7:30-8:15 p.m. Keynote address: Dr. Vivian Henderson, President Clark College

8:30-10:00 p.m. Reception

Saturday, November 25, 1967

8:30-9:15 a.m. Breakfast

9:30-11:00 a.m. Panel Discussion I: "Perspectives on the Negro College" Panel: Dr. Prince Wilson
Dr. Lionel Neusom
Dr. Harold Stinson

11:00-12:30 a.m. Workshops - Evaluation and Discussion of Panel I, led by second year teachers

1:00-2:00 p.m. Lunch

2:00-3:30 p.m. Panel Discussion II "The Dilemma of the Negro College: Panel: Dr. Nathan Hare
Rep. Julian Bond
Dr. Vincent Harding

3:30-5:00 p.m. Workshops led by Second Year Teachers

5:00-5:30 p.m. General Session: Summary of Group Discussions

6:00-7:00 p.m. Dinner

Sunday, November 26, 1967

8:30-9:15 a.m. Breakfast

9:30-10:15 a.m. Mr. Finley Campbell, "The Black College as Afro-European Synthesis"

10:30-12:30 p.m. Discussion Groups, led by Second Year teachers: "Major learning; unanswered questions, a look into the future."

1:00-2:00 p.m. Dinner and Good-by

B U D G E T

	Summary	Cost per Year
1.	Administration & Recruitment	$47,900
2.	Expenses for Summer College Programs	$28,100
3.	Community Programs	$37,005.
4.	Orientation Programs	$15,831.80
5.	Clearing-house	$16,750

TOTALS 1968	-	$145,586.80
1969	-	$145,586.80
1968-69	-	$291,173.60

BUDGET I

ADMINISTRATION AND RECRUITMENT

1.	STAFF	COST PER YEAR
	Director	$10,500
	Assistant Director	$ 7,500
	Recruitment Coordinator-Sec'y	$ 6,000
	Secretary	$ 5,000
2.	TRAVEL	
	A. Staff visits to universities	
	1. Travel (6 trips) @ $500/ea.	$3,000
	2. Expenses (10 days avg. @ $15 per day)	$ 900
	B. Staff visits to Southern Colleges Ten trips of 8 campuses	
	1. Travel: 6 trips by car (1000 miles each swing; 8¢ per mile at $80 per swing and 4 trips by plane at $130/ea.	$ 1,000
	2. Expenses (10 days avg.) at $12 per day	$ 1,200
3.	TELEPHONE @ $200 month	$ 2,400
4.	PRINTING, SUPPLIES, POSTAGE	$ 5,000
5.	ADVERTISING AND PUBLICITY	$ 1,200
6.	OFFICE RENT @ $110 per month	$ 1,320
7.	EQUIPMENT	
	A. Rental of Photocopy machine @ $50/mo avg.	$ 600
	B. Other	$ 300

ADMINISTRATION & RECRUITMENT (CONT.)

8.	BOARD MEETING Travel for 7 persons at $80 each	$ 1,330
9.	PROFESSIONAL FEES (CPA) 2 mtgs. annu.	$ 200
10.	INSURANCE	$ 250
11.	MISCELLANY	$ 200
	TOTAL	$47,900

B U D G E T II

EXPENSES FOR SUMMER COLLEGE PROGRAMS

	COST PER YEAR
Travel Grants for 100 summer instructors @ av. $125 ea.	$12,500
Grants to colleges (teacher's salaries) for approximately 30 teachers at $65/wk. for av. 8 wks.	$15,600
TOTAL	$28,100

B U D G E T I I I

*EXPENSES FOR COMMUNITY PROGRAMS

ITEM	COST PER YEAR
Travel Grants to 45 instructors @ av. of $125 each roundtrip	$5,625
**Grants to Communities for salaries	
-35 teachers @ $65/wk for 8 wks	$18,200
-Books and materials at $100 ea. for seven programs	$1,400
Staff Salaries	
-Coordinator (8 wks @ $150/wk.)	$1,200
-Master teacher (English)	$1,040
-Master teacher (Mathematics) (both for 8 wks @ $130/wk.)	$1,040
Travel Expenses for Coordinator, 2 Master teachers and SEP Asst. Director (weekly visits by auto to 9 towns)	$1,500
***Winter tutorial Program $1,000/ea. for 7 programs	$7,000
TOTAL:	$37,005

*Based on 8 week summer program involving nine communities, with an SEP faculty consisting of 5 teachers in each town.

**We anticipate that teachers' salaries will be paid by SEP in seven towns. The Charleston Program is funded by OEO and hopefully one additional program will be funded by the summer of 1965.

***Of the $1,000 allocated to each program, $250 will be used to purchase materials; $750 for a stipend to the local program coordinator to help defray expenses for travel, babby sitters, etc.

B U D G E T IV

EXPENSES FOR ORIENTATION PROGRAMS

A. CONFERENCE OF SUMMER INSTRUCTORS	COST PER YEAR
-$13.80 per day for 145 teachers: 2 days ($7.50 rm.; $6.30 bd)	$4,002
- 3 guest speakers @ $13.80 day	$ 81.80
Travel	
-145 teachers @ $35 av. per person	$5,075
-3 guest speakers at $80 each	$ 240
Host Institution	
-Rental of tape recorder and printed materials	$ 200
-Guest speaker honoraria 5 @ $50/ea.	$ 250
TOTAL:	$9,848.80

B. CONFERENCE OF REGUALR ACADEMIC YEAR INSTRUCTORS	
Room and Board	
-$13.80 per day for 75 persons; 2 days	$2,070
-5 guest speakers @ $13.80 per day	$ 138
Travel	
-75 conferees at av. of $35/person	$2,625
-5 guest speakers at $80/ea.	$ 400
Host Institution	$ 100
-tape recorder & printed materials	$ 150
-guest speaker honoraria 10 @ $50/ea.	$ 500
TOTAL:	$5,983
GRAND TOTAL:	$15,831.80

B U D G E T V

EXPENSES FOR CLEARINGHOUSE

	COST PER YEAR
Staff Salaries	
-Director	$7,500
-Clerk-typist	$4,500
Office Expenses (Use of phone, utilities)	$ 300
Postage and office supplies	$2,500
Staff travel	$ 500
Photocopy rental; @ 5¢ per page 1000 pages per month	$ 600
Office Equipment purchase of typewriter	$ 350
Purchase of books, journals, curriculum materials	$ 500
TOTAL FOR CLEARINGHOUSE	$16,750

June 16, 1944

Mrs. Harry M. Gershon
1590 Harvard Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Gershon:

Dr. Reid and I wish to thank you for your words of commendation concerning the SOUTHERN FRONTIER. It is always good for the morale of the editors to know that someone thinks that they are doing a good job.

We have sent you with our compliments six additional copies of the April and May issues of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER.

With sincere good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

Sent 6 copies of each - June 15. -jm.

MRS. HARRY M. GERSHON
1590 HARVARD ROAD, N. E.
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

June 13, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson and Dr. Ira Reid, Directors
Southern Regional Council
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Directors:

I have been a little slow in getting around to reading the April and May issues of the Southern Frontier, but now that I have read them I want to tell you both how thoroughly worthwhile I think they are. Your policy of reporting the special meeting of the board of directors to your general reading public seems to me very wise strategy, and of course, incidentally, is good democratic procedure. The whole of both issues contained articles and items of real value.

Could I purchase three or four additional copies of both issues? I should like to send them to several people outside of this area who are interested in the functioning of this organization in particular and in the whole situation in general.

With cordial good wishes to you both, I am

Sincerely,

Rebecca M. Gershon

"The July issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER came today, and notwithstanding the many setbacks it recorded that are heartbreaking, your editorial as well as the article "Science and the American Race Problem" along with really more acts of progress recorded than of the other kind, did so much to lift up my heart in thanks and elation, that I just need to tell you about it, for I have been very low-spirited lately, for some reason, and needed this uplift that came today very greatly."

From a letter from Mrs. F. H. Gray of Bruni, Texas
August 9, 1944

"Congratulations on the July issue of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER just received. Your front page headed "Here and There in the South" is just what I believe is needed. I had been puzzling for some months about the way to pass on small pieces of news mostly on the constructive side about successful handling of race and labor relations, particularly for the benefit of mill owners, teachers and ministers."

From a letter from Mr. George M. Stephens, of the
Stephens Press in Ahseville, N. C.
August 10, 1944

September 8, 1944

Mr. William Rose Benet
Pigeon Cove
Cape Ann, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Benet:

We should like very much to have the privilege of reprinting in the SOUTHERN FRONTIER your poem "Primary Day in Georgia" which was published in the SATURDAY REVIEW OF LITERATURE, July 22, 1944. We have written to the SATURDAY REVIEW, and we had a letter from Amy Loveman saying that we are welcome to reprint the poem if you have no objection.

I am enclosing a couple of issues of the SOUTHERN FRONTIER which will give you some idea of the sort of thing which the Southern Regional Council is trying to do.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

enclosures

Hampton Institute
Hampton, Virginia

...

"~~I am happy to know that you accepted the position as Executive Director.~~ Among the many problems that we face at this time I believe one of the worst is that of transportation on street cars, urban, Greyhound and Trailways buses. I have had an occasion to observe some of the things the members of my race have to submit to. For instance, in Little Rock, Arkansas, not long ago, when the bus came in there were enough people to fill two. When it was loaded and pulled out, only one Negro had been admitted and the others stood waiting. Many times on the urban bus and cars Negroes are very much embarrassed because the operators are always very careful to see that they move back to give whites a seat but rarely is a white person asked to move forward, unless he wishes to, and give room for Negroes. There is one bright spot in the picture, however, there are members of the white race that show culture and consideration enough to be concerned about Negroes getting a seat. On two or three occasions I noted a white person inviting a Negro to sit beside him. A particular instance, a young white woman left her seat and insisted that an elderly Negro woman take the seat. I hope in some way a solution may be found to remove the annoyance in transportation."

...

Excerpt from letter of September 12, 1944, from John W. Mitchell, Field Agent for the Extension Service of the Department of Agriculture, to Guy B. Johnson.

criticisms + complaints

February 20, 1945

Personal

Mr. D. Hiden Ramsey
Asheville Citizen-Times
Asheville, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Ramsey:

I deeply appreciated your letter of February 6. I hope you will forgive me for not replying more promptly. We have had such an epidemic of conferences and trips that we are way behind with all of our correspondence. We are very much in need of additional help on our staff, but, as you know, it is hard to find the right people these days.

Believe it or not, I agree with you completely in your statements concerning the poll tax and the careless use of statistics to make a case against it. I think that the table which was used in the January Southern Frontier was "lousy." As a matter of fact, I intended either to cut it out or give it a title such as "Voting and Non-Voting in the South", but there were so many things pressing for attention that I let it get away from me. The case against the poll tax is bad enough, without the unintelligent use of statistics to prove it.

I have long wanted to get together some accurate data on voting in the Southern states, and to make such deductions as the data will allow on the probable effects of various suffrage requirements. For example, one might trace the amount of voting in North Carolina for the past 40 years and get a little light on the effect of the repeal of the poll tax requirement. After one has worked out a kind of norm for non-voting in a state which has few restrictions on suffrage, one can talk more intelligently about the probable influence of various restrictions in those states which still have them. I hope that some time within the next few months I can find the time to write an article along this line.

Do you mind if we publish some excerpts from your letter in the March Southern Frontier? We certainly deserve the criticism.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES
SUNDAY
THE ASHEVILLE CITIZEN
MORNING
THE ASHEVILLE TIMES
EVENING
Published by
ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES CO.
ASHEVILLE, N.C.

February 6, 1945

Personal

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
The Southern Frontier
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I am genuinely distressed to note that The Southern Frontier is repeating as if it were the gospel truth the utterly unprovable statement that the poll tax voting requirement disfranchises "10,000,000 potential voters" in eight Southern states.

It so happens that I am opposed to the poll tax qualification for voting - but it also happens that I am even more opposed to the use of fabricated figures to support a good cause. I think that persons who assume to speak in the name of democracy are all the more obligated to be truthful.

The poll tax qualification operates, of course, to reduce the number of voters. But there is no way to establish just how many the requirement disfranchises. Certainly the total is nothing like 10,000,000.

According to the 1940 census, there were 13,589,526 "potential voters" in the eight Southern states which still cling to the poll tax voting requirement. By "potential voters" are meant all citizens over the age of 21. In the 1944 election, these states cast 3,113,082 votes.

We are expected to believe that of the 10,476,444 "potential voters" in the eight Southern states who didn't vote in November, 10,000,000 were disfranchised by the poll tax while only 476,444 were disfranchised by indifference, change of residence, literacy condition, etc.

If the poll tax was responsible for virtually all of the failure to vote in these states, what explains

the 2,000,000 potential voters in New York who for one reason or another did not vote in the presidential election?

The other day I saw some figures showing that while only 388,485 citizens of Virginia voted in the recent election, 672,836 had paid their poll tax. Why didn't all of the persons who had paid their tax vote in the presidential election?

All who face the true facts know that the abolition of the poll tax voting requirement will not in itself lift the votes cast in the South to the national average. North Carolina has had no poll tax voting requirement for more than 20 years yet there are in this state 1,150,000 "potential voters" who did not vote in last fall's election. It is worthy of note that Tennessee with a poll tax voting condition casts a larger percentage of its potential vote than does Louisana which has no poll tax franchise stipulation.

I sincerely hope that The Southern Regional Council will keep its statistics authoritative and dependable and not allow itself to be deceived by the figures hand-tailored by certain persons who seem to be bent on exaggerating the conditions.

Cordially yours,

D. Hiden Ramsey

D. Hiden Ramsey:M

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES
SUNDAY
THE ASHEVILLE CITIZEN
MORNING
THE ASHEVILLE TIMES
EVENING
Published by
ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES CO.
ASHEVILLE, N.C.

February 26, 1945

Personal

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I have your letter of February 20.

I do not have any personal objections to the publication in the Southern Frontier of extracts from my letter of February 6, provided you think that such publicity will be helpful.

When I wrote you, I was not moved by any desire to gain any publicity for my views. I was merely expressing my dissent from certain false figures and my genuine concern that the Southern Regional Council keep its activities on a high plane of strict intellectual integrity.

You are free, therefore, to do what you will with the letter. If you publish any part of it, I will not be offended. If you ignore it altogether, I will not be disappointed.

Cordially yours,

D. Hiden Ramsey

D. Hiden Ramsey:M

April 23, 1945

Southern Frontier
Correspondence

Mrs. Gennie R. Seidman
600 Capital Place
Columbia, SoutheCarolina

Dear Mrs. Seidman:

Thank you for your letter of April 18. We are sorry to have been caught napping in the March issue of the Southern Frontier. Of course, we know that the Progressive Democratic Party of South Carolina is not an "all Negro party". One of our staff members simply summarized the Columbia State's review of significant events in 1944.

We shall be glad to make a correction on this item in the Southern Frontier--in the April issue if it is not too late to get it in.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:j

cc: Mr. John McCray

600 Capitol Place
Columbia 55 South Carolina
April 18, 1945

The Southern Frontier
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Gentlemen:

Received my copy of The Southern Frontier, March 1945 yesterday and on reading found on the back page a heading South Carolina-1944, in which is stated this misleading item:
The formation of the state's first all-Negro party, the Progressive Democrats.

Now I can hardly excuse you for thus aiding the facistic policy of The State since you are apparently dedicated to the cause of reason and understanding, thus, it seems that you, of all groups, would check carefully before passing on such fantastic and unsubstantiated misinformation.

From its very inception the PDP has been a party for all the people who certainly are not represented by the various factions in South Carolina. Our policy has ever been to create a voice for the voiceless. We have stressed time and again, in The Lighthouse and Informer, in speeches all over the state, in talks over the Radio our policy of cooperation. But it apparently serves the powers that be best to relegate us to a limited status and one that they presume will be derogatory and prevent the timid from affiliation, by labelling the party all-Negro.

The State does this willfully and maliciously.
In November I wrote to them that I, a white woman born and bred in South Carolina, educated athe University of South Carolina am a member of this party and that we have other white members, and for that reason to drop the (Negro) after any mention of our party. They chose to ignore this request. A copy was sent to the Record who gave heed.

For your information, and it surprises me that you seem so unaware of what is transpiring in a movement that you profess interest (as evinced by your publication of John McCray) a movement that is bettering the relationship of people in the south, this party from the outset was the answer to a definite need, that of obtaining constitutional rights for people wrongly excluded from these rights. Small wonder that liberal white people should be just as interested as Negroes.
Now, if anyone wants to call us the only Anti-Facistic party in South Carolina, that would be quite correctfor all other parties who deny this group of our citizens for the reason of a darker skin are closely following the Nazi party line. To call us all-Negro is to put us in a class with the gangster factions, such as the Ku-Klux Klan, The Christian Front, or the vicious "Mother" groups

that have spawned like a foul disease in sections of our country. Surely, surely, we have a right to expect more careful thinking of people like you and movements like yours.

I expect a retraction in your next issue.

very truly yours,

Jennie R. Seideman

Jennie R. Seideman

Copy to Mr. John McCray
The Lighthouse & Informer
1022½ Washington Street
Columbia, S.C.

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
P. B. YOUNG, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT
HOMER P. RAINEY, SECOND VICE PRESIDENT
CARTER WESLEY, THIRD VICE PRESIDENT

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

Southern Frontier

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES

RAY WARWICK
DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC RELATIONS

October 9, 1945

letter returned - Address unknown

S/ Sgt. Joe J. Gilmer, 18014984
Co. C, 301st Med. Bn.
APO 76, c/o Postmaster
New York, New York

Dear Sergeant Gilmer:

Your letter in the August 14 Fort Worth Star-Telegram was such a forthright statement of the Negro's rights for democracy in the South that we asked the paper for permission to reprint it in our publication, The Southern Frontier.

We are also publishing the letter in a small illustrated leaflet for distribution throughout the South because we believe it can do a great deal of good in helping to win for the Negro the rights for which he fought. The Star-Telegram granted us permission for this publication also and we are writing you for your approval just to make it complete.

For your information, in case you are not familiar with the Southern Regional Council, ours is a non-profit organization devoted to the development of the South. Part of our work is in the field of better race relations and political and civil rights for the Negro. I am sure -- judging by your letter -- that you are in accord with our aims, and so I am confident that you will have no objection to our publishing your views. However, we would appreciate it if you could manage to write us a brief note authorizing publication of your letter.

It is my hope that this letter will find you either back in civilian clothes by now or at least nearly on your way out of the army. We are enclosing copies of the September issue of The Southern Frontier in which your letter was published. If you will give us your new address, if any, we shall send you copies of the leaflet when it is printed.

If you should happen to be in Atlanta any time, by all means drop in to pay us a visit.

Sincerely,

Ray Warwick

Ray Warwick
Director of Public Relations

RW:m
Enclosures

See Frontier

October 12, 1945

Mr. William D. Boutwell, Secy.-Treas.
Educational Press Association of America
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Boutwell:

We have just received your letter concerning the listing of The Southern Frontier in "America's Educational Press." We shall be glad if you will list The Southern Frontier in your publication.

We are enclosing two copies of our periodical. It is published monthly and the subscription price is 25 cents a year.

The Southern Frontier was founded by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. When the Southern Regional Council was formed in February, 1944, it absorbed the Commission and its related activities. Please note that our present address is 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT
Encl.

OFFICERS

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BERNICE DAINARD GESTIE
MANAGING EDITOR
MINNESOTA JOURNAL OF EDUCATION
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MICHIGAN EDUCATION JOURNAL
MICHIGAN EDUCATION BUILDING
LANSING 2, MICHIGAN

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WILLIAM D. BOUTWELL
MANAGING EDITOR
AMERICAN VOCATIONAL JOURNAL
1010 VERMONT AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

EDUCATIONAL PRESS ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

HEADQUARTERS: 1201 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Organized to promote the welfare of its members and interest in public education.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

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THE VICE-PRESIDENT
THE SECRETARY-TREASURER
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ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN
WALTER D. COCKING
MANAGING EDITOR
THE SCHOOL EXECUTIVE
470 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

September 5, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 12 1945
Southern Regional Council

Editor
THE SOUTHERN FRONTIER
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Editor:

It has come to our attention that the publication of your Association is not listed in "America's Educational Press," a classified list of educational periodicals published annually by the Educational Press Association of America. This list is becoming increasingly important and its use is now very general. Listing your publication is valuable to you as this list goes to about 4500 leading school superintendents, to libraries, publishers, and other groups influential in the development of magazine lists for school systems, colleges, and universities.

We would appreciate receiving a copy of your publication for possible listing in the forthcoming issue of "America's Educational Press." There is no charge for listing. We would appreciate a prompt reply since we hope to go to press in the very near future. Please address replies to the Educational Press Association of America, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

William D. Boutwell, Secretary-Treasurer

msm

— THE —
ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES
Published Every Sunday Morning
By
ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES CO.
Asheville, N. C.

Chas. A. Webb .....President
Don S. Elias .....Vice-President
D. Hiden Ramsey .....General Manager
W. Randall Harris .....Treasurer

Telephone 5500 — All Departments
(Private Branch)

VOLUME XV NUMBER 12

The Citizen is glad to publish letters, not too long, on matters of general interest. But such communications must be accompanied by the real name of the writer, even when they are to be published over a nom de plume.

Entered at the Post Office, Asheville, N. C., as second class matter under Act of March 3, 1879.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES, Payable in Advance
By Mail in North Carolina

Length of Time	Daily & Sunday	Daily Only	Sunday Only
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1 Year	$13.00	$10.40	$3.00
3 Months	3.25	2.60	.75
1 Week	.25	.20	.10

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS
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A RESTATEMENT OF VITAL PRINCIPLES

If the speech which President Truman delivered in New York yesterday can be regarded as the most important which he has made, it is not for any original policy which he announced. His address was largely a redefinition of principles which have been repeatedly stated and which have come to be accepted as fundamentals of American policy.

For all that, the President did well at this time of confusion to restate in elevated language the principles which are basic with us and which will shape our foreign policies in the days and months ahead. If our allies will only understand them, they will never be at loss to comprehend our positions on the most crucial issues.

First of all, "we seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage." "We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force." "We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned." "We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own

qualified ten million citizens in the Southern states that retained it. The poll tax condition does operate to prevent many Southerners from voting. There can be no gainsaying this ugly fact. But when The Council places the number at ten millions, it overreaches itself and uses figures that are manifestly wrong.

Now comes the Southern Regional Council to manhandle other statistics in arguing for the elimination of the poll tax requirement. It undertakes to emphasize the financial hardship which the poll tax works on the average citizen of the poll tax states. It contends for instance that in Virginia the wage-earner in the family would have to work four days to pay the poll taxes for two years of himself and his wife. The Council arrives at this interesting conclusion by citing that "the per capita income" of the average citizen of Virginia for 1940 was $455, that the poll tax for two years for two persons would be $6 and that therefore the wage-earner in the family would have to work four days to pay the taxes. No such conclusion is possible from the figures cited. It has taken some misconstruction of statistics to obtain such results. The per capita income quoted is, of course, not that of the average wage-earner. It is, on the contrary, the per capita income of every resident of the state, old and young, male and female. The income of the average wage-earner in Virginia for 1940 was perhaps three times as large.

This misuse of figures does no vast harm to the fly-by-night organizations that are agitating for the repeal of the poll tax requirement and that have no sense of continuing responsibility to this section. But the Southern Regional Council is too reputable an association to allow itself to be used in disseminating propaganda which will not withstand analysis. It does not have to stoop to such arguments to make out a strong case against the poll tax voting condition.

—o—

IMPROVEMENT

The millenium has not arrived in Asheville. But conditions seem to have improved quite sharply. Some of the joints have closed for "repairs" or other good and lawful reasons, however fictitious. Whiskey, we understand, is not being served so openly at some of our restaurants. The professional gamblers with their various devices for extracting money from the gullible are not so brazen in their operations.

There must be a reason. It is hardly to be found in the fact that two special officers have been assigned to the vice squad. Two

made, it is not for any original policy which he announced. His address was largely a redefinition of principles which have been repeatedly stated and which have come to be accepted as fundamentals of American policy.

For all that, the President did well at this time of confusion to restate in elevated language the principles which are basic with us and which will shape our foreign policies in the days and months ahead. If our allies will only understand them, they will never be at loss to comprehend our positions on the most crucial issues.

First of all, "we seek no territorial expansion or selfish advantage." "We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights and self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force." "We shall approve no territorial changes in any friendly part of the world unless they accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned." "We believe that all peoples who are prepared for self-government should be permitted to choose their own form of government by their own freely expressed choice, without interference from any source." "We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed upon any nation by the force of any foreign power." "We shall continue to strive to promote freedom of expression and freedom of religion throughout the peace-loving areas of the world." "We are convinced that the preservation of peace between nations requires a United Nations organization composed of all the peace-loving nations of the world who are willing jointly to use force if necessary to insure peace."

This was not all. There was more in the same lofty vein by way of defining the principles which guide this nation and which determine our duties in the post-war world. The speech lacked the golden touch which Woodrow Wilson would have given to such an utterance. But there was little, if anything, in the address to which the great President of a quarter century ago would have taken exception. In fact, the Truman speech was built quite largely on the philosophy of world relations which Wilson announced and which this country refused to accept and to implement in the years of failure between the two wars.

President Truman went out of his way to state that "there are no conflicts of interest among the victorious powers so deeply rooted that they can not be resolved." He argued that "a combination of forbearance and firmness" will bridge these differences. The task of reconciling our policies with those of our allies will be much easier if they will ponder the fundamentals of policy which he outlines in his Navy Day address. Within the broad confines of those basic principles, we are willing to practise a policy of give and take. We should not insist that we have our way on every disputed question. But we can not retreat on these fundamentals without doing violence to the faith which we have come to accept.

STATISTICAL ABUSE

The Southern Regional Council is a most reputable and useful organization. It is headed by Dr. Howard W. Odum and numbers among its other officers Southerners of genuine light and leading. Its chief objective is the promotion of more cooperative and equitable relations between the two races in the South and it is succeeding notably.

For all of its responsibility, the Regional Council is spreading some statistical arguments against the poll tax voting qualification which are wholly or partially inaccurate and should not be repeated by persons who pretend to know this section.

Several months ago the Council reiterated in its organ, The Southern Frontier, the charge that the poll tax requirement discriminates against the Negro. This is not true. The poll tax requirement is not directed against the Negro. It is not directed against any race. It is not directed against any section. It is not directed against any class. It is not directed against any party. It is not directed against any religion. It is not directed against any nationality. It is not directed against any age. It is not directed against any sex. It is not directed against any occupation. It is not directed against any income. It is not directed against any education. It is not directed against any ability. It is not directed against any character. It is not directed against any conscience. It is not directed against any soul. It is not directed against any God. It is not directed against any anything. It is not directed against any nothing. It is not directed against any everything. It is not directed against any anybody. It is not directed against any somebody. It is not directed against any nobody. It is not directed against any everybody

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES
SUNDAY
THE ASHEVILLE CITIZEN
MORNING
THE ASHEVILLE TIMES
EVENING
Published by
ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES CO.
ASHEVILLE, N.C.

October 30, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Mr. Johnson:

I am attaching herewith a clipping of an editorial which we carried in Sunday's Citizen-Times and which commented on another statistical aberration of The Southern Frontier.

When I consider that so many officers of the Southern Regional Council are genuine scholars, I am at loss to understand the demagogic fashion in which figures are being misused in The Southern Frontier to argue for the elimination of the poll tax requirement. The case for the banning of the poll tax requirement does not need the doubtful support of twisted figures.

What I say above is written in the utmost friendship for the Council and in a genuine desire to see it avoid that demagoguery that has been the curse of the South so long.

Cordially yours,

D. Hiden Ramsey

D. Hiden Ramsey:M
Enclosure

November 5, 1945

Editor Citizen-Times
Asheville, N. C.

Dear Sir:

I wish to thank you for your editorial comment in last Sunday's Citizen-Times in which you pointed out a statistical fallacy in an article on the poll tax which was published in the October issue of our monthly paper, The Southern Frontier.

The article in question was contributed to The Southern Frontier by Mr. Stetson Kennedy and we do not necessarily share all the views which he expressed. However, I regret that we did not catch the statistical fallacy in the table which was included in the article and which you so ably pointed out in your editorial. The cost of paying the poll tax in terms of number of days of work required is on the average probably one-fourth to one-half the amount shown in the table in the article.

Occasional mistakes of this sort are inevitable of course, but I assure you that we are trying to hold them to the minimum. We appreciate your constructive criticism and the fine spirit in which it was offered.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council

GBJ:IBT

Files

Southern Frontier

November 5, 1945

Mr. D. Hilden Ramsey
Asheville Citizen-Times Co.
Asheville, N. C.

Dear Mr. Ramsey:

Thank you for your letter of October 30 and the editorial which appeared in last Sunday's Citizen-Times. You have indeed caught us with our statistical britches down! The Southern Frontier article was a signed piece by Mr. Kennedy, and although we did not necessarily share all of the views expressed by the author, we certainly should have caught the bad statistical device which he used when he computed what it would cost a man and wife to pay poll taxes in terms of days of work from a per capita income figure based on the total population. We deserved criticism and we appreciate the spirit in which you gave it.

I am enclosing a little note which you might wish to publish if you think well of it.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES
SUNDAY
THE ASHEVILLE CITIZEN
MORNING
THE ASHEVILLE TIMES
EVENING
Published by
ASHEVILLE CITIZEN-TIMES CO.
ASHEVILLE, N.C.

November 8, 1945

RECEIVED
NOV 9 1945
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My dear Dr. Johnson:

I deeply appreciate your letter of November 3 and the disarming frankness which characterizes it. The letter to the editor which accompanied it will be published in next Sunday's issue of The Citizen-Times.

Your job is, I know, far from easy and I do not wish to add to your difficulties with my fault-findings. But The Southern Regional Council has such an opportunity for service that I do not want to see it destroy its usefulness.

The folks who are spearheading the drive for the federal anti-poll tax law are no better than Senator Bilbo when it comes to intellectual honesty. They have distorted statistics in the most shocking fashion. I have convinced myself that we can not publish their propaganda without making ourselves a party to the circulation of mendacious arguments.

The curse of the South has been demagoguery. There is no moral distinction between damagoguery which is on our side and demagoguery which advocates measures which we oppose. A lie is a lie whatever the cause in which it is enlisted.

I suspect that before it is all over, you will find that the propaganda being issued by the organized poll-tax group must be thoroughly screened to meet the standards of a reputable publication.

Please be assured of my high personal regards.

Cordially yours,

D. Hiden Ramsey

D. Hiden Ramsey:M

Asheville Citizen-Times
NOV. 11, 1945

PEOPLE'S FORUM

"STATISTICAL FALLACY"

Editor of Citizen-Times:

I wish to thank you for your editorial comment in last Sunday's Citizen-Times in which you pointed out a statistical fallacy in an article on the poll tax which was published in the October issue of our monthly paper, The Southern Frontier.

The article in question was contributed to The Southern Frontier by Mr. Stetson Kennedy and we do not necessarily share all the views which he expressed. However, I regret that we did not catch the statistical fallacy in the table which was included in the article and which you so ably pointed out in your editorial. The cost of paying the poll tax in terms of number of days of work required is on the average probably one-fourth to one-half the amount shown in the table in the article.

Occasional mistakes of this sort are inevitable of course, but I assure you that we are trying to hold them to the minimum. We appreciate your constructive criticism and the fine spirit in which it was offered.

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director, Southern Regional Council.
Atlanta, Ga.

POLICE COURTESY

Editor of Citizen-Times:

Over the radio this morning, I listened with keen interest to the [illegible] and very able sermon of [illegible] M. Tuttle. In line with his [illegible] one of the most valuable [illegible]ist town can have is an [illegible]e force made up of [illegible]re courteous, polite [illegible] everybody. One o[illegible] lasting impre[illegible] nd Los A[illegible] uniform

GUY B. JOHNSON
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

IRA DEA. REID
ASSOCIATE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DIRECTOR OF VETERANS SERVICES

HOWARD W. ODUM, PRESIDENT
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CHARLES S. JOHNSON
CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

EMILY H. CLAY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, Inc.

ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E.
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

December 28, 1945

TO MEMBERS OF THE
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

We have just been informed that the Southern Conference for Human Welfare has decided not to use the name, New South, after all for its educational press. This leaves us free to proceed in accordance with the original vote at the annual meeting on November 14 in favor of changing the name of the Southern Frontier to New South.

We are glad to inform you, therefore, that it will not be necessary for the Executive Committee to choose a substitute name, and that, beginning with the January 1946 issue, our monthly publication will appear under the title, New South.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

SEF

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION

INCORPORATED 1937 FROM
(PEABODY—SLATER—JEANES—RANDOLPH FUNDS)

918 CYPRESS STREET, N. E., ATLANTA 5, GEORGIA

J. CURTIS DIXON
VICE-PRESIDENT & EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 29, 1951

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear George:

This is just a hurried note to acknowledge receipt of and thank you for yours of the 17th.

I expect to bring this matter up and discuss it with the State Agents while they are in session in Daytona.

Sincerely yours,

Curtis

Vice-President and
Executive Director

JCD:rn

RECEIVED
MAY 30 1951
Southern Regional Council

SEC

May 17, 1951

Mr. Curtis Dixon
Southern Education Foundation
918 Cypress Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dixon:

In an address April 27 before the annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, Dr. Howard Odum, of the University of North Carolina, used the phrase "Operation Equal Opportunity."

He was setting forth tasks ahead of the South in four main areas. These were: correction of "the inexcusable situation with reference to brutalities, injustices, inequalities, and discrimination"; "'Operation Equal Opportunity' to comprehend all phases of public education"; "to provide immediately for non-segregation in all university education on the graduate and professional level"; and, lastly, "to move judiciously but speedily toward agenda for negotiations and specifications for future achievement on the total front."

On the education program, he continued: "With reference to the monumental task of equalizing facilities for education, this is a big job challenging not only the will, strength and capacity of a strong people but the cooperation, judicial interpretation, and constitutional structure of the nation. The reconstruction of our educational facilities, including buildings, equipment, salaries, and administrative features, involves an extraordinary multibillion dollar industry, which, operated at its best, will enrich the South, develop its resources, raise its standards of work, income, and living. This done adequately will not only make the South prosperous beyond previous measure but will enable it through its increased prosperity to pay for its new investments and contribute powerfully in turn to the national wealth. But in turn there can be no doubt of the nation's obligation to share this investment both because of the Federal strategy of equalization of funds and reciprocal cooperation with states and regions but because of the Federal ruling which makes mandatory the South's rebuilding of its educational

structure.

"Now the South's part of the initial added increment for the reconstruction of its educational facilities, in terms of what specifications can be made available and of authorizations and priorities, would be no more than the first expenditure for the first atomic bomb and a small ratio of subsequent such expenditures. The South would surely ridicule the challenge that it could not appropriate two billion dollars for an investment which would net many billions of dollars in the future and contribute powerfully to conservation and development of its human and institutional resources, as well.

"For there is here a tremendous difference between the two types of investment in that these new expenditures will be powerfully productive and constructively geared to the development and wise use of resources in the increase of wealth and prosperity and the enrichment of people and institutions as opposed to the negative or destructive nature of atomic warfare. Instead, therefore, of doubts and fears, so far as fiscal capacities go, the 'Operation Equal Opportunity' is something to challenge not only capacities but enthusiasm for the future. Such a raising of standards and doubling of facilities in a brilliant transitional period of our own reconstruction, will provide the structure and facilities, equitably distributed according to local geographic areas and administered through procedures consistent with educational standards, through which the problems of segregation may ultimately be adjusted in the American way of balance and equilibrium between voluntaristic effort and coercive decree; between compromise and inflexibility, as has been the prevailing mode of American democracy from the first.

"The above agenda for equalizing educational opportunities applies to all levels of schooling and assumes the normal status and processes of segregation <u>and</u> non-segregation consistent with the development and administration of educational systems everywhere. It assumes a certain inevitable continuity of the sub system featuring primarily segregation in the public schools but with both non-segregation and segregation modes and privileges in institutions of higher learning. This is necessary to insure equality of opportunity for the extraordinary Negro institutions, teachers, students, and administrative officers in ways which will give maximum recognition and opportunity for Negro professional folk and students."

It occurred to me that the Southern Education Foundation would perform a great service, and one quite in accord with the impulses of those who established its various original funds, if it would now or in a comparatively short period of time provide a statistical service to the South as to our progress or lack of progress in achieving equal educational opportunity. I assume the reporting function would be limited to elementary and secondary education.

Reasonably up-to-date and comprehensive figures in this whole field

are extremely hard to come by. Figures can, of course, be had state by state, but not on a comparable basis, and what I have seen in the past from the U.S. Office of Education is insufficiently detailed.

As a starter, could not the Southern Education Foundation issue an annual report reviewing the status and progress of each Southern state in this field? Such a report would be everywhere considered accurate. And organs of public opinion and state officials would be inclined to give extraordinary weight to the Southern Education Foundation's findings. Much undiscriminating and needlessly angry controversy arises because the exact relevant facts are not obtainable. Again on the basis of the facts a healthy rivalry between states and communities would spring up. It need be no part of the Southern Education Foundation's work to propagandize in the area at all; the press, interested citizens, and a variety of organizations could be trusted to employ the findings to constructive purpose.

I should think that an ancillary service that would be very useful would be narrative comment on new and interesting developments in the general field of elementary and secondary education in the Southern states.

I do greatly hope that the Southern Education Foundation will find it possible to provide a service of this kind.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

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The Southern Frontier

Published by

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

Atlanta 3, Georgia

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POLITICS (See also **White Primary**)

April:
The Supreme Court and the South

June:
The Political Scene: Confusion and Crisis
Texas Rebellion—Editorial

July:
Party Platforms and the Negro

August:
The Progressive Democratic Party in South Carolina, by John H. McCray

PRESS AND LETTER COMMENTS

January:
Why I Fight?

April:
In the Mail

May:
A Southern Business Man's Opinion

June:
What the People Say: Letters to Press

August:
A Letter from California
Quotes from the Press

September:
On Racial Discrimination
Southern Comment

October:
A Southerner Speaks, by E. M. Martin

November:
From the Press

RACE RELATIONS

January:
Negroes Fight on Four Major Fronts
North Carolina Is In—But Not of the South
White Newspaper in Editorial Arouses Negro Citizens
Year's Record of Lynchings, Attempted Lynchings

February:
Another Domestic Servant Rumor Floats Around
Alabama Negro Baptists Pledge Support in Food Program
South Carolina Editor Calls Southern Senator's Bluff
Virginius Dabney Makes Suggestions to Editors on Handling Race News
You Never Make a Friend by Using a Blackjack

March:
It does Happen Here
Opinion

April:
It Is For Us the Bell Tolls
News and Notes

May:
American Council on Race Relations
In Kentucky
An Institute of Race Relations

July:
An Anthropologist's View
Evidence of Southern Progress—Editorial
Here and There in the South
I Never Knowed, by Margaret Fisher
Mr. Pilcher's Gift
Science and the American Race Problem, by Guy B. Johnson

August:
Editorial Comment
Notes

September:
Rumor—Editorial
Here and There in the South

October:
Races Exhibit

November:
Edward L. Bernays Award
Freedom: Promise or Fact, by Eleanor Roosevelt
Some Questions and Answers
The Urban League Resolves

RELIGION

April:
The YWCA and Interracial Practices

May:
Southern Baptists and the Negro

September:
The American Missionary Association Institute of Race Relations, by Charles S. Johnson

October:
Churchmen Act on Race

November:
A Young People's Institute

REVIEWS AND SUGGESTED READING

January:
Race and Rumors of Race

March:
An American Dilemma
Books of the Month

August:
You Should Read

October:
Book Review—*Freedom Road*
For Your Reading

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

March:
The Southern Regional Council
The Southern Regional Council—Editorial

May:
SRC Board of Directors Meets
Miss Margaret Fisher Joins the Staff

June:
Standing Committees of the SRC

November:
Miss Fisher Resigns

December:
Report of the Council Meeting
The Council—Editorial

THE WAR

January:
Dunn Negroes Make Good
Liberty Ships Honor Liberty Leaders—Editorial

February:
Another Service Is Opened to Negroes—Paratrooping
Negro Fighter Pilots Shoot Down Eight Nazi Planes

December:
Negro Servicemen

WHITE PRIMARY—(See also **Politics**)

March:
South Carolina Incident

April:
Georgia Committee Resolution on White Primary
Some Voting Restrictions in the Southern States
Voting Status of Negroes in Virginia
White Primary—Editorial

May:
An Alabama Statement
Negro Suffrage—Editorial

June:
A Challenge to the Democratic Party
Plea of the Atlanta Negro Citizens Committee

October:
Primary Day in Georgia—Poem

December 18, 1945

Southern Governors Conference

Honorable Ransome Williams
Governor of South Carolina
State Capitol
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Governor Williams:

I take pleasure in sending you, with the compliments of the Southern Regional Council, this copy of our recent publication entitled, THE SOUTH - America's Opportunity Number One. In view of the problems and opportunities facing the South in this postwar period, I believe you will find this pamphlet of special interest.

If you would like to have additional copies, please let us know, and we shall be glad to make them available.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Encl.

This letter sent to the following Governors:

Millard Caldwell, Tallahassee, Florida
Ellis Arnall, Atlanta, Georgia
Chauncey Sparks, Montgomery, Alabama
Thomas L. Bailey, Jackson, Miss.
Simeon S. Willis, Frankfort, Kentucky
Jim Nance McCord, Nashville, Tenn.
Jimmie H. Davis, Baton Rouge, La.
Ben Laney, Little Rock, Ark.
Colgate W. Darden, Richmond, Virginia
Gregg Cherry, Raleigh, N. C.
Ransome Williams, Columbia, S. C.
Robert S. Kerr, Oklahoma City, Okla.
Coke R. Stevenson, Austin, Texas

Southern Governors

August 16, 1946

Honorable Millard Caldwell
Governor of Florida
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Governor Caldwell:

I am sending you herewith the July issue of our monthly magazine, New South, which deals with the subject of education. Since the future of education is of such wide concern to the Southern people, we feel sure that you will find the booklet interesting.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT:j

Encl.

This letter sent to the following Governors:

Millard Caldwell, Tallahassee, Florida
Ellis Arnall, Atlanta, Georgia
Chauncey Sparks, Montgomery, Alabama
Thomas L. Bailey, Jackson, Miss.
Jim Nance McCord, Nashville, Tenn.
Jimmie H. Davis, Baton Rouge, La.
Ben Laney, Little Rock, Ark.
Colgate W. Darden, Richmond, Va.
Gregg Cherry, Raleigh, N. C.
Ransome Williams, Columbia, S.C.
Robert S. Kerr, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Coke R. Stevenson, Austin, Tex.
Simeon S. Willis, Frankfort, Ky.

This letter sent to:

Gov. Millard Caldwell, Tallahassee, Fla.
Gov. Ellis Arnall, Atlanta, Ga.
Gov. Chauncey Sparks, Montgomery, Ala.
Thomas L. Bailey, Jackson, Miss.
Simeon S. Willis, Frankfort, Ky.
Jim Nance McCord, Nashville, Tenn.
Jimmie Davis, Baton Rouge, La.
Ban Laney, Little Rock, Ark.
Colgate W. Darden, Richmond, Va.
Gregg Cherry, Raleigh, N.C.
Ransome Williams, Columbia, S. C.
Robert S. Kerr, Oklahoma City, Okla
Coke R. Stevenson, Austin, Tex. October 11, 1946

Honorable Millard Caldwell
Governor of Florida
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Southern Governors' Confer.

Dear Governor Caldwell:

I am pleased to present herewith a copy of the September issue of New South, entitled Machines in the Cotton Fields.

This study of the mechanization of cotton farming was done by Dr. Arthur Raper of the United States Department of Agriculture. He first presented it at a meeting of the Southern Sociological Society which was held in Atlanta last May. We thought that it was such a significant piece of work that we obtained permission to print it and give it wider distribution than it would otherwise have had.

I am sure that you will agree with us that the mechanization of cotton farming in the South is a process of tremendous importance. The social and economic effects of mechanization will soon begin to make themselves felt, and it seems important to explore these effects and to work out methods of dealing with them intelligently. Even in those Southern States where cotton is not the major crop, the effects of mechanization are bound to be felt because of the migration of displaced cotton farmers.

May we earnestly urge that you, along with the other members of the Southern Governors' Conference, consider the advisability of calling a special Cotton States Conference on the subject of mechanization of cotton farming. The Southern Regional Council will gladly assist in every way possible in such a conference and in any research project which the Governors' Conference might wish to initiate.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT
Encl.

STATE OF ALABAMA

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

MONTGOMERY

CHAUNCEY SPARKS
GOVERNOR

GEO. BLISS JONES
SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNOR
MRS. MABEL AMOS
RECORDING SECRETARY

October 14, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 16 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson,
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

The Governor asked me to thank you for the very interesting brochure entitled "Machines in the Cotton Fields."

Yours very truly,

GEO. BLISS JONES,
Executive Secretary

GBJ:V

STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

GOVERNOR'S OFFICE

RALEIGH

R. GREGG CHERRY
GOVERNOR

October 15th, 1946.

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Sir:

Acknowledgment is made of your letter of October 11th, expressing your views upon the necessity of a Special Cotton States Conference on the subject of mechanization of cotton farming.

I take it that you will present your views through your Governor at the Conference to be held in Miami the first week in December.

Yours very truly,

R. Gregg Cherry

RGC:RH

STATE OF FLORIDA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
TALLAHASSEE

MILLARD F. CALDWELL
GOVERNOR

JOHN T. WIGGINTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

October 16, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 17 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I have received and inspected with great interest the September issue of "New South," which you so kindly sent to me.

I shall be glad to place your recommendation in my file of matters for consideration by the Southern Governors' Conference.

Sincerely,

Governor

MFC/sw

file

STATE OF LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

BATON ROUGE

(4)

JIMMIE H. DAVIS
GOVERNOR

October 17, 1946

RECEIVED
OCT 21 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 11th transmitting a copy of your booklet prepared by the Southern Regional Council, Incorporated, dealing with the subject of mechanized cotton farming implements in the south.

I presume that similar information has been furnished Honorable Chauncy Sparks, Governor of Alabama and Chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference. However, if not, I would suggest that you forward this information to him in order that the subject may be discussed at the forthcoming Governors' Conference.

Yours very truly,

J. H. Davis
Governor of Louisiana

JHD:ab

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
COLUMBIA

RANSOME J. WILLIAMS
GOVERNOR

W. J. McGARITY, JR.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

RECEIVED
OCT 19 1946
Southern Regional Council

October 17, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Johnson:

In reply to your letter of October 11th, I thoroughly agree that the mechanization of cottom farming in the South is a process of tremendous importance. I appreciate your forwarding the information, and will do all I can toward accomplishing the ideas you expressed.

If I can be of further service to you, please write me.

Sincerely yours,

Ransome J. Williams

Ransome J. Williams
Governor

rjw;im

COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER
FRANKFORT

SIMEON WILLIS
GOVERNOR

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

October 17, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

During the Governor's absence I hasten to acknowledge and thank you for your letter of October 11 which will be referred to the Governor for his full consideration upon his return to the office.

No doubt you have written to the other Governors regarding this matter. As Kentucky produces practically no cotton, this is a problem which will more specifically address itself to Governors whose states do produce large quantities of cotton.

Sincerely yours,

Ralph A. Homan

Ralph A. Homan
Executive Secretary

CHERRY ELECTED GOVERNORS' HEAD

Raleigh News & Obs.
12-9-46

Southern Executives Decline to Debate Controversial National Problems

Miami Beach, Fla., Dec. 8.—(AP)—The Southern Governors' Conference Saturday decided politely, but firmly to consider only regional subjects and to keep out of possibly controversial national problems.

The question cam up at the final session of the conference at which Gov. R. Gregg Cherry of North Carolina was elected chairman and Gov. Clarence Meadows of West Virginia vice chairman for the coming year.

They succeed Govs. Robert Kerr of Oklahoma, chairman, and Chauncey Sparks of Alabama, vice chairman.

Gov.-Elect J. S. Thurmond of South Carolina, a member attending his first session, raised the question of the conference considering national matters when a resolution he offered for endorsement of the nation's foreign policy was dropped as not coming within the scope of the session.

"I am wondering whether we are pursuing the wisest course in the policy of refraining, as leaders of the Southern states, from considering matters of national importance without fear or favor," said Thurmond.

Gov. Millard F. Caldwell of Florida said the Southern Governors' Conference was "a completely uninhibited body" and could discuss any subject it desired, but said that Thurmond's resolution would not "point up" the questions actually discussed.

Caldwell observed:

"I haven't been able to determine just what our national policy is, but I would be willing to endorse most any policy pursued by (Secretary of State) Byrnes."

Other governors pointed out that Republicans also attend the Southern Governors' Conference and that while all see eye to eye as a rule on regional questions, there might be serious differences on national or international subjects.

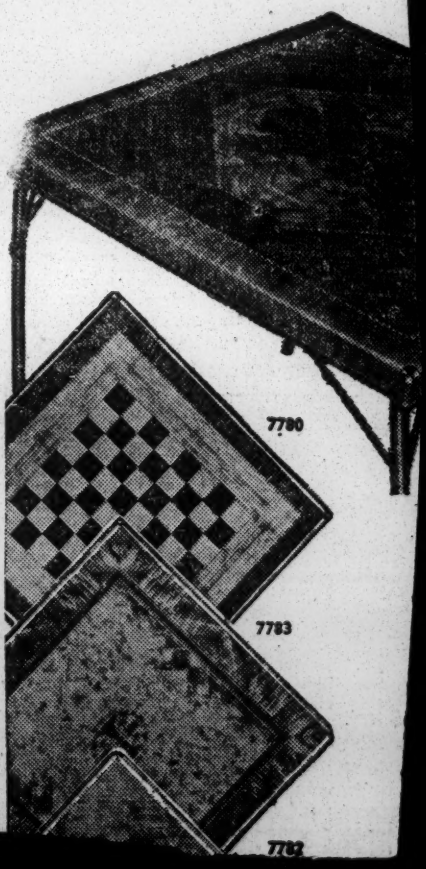
An afternoon at the races occupied the executive s before they headed for their state capitols.

14 Divorces Granted.

Asheboro, Dec. 8.—Judge J. H. Clement, presiding over the December term of Randolph Superior Court, adjourned the term yesterday after granting absolute divorces in 14 actions calendared for the final day of a criminal term.

STORE HOURS: 9:

The Busies
In The



STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
GOVERNOR'S OFFICE
RALEIGH

RECEIVED
DEC 17 1946
Southern Regional Council

R. GREGG CHERRY
GOVERNOR

December 16th, 1946.

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Johnson,

Acknowledgment is made of your letter of December 13th, and I appreciate your sentiments with respect to my being selected as the Chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially yours,

R Gregg Cherry

RGC:RH

December 13, 1946

Gov. R. Gregg Cherry
State Capitol
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Gov. Cherry:

I am delighted to learn that you were recently elected chairman of the Southern Governors Conference. Being an ex-Tarheel who worked at the University of North Carolina for twenty years, I am particularly proud of this recognition which has come to you and to North Carolina.

You may recall some previous correspondence concerning our pamphlet entitled, "Machines in the Cotton Fields". I understand that the recent meeting of the Southern Governors Conference at Miami Beach had so many important matters to discuss that it was impossible to take up the question of the effects of the mechanization of cotton. I hope that at a future meeting the Conference will be able to explore this question. The Southern Regional Council will be glad to cooperate in any investigation which the Conference might wish to undertake. I am also writing to former Governor Broughton, who is chairman of the Committee of the South which was set up recently to survey economic conditions in the South.

With every good wish,

Cordially yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

December 18, 1948

Governor Millard F. Caldwell
State Capitol
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Governor Caldwell:

It was thoughtful of you to write me further concerning the Southern Governors' Conference and the question of Mechanization of cotton farming. I realize that the conference had a very crowded schedule and that it was difficult to explore everything in which the governors are interested.

I have written to Governor Cherry, the new chairman of the Southern Governors' Conference, and I am also getting in touch with former Governor J. Melville Broughton, who is chairman of a recently formed group called The Committee of the South. This committee plans to survey the economic problems and trends in the South. We shall be happy to cooperate with it, as well as with the Southern Governors' Conference.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Guy B. Johnson
Executive Director

GBJ:rr

MILLARD F. CALDWELL
GOVERNOR

JOHN T. WIGGINTON
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STATE OF FLORIDA
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
TALLAHASSEE

December 10, 1946

RECEIVED
DEC 11 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Because of a heavy schedule at the Southern Governor's Conference we did not have an opportunity to go into the question of mechanization of cotton farming. The other southern governors and I are interested in the subject and we would like to be kept informed so that we may be in a position to give intelligent study to the problems presented.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

Governor

MFC:ks

GOVERNORS
OF THE 13 SOUTHERN STATES

James E. Folsom, Montgomery, Alabama

Ben Laney, Little Rock, Arkansas

Millard Caldwell, Tallahassee, Florida

Melvin E. Thompson, acting, Atlanta, Georgia

Earle C. Clements, Frankfort, Kentucky

James H. Davis, Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Fielding L. Wright, Jackson, Mississippi

R. Gregg Cherry, Raleigh, North Carolina

Roy J. Turner, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

J. Strom Thurmond, Columbia, South Carolina

Jim Nance McCord, Nashville, Tennessee

Beauford H. Jester, Austin, Texas

William Munford Tuck, Richmond, Virginia

C
O
P
Y

TULSA URBAN LEAGUE
107½ N. Greenwood
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Mr. Harry Alston, Director
Southern Field Division
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
250 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Re: Memorandum of January 28, 1958

Dear Harry:

Reference is made to your memorandum, January 28, concerning interracial facilities in the South.

Negro males in transit can stay at the Downtown Y. M. C. A. in their attractive dormitories. The eating facilities are open to all Negroes, transit or otherwise. It is located in downtown Tulsa, 515 South Denver. The dining room of the Y. W. C. A. is open to Negroes also on an unsegregated basis, but dormitory service here is apparently not available. It is located in downtown Tulsa, also, at 116 West 5th Street. Interracial meetings are held at both places.

Interracial meetings with food services are open to Negroes at the two largest downtown hotels and the very modern Chamber of Commerce. At the hotels, though, Negroes do not go into the dining rooms as individuals although they are served wherever the meeting is held, such as in the mezzanine, ballroom, etc. Negroes are accepted at the Spartan Airport Cafeteria and across the street at the Sky Chief Restaurant both with meetings and as individuals. Also non-segregated are the Tulsa County Courthouse, Union Bus Depot and Union Railway Depot. Nine movie theaters with non-discriminatory service are open to Negroes. All the large ballrooms downtown and on the outskirts of Tulsa are frequently rented by Negroes for dances or meetings but these ballrooms do not have food services except for sandwiches at the bar. However, they may be served by caterers.

One large hotel in Oklahoma City will accommodate Negroes, even for sleeping, if reservations are made in advance (contact Cenoria Johnson for this information.)

Negroes can hold meetings and eat as individuals at all the Universities in Tulsa on a non-segregated basis.

I hope that I have not neglected to include any other information requested by the memorandum but if an omission has occurred I will gladly send the same upon notification.

Sincerely,

/S/ MARION

Marion M. Taylor
Executive Director

MMT/rab/mf

P. S. The Triple A Auto Service informed me that several motels had hpened to Negroes. We have not yet listed them but they are said to be located in the limits of the city or county.

M.M.T.

from the desk of

MITTIENELL L. WHEELER

3/3/58

Hi, Mildred!

Mr. Alston asked me to send this letter from Bohanon to you for duplication.

Please return it at your convenience.

Call me some night so we can talk.

Sincerely, — M.L.W.

Sorry Howdy

The Urban League of St. Louis, Inc.

"COMMUNITY PROGRESS THROUGH INTERRACIAL PLANNING"

3017 DELMAR BOULEVARD ST. LOUIS 3, MO. PHONE JEFFERSON 3-3820

February 5, 1958.

Mr. Harry I. Alston, Director
Southern Field Division
National Urban League
250 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harry:

Reference is made to your memorandum of January 28 titled, "Interracial Facilities in the South".

Unfortunately we here can speak only for the city of St. Louis, and I am afraid in that respect we can talk only in a general way. In the city of St. Louis, all of the first rate hotels - Statler, Lennox, Sheraton-Jefferson, Coronado and Kingsway - accept Negroes as guests and in their coffee shops and dining rooms. We suggest that those seeking accommodations either wire or write for reservations and confirmation of the same. I might add that if you would write the hotels direct requesting information of this kind, they would probably not respond or at most avoid giving a direct answer, but I re-emphasize that it has been the practice, for the past several years, to honor confirmed reservations.

Except for the dime stores and chain drug stores, and of course restaurants in the railway station, airport and bus depot, there are no first class restaurants open to Negroes. This of course is in somewhat of a state of flux and my advice would be that persons seeking up-to-date information should get in touch with the Urban League, the NAACP or the St. Louis Argus newspaper on arriving in St. Louis.

I am sorry that I cannot give you anything definite with regard to motels in the area. Perhaps Tom Webster could give you this information.

Listed on the attached sheet are the addresses of the hotels we mentioned.

Sincerely yours,

M. Leo Bohanon,
Executive Director.

MLB:G

UNITED FUND

SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCIL OF ST. LOUIS

M. LEO BOHANON
Executive Director

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Mrs. Frederick Simms
Mrs. William H. Sinkler
Mrs. William L. Smiley
Dr. Irwin Sobel
Fred Weathers

HONORARY MEMBER
Mrs. S. P. Stafford

Affiliated with
National Urban League

185

Statler Hotel	9th & Washington Ave.
Lennox Hotel	825 Washington Ave.
Sheraton-Jefferson	415 N. 12th Blvd.
Coronado	3701 Lindell Blvd.
Kingsway	108 N. Kingshighway Blvd.

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

Nov. 6, 1959

To: HCF

From: JConstable

George Iggers (from Dillard) called and said that the Biltmore Hotel is not going to serve dinners on an integrated basis for the Southern Historical Association meeting.

John Snell (from Tulane) is going to introduce a resolution that they meet only in cities where integrated banquet facilities are available.

They want to know in what cities this can be done. They know about Louisville and Miami.

Nothing is in the files upstairs. What can we do on this matter?

NOTE: Harold, I dug out of the files the two attached letters which came in response to FBR's memo of Jan. 22, 1958 asking for data on "Interracial Facilities in the South". This might be a starter.

M.F.

JC - Gatlinburg, Williamsburg are the only other ones in the South about which one can be certain. It may be possible to negotiate with hotels elsewhere.

HCF

November 9, 1959

Mr. John Snell
Biltmore Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Snell:

In response to a telephone request by Mr. George Iggers, we searched our files for cities with hotels which accommodate desegregated banquest meetings. Unfortunately, we have not been able to turn up too many which are not generally known. Of course, Gattinburg, Tennessee, and Williamsburg, Virginia are two integrated ones and I understand hotels in Louisville and Miami generally accept integrated meetings. The only other information we found concerning this matter is that first rate hotels in St. Louis such as the Statler, Lennox, Sheraton-Jefferson, Coronado and Kingsway and the two largest downtown hotels in Tulsa, Oklahoma, accept integrated meetings.

I am sorry that this is not much, but I believe if your organization consulted hotels far enough in advance many of them would accept your meeting on such a basis.

With very best wishes for the Southern Historical Association meeting.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC/lec

S. Historical Assn

November 30, 1959

Mr. George B. Tindall
305 Burlage Drive
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Tindall:

Thank you for your suggestion that the Southern Regional Council undertake a survey of Southern meeting places for racially inclusive groups.

We are fully persuaded of the importance of such information and will do our best to collect and make it available to interested organizations and individuals. We were able to give some encouragement and help to Claude Sitton of the New York Times in the preparation of the enclosed article. This is at least a start toward helpful airing of such information.

Subscription to New South is optional with membership in the North Carolina Council (i.e., for payment of $2.00 in addition to membership fee). Our records do not show any report of your subscription from the North Carolina Council, but we are writing them today to double check. John Constable of our staff will be writing you further.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

H CF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

N.Y. Times Art. Nov. 29, 1959
"Racial Curbs Eased by Southern Hotels"
Sitton

Dr. George B. Tindall
305 Burlage Drive
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Nov. 24, 1959

Dear Dr. Tindall:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter about the problem of meeting-places with a non-discriminatory policy. I hope that the Southern Regional Council can be of some help in this matter.

I haven't forgotten the fact that in that conversation we had recently we also talked about Southern images, and the conference held by SRC at Williamsburg , and that you had been interested yourself in a study of myth and image in Southern history, but that for the time being you were tied up ~~complete~~ with the completion of a volume on Southern history. I don't know yet what we in the Southern Regional Council can do in this matter, but I do hope that something can come of it, and that you can help us.

It was a pleasure to see you again and talk with you. I know I risk a lot of off-the-cuff historical statements, many of which are more theoretical than factual; but I do respect the men who know.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

J. M. Dabbs
President

cc: Harold Fleming.

COPY

305 Burlage Drive
Chap el Hill, North Carolina
November 21, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter to Dr. Dabbs regarding the problem that has arisen recently in connection with several associations of finding meeting places where racial discrimination will not prevail. I enclose an extra copy because I am not sure of Dr. Dab bs' address. If I have it wrong, would you do me the favor of forwarding one of the copies?

Dewey Grantham of Vanderbilt tells me that he spoke to you recently about this problem. I know that a survey of this kind would be a ticklish proposition, but I would like to think that you people know how to go about it.

Incidentally, I have not received the last two issues of NEW SOUTH. I recently transferred my membership, or rather paid dues for membership, in the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. Doesn't this membership entitle me to a subscription?

Sincerely,

George B. Tindall

George B. Tindall

305 Burlage Drive
Chapel Hill, North Carolina
November 21, 1959

Dr. James McBride Dabbs
President
Southern Regional Council
Maysville, South Carolina

Dear Dr. Dabbs:

First of all, let me say that I am writing as a private individual and not as the representative of any organization.

You may recall our conversation in Chapel Hill recently regarding the need to find meeting places for organizations such as the Southern Historical Association where a non-discriminatory policy will prevail. I don't know whether the matter got into the papers outside of Atlanta or not, but the issue was brought up in the business meeting of the association last week end and was referred to a committee of the association for further consideration. And now the problem has arisen in connection with the meeting of the Southern Sociological Society in Atlanta next April. And I know this has created problems for the Southern Economics Association, the political scientists, the law teachers' and law librarians' associations, the general library associations, and others, some of which are small enough that they can simply meet in places like Gatlinburg or Chapel Hill.

It seems to me that there is a need for a survey to give an answer to the perennial question, "Where can we meet if we adopt a non-discriminatory policy?" The few places that are known to be open, such as Williamsburg, Gatlinburg, and Miami, are either too far away for many of the members, or (so it is said in the case of Gatlinburg—I don't know this of my own knowledge) too small to handle an attendance of 700, which was our total registration in Atlanta.

I know it would be extremely difficult to make such a survey, for hotels that might be willing to commit themselves for a specific association or convention might not be willing to make a blanket commitment, and so would be difficult to sound out. However, it seems to me a problem worth the application of whatever ingenuity the Southern Regional Council can bring to bear. Many organizations, I am sure, would be grateful.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

George B. Tindall
Associate Professor of History
University of North Carolina

cc: Harold Fleming.

January 25, 1961

Professor August Meier
Morgan State College
Coldspring Lane and Hillen Road
Baltimore 12, Maryland

Dear Professor Meier:

Too often, after being of some slight help to an effort we never learn the full outcome. I am all the more grateful, therefore, for your good letter summarizing developments to date within the Southern Historical Association. It's good to know that you are continuing to press the issue.

I hope that your trip to Atlanta has materialized and that we may expect a visit from you shortly.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MORGAN STATE COLLEGE
COLDSPRING LANE AND HILLEN ROAD
BALTIMORE 12, MARYLAND

Jan. 17, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Flemming, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

You will probably recall that last fall you were kind enough to send me 13 copies of the issue of NEW SOUTH that contained the summary of hotel policies in southern cities, so that I might send copies of it to the members of the executive council of the Southern Historical Association. I had intended to report to you briefly on what happened at the Tulsa meeting of the Association last November, but have neglected to do so until now.

I was pleasantly surprised to find that several of the members of the council wrote me saying that they would be glad to speak with me about the matter at the convention. On arriving at Tulsa I found myself under some pressure not to bring the matter up on the floor of the convention. I told the president, Professor Hesseltine, however, that I would probably want to be recognized. I was assured by Prof. Posey (of Emory) that something was being done about it, and some of the more liberal people on the council thought it would be bad tactics to offer a resolution from the floor to the effect that the body urged the Executive Council to hereafter meet only at places where there was no discrimination. I learned that the Executive Council had decided to make what seemed to me to be a rather mild step forward by declaring that hereafter local arrangements committees would be directed to see to it that Negroes could attend all official sessions--including luncheons and dinners. To me it seemed that in addition to saying nothing about hotel rooms and non-convention meals, this policy did not even really guarantee that Negroes would be admitted to official meals of the convention. I also learned that the Executive Council had chosen integrated Miami Beach over segregated Charlottesville for the 1962 convention. The 1961 convention will be held in Chattanooga, as decided previously; but I learned that President Hesseltine stopped there on his way to Tulsa and changed the meeting from a hotel that would not serve Negroes at the convention's dinners & luncehons to one that would. I think that many of the members of the Association feel that this "new" policy solves the problem, which it doesn't. After considering the various factors (including the slight progress that seemed to be being made), being unaware of much support for my own point of view, and deferring also to the judgement of the more liberal members of the council, I decided not to offer a resolution. I did however make a statement from the floor, pointing out the shortcomings of the council's new policy, and stating that it didn't solve the problem at all. I was gratified to find that there was a great deal of support for my comments from those attending the business luncheon; the meeting was of course held pretty far west, and I presume next year at Chattanooga the segregationists will be in stronger force.

I am not yet sure what tactics to pursue for next year--whehter to submit a constitutional amendment saying that the association must meet at fully integrated facilities, (this would take a 2/3 vote to pass), or

to offer a resolution like the one I had considered submitting this year. I don't expect that either one would pass at Chattanooga, but I do not think that this should deter us from making the effort, because I think that if we keep on bringing the issue up that we will thereby bring the time closer when the SHA will take some sort of decent action on the matter.

I would appreciate any suggestions that you may have. You certainly know the South better than I do. I must say that I was constantly amazed xxx at the SHA at the fears that well-meaning people seem to have of what would happen to them if they spoke up on this issue, and at the examples of pressure on the xxxxxxx truly liberal people in the organization and in southern institutions of higher education.

Sincerely yours,

August Meier

P.S. I may in tlanta for a few days around the end of the month, and if I am I hope that I may have the opportunity of speaking with you.

File

October 9, 1957

Sou. Interagency
F.P.

Memorandum:

From: Frederick B. Routh

To: Harold C. Fleming

At the inter-agency meeting it was decided to refer the following actions to the Southern inter-agency cooperative effort.

1. The proposed dates for the next meeting of the Southern inter-agency cooperative effort are Tuesday and Wednesday, November 5 and 6.

2. The possibilities of urging CCD to request the President to call a "White House Conference" on desegregation - possible title: Integration in the National Interest.

3. Get the Southern group to press for the appointment of the new Civil Rights Commission.

4. The question of the Georgia Commission on Education attempts at infiltration, also Communist attempts at infiltration.

5. Southern agencies to request national organizations to press for statements regarding racial conflict and plant location or relocation.

   Pamphlet or brochure on this based on material gathered by SRC. Under whose impramatur should it be issued.

6. What can be done to make the press more responsible in its reporting.

   Role of Southern Neiman fellows.

   Role of national Neiman blokes.

7. Possibilities of getting Winthrop Rockefeller to pull together a South-wide group of business men to stand for law and order.

8. The question of Federal participation in atomic development at State Universities in the South - can Federal funds go to segregated institutions?

1. Ltr writing Jul + Const.
For Interagency Agenda -
2. WhiteHouse Conf. -
3. Infiltration —
4. Taxpayers Suit vs. G.E.C.
5. Tues. - Wed. Nov. 5-6.
6. Xtra copy to Ruby H.
7. Libel suits or protests by those mentioned in sheet.
8. 1957 — Bayard Rustin.
9. Ga. Tech, etc. atomic reactor
10. Repro of Popham's Kasper piece
11. Natl economic statements.
12. Brochure on ec statements to Mayors + Chambers + Commerce.
13. McCandless seminar —
14. Press —

COPY COPY

See

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
October 5, 1957

Statement from: Myles Horton, Director
Highlander Folk School
Monteagle, Tennessee

An undercover agent sent to Tennessee by Gov. Griffin of Georgia charges that the Daily Worker also infiltrated a Highlander Workshop. If so, the alleged infiltrators were unidentified by the School or by newspaper reporters who covered the speeches and discussions at Highlander's 25th Anniversary Celebration. Ed Friend paid the required registration fee like all other applicants to the event and voluntarily identified himself as an employee of the Water Pollution Department of the State of Georgia. Like 179 other participants, the undercover agent was free to attend all meetings and to take pictures of other participants, speakers, and activities such as swimming and square dancing. Sessions were covered by the press, and the Tennessee papers carried daily reports of all speeches and discussions. In the meantime, Gov. Griffin himself was giving aid and comfort to Gov. Faubus' efforts to use armed resistance to a court order for integration of a Little Rock high school.

Since 1953 hundreds of southern community leaders have openly and honestly taken part in scores of Highlander workshops on the subject of integration. In celebration of Highlander's 25th Anniversary, a distinguished group of courageous southern leaders were brought together over Labor Day week-end; and adults committed to democratic solutions to social problems were invited to enroll for a discussion of "The South Thinking Ahead". Highlander takes pride and assumes full responsibility of the speakers and discussion leaders selected and for the program itself. However, we had only such information of the participants as they themselves furnished us. For example, Friend, Gov. Griffin's undercover agent, said he was a freelance photographer and water pollution expert for the State of Georgia. He gave the name of an Atlanta college professor as a reference. There was no way of knowing that he was a White Citizens Council member or sympathizer and an official "infiltrator".

Georgia's undercover agent's report of participants includes along with the Rev. Martin Luther King, Aubrey Williams, and Mrs. Rosa Parks, the name of an alleged Daily Worker reporter. Since this charge has not been verified, we can only say that Highlander did not and does not welcome enrollment of anyone with a totalitarian philosophy whether from the extreme right or from the extreme left. In these troubled times, nothing but more trouble can come from the White Citizens Councils' and the Communist Party's infiltration into groups earnestly seeking a democratic solution to our problems. Both are morally bankrupt and have nothing to offer. We want only those at Highlander who do their own thinking.

The interest in Highlander of Georgia's segregationists dates from our inviting the Koinonia Farms of Americus, Georgia, to hold their children's camp here after the children were run out of Georgia.

REPORT OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON FACT-FINDING

Southern Interagency Meeting
November 12-13, 1957

The Subcommittee on Fact-Finding met on Tuesday evening, November 12th to formulate plans for several joint efforts in the area of fact-finding and legal services. The recommendation on legal services, separately drafted, is attached. Following are the recommendations on fact-finding:

I. Violence, Intimidation, and Reprisal

In view of the creation of the Civil Rights Commission, it is felt that a comprehensive report of incidents in this category should be compiled as quickly as possible. It is tentatively agreed that the period to ~~would~~ be covered might date from the Supreme Court school decision of May 17, 1954.

~~Although~~ We recognize that practical considerations arising in the course of the survey might cause us to adopt a shorter period. In any case, the incidents reported should be limited to those involving violence, intimidation and reprisal growing out of Southern reactions to the Supreme Court's decision. The following mechanics and methods were agreed upon:

1. A temporary project person, having appropriate skills and experience, should be employed. This temporary project director would work under the overall supervision of an interagency committee made up of Southern staff members of the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Southern Regional Council. These agencies were selected because they have existing files and materials in this field.

2. A prospectus describing this project shall be circulated to each of the organizations participating in the Southern interagency effort. Each of these organizations will be asked to assume a prorata share of the cost of the project. We estimate roughly that the cost of the project would be between $3,000 to $5,000. It shall be understood that the four agencies previously mentioned shall have full responsibility for the direction of the project. When the fact-finding has been completed and a report drafted, however, each of the contributing agencies will have an opportunity to review the manuscript and decide whether it wishes to be associated by name with the report.

3. The object will be to document each incident by newspaper reports. We recognize that it may be necessary in some cases to check the facts against other sources - organizational files, first-hand accounts, and so on. In addition to clippings and reports in the files of cooperating organizations, the files of the Southern Education Reporting Service should be utilized. It is hoped that the final report can state that each of the incidents is supported by published news reports.

4. Publication plans will be made when a draft of the report is in hand. The findings may be communicated directly to the Civil Rights Commission, released to the press and other media in printed or mimeographed form, or both, depending on the circumstances at the time of completion.

II. Employment Discrimination

The need for greater interagency cooperation in this field is recognized. We start from the fact that there are official committees appointed by the President to deal with this question - The President's Committee on Government Contracts and the President's Committee on Government ~~Federal~~ Employment Policy

As a first step, it is recommended that each of the cooperating organizations having programs in this field pool their information. Once this has been done and the information has been screened and assembled, further steps can be decided. It was agreed that Tartt Bell of the American Friends Service Committee would serve as the central person to whom all of the information should be sent at the earliest possible date. Among the organizations that might logically be expected to contribute to the pool of information are the AFSC, the Urban League, the Anti-Defamation League, the NAACP, SRC's labor consultant, and various trade unions. A possible follow-up step might be a visit to the committees in Washington by a delegation drawn from these and other agencies.

III. Voting Discrimination

The Subcommittee discussed next steps indicated by the passage of the new civil rights legislation and the formation of the Civil Rights Commission. It was agreed that the main focus should be on the community level and specific instances of discrimination against would-be voters should be called to the attention of the Department of Justice. It is recognized that the NAACP is giving special emphasis to program and procedure designed to do this. Two additional steps were seen as desirable:

1. To collect official statements and other ~~possible~~ public documentation showing an intent to disfranchise on the part of state and local officialdom.

2. It was pointed out that there is a need for white Southerners to participate as observers to the registration process in their communities. To this end, it was recommended that the Fellowship of the Concerned convene a selected group of women leadership on a region wide basis to devise such a program. It was also recommended that steps be taken to induce such church women's organizations and perhaps the League of Women Voters to make non-discriminatory practices one of their program objectives.

Old - 1957 or 1958

6 MAR 58

VI. INTERRACIAL MEETING PLACES - Fred Routh requested that those persons who had not replied to his memorandum do so immediately, so that a list of such meeting places can be compiled.

VII. SOUTHERN INTER-RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE - Will Campbell, Reporter

The group was reminded of past planning and action toward a conference and was told that plans were now at a standstill due to lack of knowledge of source of funds for such a conference. Fleming suggested that letters be gotten from important people in denominations and faiths to present evidence of interest to Foundations. The matter was turned back to the continuing committee.

VIII. DEFINITION OF INTERAGENCY EFFORT

There was a motion that the following statement of definition of the Southern interagency effort be adopted. The motion carried.

It has now been more than a year since we, the Southern staff members of agencies concerned with human relations, first met to consider our common problems and opportunities. Having found our periodic conferences productive of field cooperation and the sharing of information and program plans, we feel it is timely to reduce to writing a brief definition of this Southern coordinating effort as it has evolved:

(1) The cooperative effort of Southern field staff members may most appropriately be referred to by the name that has developed as a matter of convenient usage -- the Southern Interagency Conference.

(2) Most of our parent organizations are participants in the National Consultative Conference on Desegregation; we wish to cooperate in the implementation of the CCD's objectives in every way consistent with the policies of our respective organizations and with our conception of the role of the Southern Interagency Conference.

(3) The strength of our cooperation lies in the periodic consultation among staff members with common concerns based in the Southern region. These consultations are informal and off-the-record and involve no organizational commitments or publicity of any kind.

(4) We shall continue to regard the areas of our cooperation as including any of the functions in which we engage on behalf of our respective agencies -- public information, fact-finding, community relations, inter-religious activity, consultative services, assistance to victims of pressure or reprisal, etc.

IX. ADDITIONAL TOPICS AND REPORTS

(a) Bill Shannon explained the program of the Encampment for Citizenship to the group. It was announced that scholarships are available through the Southern Regional Council.

(b) It was announced that the National Director of Inter-racial Services of the Boy Scouts of America had visited the SRC. He is Mr. Ray Sweazey of New Brunswick, New Jersey. The group approved his being invited to meetings of the Southern Interagency Conference.

(c) H. Milton Patton of the UCYM reported on the community evaluation projects being done by this group using as an example the Houston, Texas, project. His address is 257 - 4th Avenue, New York 10, New York.

(d) There was discussion concerning a statement attributed to Dr. Hanna in the February issue of Southern School News with the suggestion that persons or agencies write him concerning this statement in which he equated the NAACP and Citizens Councils as extremes.

X. NEXT MEETING

Paul Rilling was selected as chairman of the next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference which will be convened in Atlanta on May 27-28, 1958.

January 15, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Here is a copy of a memorandum describing a proposed fact-finding project in which, it is hoped, a number of organizations will cooperate -- at least financially. I think the project will go ahead, whatever the response of the other agencies. Once it is set, I will be in touch to see if you're available for a temporary stint as "project personnel." There is little doubt that the effort will be carried on out of SRC's office. (Since we're also about to get more space in this building, working conditions should be better.)

Tell Ben I did what I could to assist Mr. and Mrs. Tanetani. They seemed very pleasant and intelligent folks.

The best to you both.

Sincerely,

Harold G. Fleming
Executive Director

HGF/mf
Enclosure - Fact-Finding Memorandum

RECEIVED JAN 29 1958

N. A. A. C. P.

LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.

107 West 43rd Street, New York 36, N. Y.

SUITE 1790
10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE
NEW YORK 19, N. Y.
JUdson 6-8397

January 28, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have your memorandum of January 13th concerning a proposed fact find project. Although I have attended a couple of inter-agency meetings, I believe that implementation of your proposal can best be effected by the N.A.A.C.P. and I am referring the matter to Dr. Morsell of that organization.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

Jack Greenberg
Assistant Counsel

Rec'd 2/6/58

PA

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

February 5, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I like the proposal for the fact-finding project. I think we will want to participate but I am not in position to say that we have money to put into this. It is the kind of project for which funds can be found and the best we can say is that we will promise to look for special sources to finance AFSC participation in the project.

I assume that you are not asking at this stage for a firm commitment. If this reply does not suffice until we meet in Atlanta, let me know pronto.

Looking forward to seeing you.

Warm regards,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:cs

The Christian Life Commission
OF THE SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION
161 EIGHTH AVENUE, NORTH
NASHVILLE 3, TENNESSEE

A. C. MILLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 5, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I am late in responding to your memorandum of January 13. This is a timely project and one to which we must devote our best. I only wish I had been present at the meeting to give it my full support and to urge in every way possible that we give our attention to this project with devoted zeal and determination.

In spite of my enthusiasm over the prospects of such a statement, I must confess that I am a little concerned about basing the report on news incidents. I could wish there would be some way of getting behind the news story and confirming the facts on a more authentic basis. At the same time I do not have as much experience in this field as some of you have.

I shall be glad to have a word from you on the progress of this undertaking.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. Miller

A. C. Miller

ACM/jn

February 10, 1958

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director
Division of Christian Life and Work
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches in the USA
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

Many thanks for your letter of February 6 advising me that you are prepared to recommend a contribution of $300 to the proposed joint fact-finding project. This is very welcome news.

file

We should know pretty well where we stand by the time of the Southern interagency meeting of February 25th and 26th. We can then take stock of the number of agencies that have indicated a willingness to participate and decide whether the project is feasible. I am hopeful that a sufficient number will come in to make the pro rata share of finances a modest one for all.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

bc: Mr. Will D. Campbell

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK
DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

297 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • TELEPHONE ORegon 4-5000

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General Secretary

R. H. EDWIN ESPY
Associate General Secretary

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Executive Director

ALFRED S. KRAMER
Associate Executive Director

WILL D. CAMPBELL
Associate Executive Director

GENEVA R. JONES
Administrative Assistant

February 6, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have your memorandum to the organizations participating in Southern Interagency Activities of CCD regarding the proposed cooperative fact-finding project on violence, intimidation and reprisals. I have conferred with Will Campbell regarding this matter and we are prepared to recommend to our General Committee, when it meets March 13th and 14th, that we make a contribution of $300 to the project. In connection with informing the Committee I should like to use your memorandum of January 13th to circulate among them for purposes of information. I hope this is agreeable with you.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director

JOL:g

YWCA

Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America
National Board

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y. PLAZA 3-4700 CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

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Mrs. William S. Blair
Assistant Treasurer

Savilla Millis Simons
General Secretary

February 13, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 43, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is in reply to your memorandum of January 13 concerning the proposed cooperative fact-finding project on violence, intimidation and reprisals. The YWCA appreciates very much being asked to participate in this project, but after giving it careful consideration we feel that it is not practical for the YWCA to participate according to the plan you have outlined. The YWCA of course is engaged in several cooperative undertakings relative to the interracial situation.

You will be interested to know that the National Board of the YWCA several months ago wrote to President Eisenhower, strongly supporting the Commission on Civil Rights. As an organization it is our intention to give whatever direct help we can to the Commission.

We are interested in the project you are undertaking and will be glad to see the report when it is finished. We understand that the form it takes will depend on the circumstances at the time of its completion.

Sincerely yours,

Savilla Simons

Mrs. Savilla Millis Simons
General Secretary

To build a fellowship of women and girls devoted to the task of realizing in our common life those ideals of personal and social living to which we are committed by our faith as Christians . . . .

From the Purpose of the YWCA

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
20 WEST 40th STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LOngacre 3-6890

February 18, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Sorry to be so long in responding to your memorandum of January 13 regarding the proposed cooperative fact-finding project.

This is to advise that we are greatly interested in such a project and would be willing to bear our share of the cost.

Please keep us informed if it materializes.

Cordially,

John

John A. Morsell
Assistant to the
Executive Secretary

JAM:erb

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

February 21, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is in response to your memorandum of January 13, 1958 sent to organizations participating in the Southern Interagency Activities of CCD requesting their cooperation in the anticipated project "Proposed Cooperative Fact-Finding Project on Violence, Intimidation, and Reprisals."

My first reaction is that I am certain this will be the kind of project in which our Organization will want to participate. In your memorandum you did not indicate what the allocation of cost per organization would be. So, at the outset I should like to advise that the UAW will participate in this project providing such costs are not prohibited.

I look forward to hearing from you with respect to the matter.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

Bill

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW.

WHO:os
oeiu42aflcio
cc- Roy Reuther

Rec'd 2/25/58

Women's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH
SOUTHEASTERN JURISDICTION

MRS. ROBERT L. WILCOX
Secretary Christian Social Relations
2205 OLD KNOXVILLE HIGHWAY
LINCOLN PARK, MARYVILLE, TENN.

February 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

So sorry due to a battle with "flu" I will be unable to attend the meeting of Southern Agencies working in the South for better race relations. I trust that Mrs. H. B. Trimble or Mrs. Ralph T. Wilson will be present to represent the Methodist. Be assured of our interest and our willingness to cooperate as Methodists with the other agencies in the joint fact-finding effort.

The list of places for meetings of inter-racial groups will be mailed to your office in a few days.

Wishing for you a most worth-while meeting Feb. 25-26, 1958.

Sincerely yours,
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox

March 13, 1958

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director
Division of Christian Life and Work
National Council of Churches of Christ
in the USA
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

9 At the last Southern Interagency Conference the participants were pleased and encouraged by the news that the National Council of Churches of Christ has agreed to participate in the proposed joint fact-finding project on violence, intimidation, and reprisals.

Seven organizations have now definitely committed themselves, and four more have advised us that they still have the proposal under consideration and will very possibly want to be included. The organizations that have definitely accepted are: The American Friends Service Committee, ADL, AJC, NAACP, UAW, The National Council of Churches of Christ, and SRC. On the basis of these commitments, we can now set the pro rata figure of $500 per agency as the maximum that will be required for the project. If the project turns out to be less expensive than we anticipated, or if further acceptances lower the pro rata amount, any surplus will be returned.

The steering committee for the project - drawn mainly from Atlanta based staff members of participating agencies - will be meeting shortly to select

a project director and get the effort under way. Meanwhile, if it is convenient for you to send me a check for your agency's share of the financing, we will be able to get the project under way that much more quickly. The check may be made out to the Southern Regional Council, with the special purpose designated.

We will see that you are kept informed of the progress of the project each step of the way.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Will D. Campbell

P. S. We are mindful that the amount which you expect to be able to contribute is $300, and this is perfectly satisfactory with all concerned. In fact, it may turn out that the contribution for each of the other agencies need be little larger than that, if at all.

H. C. F.

March 13, 1958

Dr. M. L. King, Sr.
193 Boulevard Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. King:

At the last Southern Interagency Conference, you expressed some interest, on behalf of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, in cooperating financially in the proposed joint fact-finding project on violence, intimidation, and reprisals.

I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum describing the project and a letter just sent to all of the agencies that have agreed to come in on it.

If, on the basis of this information, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference feels that it can contribute, we will all be very pleased.

It was good to have you with us at the meeting.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2

March 13, 1958

Mr. Louis Joughin
Assistant Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Joughin:

I recall our conversation at the time of the Southern Interagency Conference about your not having seen the memorandum proposing a joint fact-finding project on violence, intimidation, and reprisals. Enclosed is a copy of it. So far, seven agencies have definitely committed themselves, and we have set the pro rata share of the financies at not more than $500.00

We also checked our records of mailings to ACLU and found that minutes of all meetings have been sent to Pat Malin. We did find, however, that the fact-finding proposal was sent to Al Reitman, because of his special concern with publicity and publications. Perhaps this is why there was a failure of communication on the matter.

Needless to say, if ACLU feels that it can come in on the project, we would all be most pleased.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. - 1

March 13, 1958

Mr. H. B. Sissel
Associate Secretary
The Board of Christian Education of the
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
830 Witherspoon Building
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ben:

A letter like the enclosed to Barbara Moffett has gone to each of the agencies that has definitely agreed to chip in on the joint fact-finding project. We were encouraged by your comment at the Southern Interagency Conference indicating that there is a good chance of your organization coming in. I will look forward hopefully for further word from you.

That was a good letter you wrote to Dr. Blake about the proposed inter-religious conference. As I suppose you have heard too, a meeting of the CCD Mass Media Committee has been scheduled for March 26. The latest word I had from Will Campbell is that he expected to be present to see what support for the conference could be drummed up. It is an awkward time for me, but if I can make it I will do what I can to push the matter along.

All best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

Same Ltr sent to:
Mr. John Morsell, NAACP - cc: Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Mr. William Oliver, UAW -
Mr. Oscar Cohen, ADL - cc: Mr. Alex. Miller and Art Levin

March 13, 1958

Miss Barbara Moffett
American Friends Service Committee
Secretary - Community Relations Program
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

At the last Southern Interagency Conference the participants were pleased and encouraged by the news that the American Friends Service Committee has agreed to participate in the proposed joint fact-finding project on violence, intimidation, and reprisals.

Seven organizations have now definitely committed themselves, and four more have advised us that they still have the proposal under consideration and will very possibly want to be included. The organizations that have definitely accepted are: The American Friends Service Committee, ADL, AJC, NAACP, UAW, The National Council of Churches, and SRC. On the basis of these commitments, we can now set the pro rata figure of $500 per agency as the maximum that will be required for the project. If the project turns out to be less expensive than we anticipated, or if further acceptances lower the pro rata amount, any surplus will be returned.

The steering committee for the project - drawn mainly from Atlanta based staff members of participating agencies - will be meeting shortly to select

a project director and get the effort under way. Meanwhile, if it is convenient for you to send me a check for your agency's share of the financing, we will be able to get the project underway that much more quickly. The check may be made out to the Southern Regional Council, with the special purpose designated.

We will see that you are kept informed of the progress of the project each step of the way.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Tartt Bell

March 14, 1958

Mr. Edwin Lukas
Director
Department of National Affairs
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

At the last Southern Interagency Conference the participants were pleased and encouraged by the news that the American Jewish Committee has agreed to participate in the proposed joint fact-finding project on violence, intimidation, and reprisals.

Seven organizations have now definitely committed themselves, and four more have advised us that they still have the proposal under consideration and will very possibly want to be included. The organizations that have definitely accepted are: The American Friends Service Committee, ADL, AJC, NAACP, UAW, The National Council of Churches of Christ, and SRC. On the basis of these commitments, we can now set the pro rata figure of $500 per agency as the maximum that will be required for the project. If the project turns out to be less expensive than we anticipated, or if further acceptances lower the pro rata amount, any surplus will be returned.

The steering committee for the project - drawn mainly from Atlanta based staff members of participating agencies - will be meeting shortly to select

a project director and get the effort under way. Meanwhile, if it is convenient for you to send me a check for your agency's share of the financing, we will be able to get the project under way that much more quickly. The check may be made out to the Southern Regional Council, with the special purpose designated.

We will see that you are kept informed of the progress of the project each step of the way.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Samuel Lubin

P. S. I am mindful that the amount which AJC will contribute is not yet determined. Of course, we are hoping for the full $500, but a lesser amount would not alter the plans in any way.

H.C.F.

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Executive Assistant

March 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter with regard to the joint fact-finding project on violence, etc.

We are happy to be aboard and will send you a check for $500 as soon as it can be processed.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms
cc: Arthur Levin

April 3, 1958

Mr. Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
515 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Oscar:

This is to acknowledge with thanks your check for $500.00 representing the ADL's proportionate share in the joint fact-finding project. As you know, Art Levin is one of five members of the steering committee for this project. We will keep you fully informed of the progress of the effort.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

R. 4/3/58

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

of B'nai B'rith

515 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, N. Y., PLaza 1-1800

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Community Service

J. HAROLD SAKS
Administration

LESTER J. WALDMAN
Executive Assistant

April 1, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is our check for $500 in accordance with our agreement to support the research project involving study of violations of civil liberties in the South. Please keep us advised.

rhm 4/3/58

Regards.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

Oscar Cohen

OC:ms
cc: Arthur Levin
Alexander Miller

VIA AIR MAIL April 11, 1958

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter assuring us that the AJC's contribution to the budget of the Project will be at least $250.00.

We will be sending progress reports periodically, and of course Sam Lubin is one of the four staffers on the project steering committee responsible for overall direction.

I am glad to be able to report now that a project person has been secured and is already at work. She is Mrs. Margaret Price, an experienced newspaper woman who has done several similar jobs for SRC - notably the voting study of 1956. Mrs. Price has begun setting up a card fil of incidents, starting with SRC's fairly voluminous clipping files. The plan is for her to make a similar canvass of the other organizational files, as well as those of Southern School News in Nashville. After that, it will be largely a matter of filling in the gaps, screening the incidents selected, and working out the form of the first draft of the report. The steering committee will meet again Monday, at which time we will review progress to date, questions that have arisen, and next steps

in the project. At that time we will discuss with Sam the best way for AJC's materials and resources to be tapped.

Of course, once we have a draft report, everybody concerned will have ample opportunity to submit their thinking on form, content, and uses to be made of the findings.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

check - hasn't he had
ltr on proj-dir. etc.?

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

April 2, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

At the moment, I am in position to assure you of the sum of $250 as a contribution to the budget of the fact-finding project. This, of course, in addition to the resources and data we hope to be able to offer to the enterprise.

It is possible, though I will not go so far as to suggest that you count on it in these days of shrinking budgets for us, that if the project runs into difficulties later on, we may be able to dig up a little more money.

Do let me hear from you about the project -- whether a project director has been found, and what processes will be established for the assembling of the materials, their screening, their arrangement, etc., etc.

As always, my warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

H.C.F.

April 15, 1958

MINUTES OF MEETING OF STEERING COMMITTEE OF SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE, JOINT FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE held at the Southern Regional Council, April 14, 1958.

Present were: Committee members Sam Lubin, American Jewish Committee; Art Levin, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; and Mrs. Margaret Price, project research person, and John Constable, Southern Regional Council.

Committee members agreed that purpose of project is to document cases of violence, intimidation, and reprisals related to the race relation climate in the South today in the wake of the Supreme Court decision. It was further agreed that the report is being prepared with a view toward publicizing it in some form. It was also agreed that the finished report will probably be sent to the Civil Rights Commission, the Justice Department, and the Library of Congress as a matter of form.

The states in which the report will be concerned are Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas.

The report is being divided into three separate categories, reprisals, violence, intimidation, with subheads under the three categories.

Points decided by committee include:

1. Violence by Negroes against whites to be included.
2. Juvenile cases to be used only when clearly race-connected.
3. Rape cases will not be included in report.
4. No police brutality cases are to be included unless ~~it~~ they resulted in an indictment.
5. All cases of brutality where person or persons involved were indicted are to be included.
6. Cases where city officials cooperated in WCC, KKK, and other rallies and cross burnings are to be included.
7. Cases where city officials refused to cooperate with KKK and like groups are to be included.
8. Cases of unjust court sentences when they are not connected with violence are not to be included.
9. No cases of legislative reprisals and intimidations are to be included.
10. The final report will include both narrative reporting and listing of cases.
11. Key to sources to be decided by Mrs. Price.
12. Controversial cases to be reviewed by members and decided on individual merit.

The time factor the report will include is to be from January, 1955, to the present. This was decided on the basis that the White Citizens' Councils experienced their biggest boom in 1955.

Mrs. Price is to research the newspaper files at the Southern Education Reporting Service in Nashville, Tenn., following her check of files in Atlanta of the cooperating agencies.

Harold Fleming will confirm next committee meeting.

cc. Ref

April 16, 1958

Mr. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

My apologies for getting so far behind in our correspondence. I will try to catch up by covering a couple of matters in this one letter.

First of all, thanks for your letter of April 10, which was intended to transmit the first half of AFSC's share to the fact-finding project. I say "intended" because the check somehow failed to get itself enclosed. This happens to us ever so often, and it is standard practice for us to blame the inanimate object. As to the second half, we will worry not. With all those rich Quakers AFSC has on the string, $250 will give thee no trouble at all.

We now have the following amounts in hand:

ADL	$500
NAACP	500
UAW	250

The others have sent warm assurances of early remittances.

The project is well under way. I am enclosing the rough notes on the meeting of the Steering Committee held on Monday, as part of my continuing effort to keep you informed. If at any point you have reservations about the procedure or want further explanation, don't hesitate to let me know.

I am sorry to say that I have not yet had a chance to read the draft statement on race relations, but I hope to get you a reaction shortly. Meanwhile, I want you to know that we have considered around here the question of university presses. I wasn't able to collect any further ideas of sufficient note to warrant further communication. In fact, I believe the ideas we cooked up on the telephone are as good as anything I was able to uncover. If you want to let me know what efforts you make and what the results are, I will be glad to continue to ponder the question with you.

As to the legal aid idea, I must report that there wasn't even a decent funeral accorded it in New York. You will have heard something of this from Mike Yarrow, I am sure. There was sort of a vague understanding that CCD was to see what could be worked out with the appropriate agencies, but there was no receptivity at all for the kind of full blown services we had in mind.

As a further dismal note, I am enclosing a copy of a letter that I have just written to Rowland Watts. It seems we can't even get the services that ACLU is thought to offer routinely. I am sending a copy of this to Mike Yarrow with the thought that "Rights of Conscience" may be able to give some help if that situation blows up.

The best as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encl. Ltr. to Rowland Watts - dtd. 4/16/58
Minutes of Steering Committee Mtg. on Fact-Finding Proj.

Rcd 4/11/58

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
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Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

April 10, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is our check for $250.00 for the Fact-Finding Project. I trust this indicates we are with you. I have no serious reservations about the outline of the project as you have presented it. I hope and trust we can come out with some results that will shoot another big hole in the ancient argument that the South knows how to handle its race relations problems and if just let alone will iron things out smoothly.

If your arithmetic is clicking today - and I strongly suspect it is, as usual - you will note that this leaves you $250.00 short of the AFSC's commitment. But don't get worried. Sister Moffett in Philadelphia is loaded with dough and will soon send you some kind of gilt edged security for the remaining $250.00. Our agreement is that we would each try to "find" half of the total commitment of $500.00.

You are now free to call Art, Sam, and Ruby any time within the next fifteen minutes to let them know they are delinquent and we are all ready to get the project underway as soon as their funds are in your pocket.

I am awaiting your description of the funeral of our legal aid project which you attended in New York a few days ago.

Warm regards and best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:cs

cc: Jean Fairfax
Barbara Moffett
Earle Edwards

No check was enclosed mf 4/11/58

VIA AIR MAIL

April 16, 1958

Mr. William H. Oliver
Co-Director
Fair Practices & Anti-Discrimination Dept.
U. A. W.
Solidarity House
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Bill:

This is to acknowledge with thanks the check for $250 for the fact-finding project. We understand that the second and final installment will be forthcoming.

The project is making good progress. Mrs. Margaret Price has been engaged as the project person and has been on the job now for a little over a week. The agencies' steering committee is meeting frequently to give overall direction to the work. We should have a draft report ready within the next couple of months. Meanwhile, I will keep you posted.

With best wishes to you and your associates.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

April 4, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Re: Fact-Finding Project on Violence and Intimidation

Dear Harold:

CR 4/8/58

Pursuant to our earlier correspondence, I am transmitting herewith our Check No. 05081 in the amount of $250 as our first installment on the above referred to project. As the project progresses, we will transmit the remainder of our commitment.

Our best wishes to you in this endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

William H. Oliver

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices & Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW.

WHO:ws
oeiu42

Encl.

cc- Emil Mazey
Roy Reuther

Rcd 4/26/58

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LOrain 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

April 24, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of April 16, 1958. We were, of course, pleased to have the opportunity to participate in the fact-finding project and shall look forward to the draft report which you mentioned.

Kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Bill

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices & Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW

WHO:jm
oeiu42

99

MINUTES

April 21, 1958

MEETING OF THE SPECIAL FACT-FINDING COMMITTEE OF THE SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY ORGANIZATION

Present were steering committee members Mrs. Ruby Hurley, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Mr. Sam Lubin, American Jewish Committee; and Mr. Harold Fleming, Southern Regional Council; and Mrs. Margaret Price, researcher for project; and John Constable, Southern Regional Council.

Mr. Fleming reviewed previous steering committee meeting.

Mrs. Price told of her progress. At the time, she had nearly completed her search of files at SRC. She said that she had scanned the complete file of Southern School News and had checked with Pat McCauley of Southern School News by telephone to determine if any additional material of value might be obtained through a trip to the Southern School News headquarters in Nashville. Committee members concluded that a trip to Nashville by Mrs. Price was unnecessary in view of the material already available from the Atlanta files.

Mr. Lubin said his New York office had offered its newspaper files for perusal, but it was also decided that little would be turned up there that would not be included in files present in Atlanta.

Committee members decided to differentiate between reprisal boycotts and boycotts such as the bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. It was decided that the Montgomery, Tallahassee, and Rock Hill boycotts should be treated in the text as background material for cases of violence, intimidation, and reprisals which occured during and following the actual boycotts.

The group decided to mention the names of products involved in boycotts where the identity of the product has been definitely established.

It was decided to include voting reprisals in project.

It was reaffirmed that legislative reprisals would not be included in this report but suggested that this might be a subject for consideration as a possible follow-up.

It was reaffirmed that press authenication is a prerequisite for a case's inclusion in the report.

Individual cases were discussed and disposition decided.

Mrs. Price checked files provided by Mrs. Hurley, retaining some for further checking.

It was decided that Mrs. Price also would check Anti-Defamation League files in Atlanta before concluding project.

April 25, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Here are the latest communications on the report, clippings from Alabama, and the South Carolina card speaks for itself.

Incidentally my private duty nurse has the mumps and so you might say I have double exposure, both mumps and measles now. Bill is fit to be tied.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

Encls.

P.S. You should have stayed down, the Field Foundation just gave us $10,000 for the continued survey on voting.

Thursday, May 1

Dear John:

Would you please tell Ruth that the card file arrived last Saturday--only a day and a half after mailing, a new record for the P.O. Also, the envelope came yesterday, so will you please thank her for me and tell her I'll drop her a note as soon as I dig out from under?

Also, I want to thank you and Bill for all the rides--and about this I'll write again later, too. While I'm passing along thanks--the Alabama clip arrived and Bob Hughes called yesterday to say he's sending me the first batch of additional clippings and more will come next week. I'll send them down to you when I wade through.

You might want to announce at the next staff meeting that the current survey already has received its first publicity. While I was gone, a neighbor dropped in one morning for coffee with Bem. He didn't know at the time she is the correspondent for the local weekly, but soon figured it out when the following item appeared in the Providence Journal:

> "Mrs. Margaret Price, wife of Bem Price, the Associated Press correspondent, is in Atlanta, where she is doing a survey on Southern violets."

I've always told Bem he didn't enunciate clearly enough to be understood up here in Yankee-land.

Margaret Price

May 8, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Here is another item for your "violet" survey. Have missed you.

Sincerely,

John Constable

JC:lec

Encl. (Clipping from Atlanta Daily World 5-8-58)

Violence 2)

Sunday, May 11

Harold--

There are a few additional items on which I'm doing a little more checking and will send along soon. There are three or four others I'll write to you about, hoping someone on the committee can shed some light. Meanwhile, do you have any idea on how we could check the outcome of the attached?

Bob Hughes sent quite a few clippings, but most the SRC already had. I'll send John a few for copying before forwarding to Hughes. The rest I'll send to Birmimgham, along with a note asking for the outcome of one or two cases there.

I made May 1 the cut-off, so that we don't keep adding and having to change totalxs in the text. However, I've started an additional list (which includes the firing of the white professors at the Negro college in S.C.) and perhaps by the end of the month or when the thing is ready for the printers I can add the latest incidents at the last minute.

You'll note I made a couple of marginal checks, hoping that Marge perhaps could supply missing dates. In both instances the items came from SRC files and the dates were omxitted on my cards through my own carelessness.

--Margaret

It runs about 20,000 words

Approx 65 pages

Bem Sup Call him at AP or ADL.

Clipping from Chattanooga Times 5-9-58, "Policeman Booked on Murder Count in Boy's Shooting"

May 12, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Here is another clipping for your file.

Sincerely,

Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to the
Director of Information

/lec
Encl.

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM May 16, 1958

To: Agencies Participating in the Joint Fact-Finding Project

From: Harold C. Fleming

Re: TRANSMITTAL OF ROUGH DRAFT OF FINDINGS.

Our temporary project person, Mrs. Margaret Price, has completed the main research on specific instances of violence, intimidation, and reprisals in the South, as reported by the press since January 1955. Her work has been guided by the steering committee provided for in the original memorandum inviting agencies to cooperate in the project.

As you will see, this is indeed a rough draft, since, in the interest of speed, Mrs. Price's manuscript was mimeographed exactly as received. We are sending it out as quickly as possible in the hope that your representative at the Southern interagency conference of May 27-28 can convey your agency's reactions. If your agency won't be represented, please do your best to give us your criticisms and suggestions before the 27th.

We are not now concerned about typographical errors, spelling, punctuation, or obvious discrepancies, since the manuscript will be carefully proofed and edited in due course. But we do need at this point everybody's views on substantive questions of content and form. No doubt we will want to redraft the introductory material in a way that will more effectively summarize the specific findings.

The recent bombings and attempted bombings give the report special timeliness. We feel that justifies our asking your cooperation on this "crash" schedule.

Best regards.

- : -

Sent to: Art Levin, Oscar Cohen, Sam Lubin, Ruby Hurley (2 copies) Tartt Bell, Barbara Moffett, William Oliver, Will Campbell, J. Oscar Lee and Edwin Lukas. Also Seymour Samet - 5/9/58
" Ralph Watkins - 5/31/58

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

TO: RHA

RE: Postage for mailing Fact-Finding Reports
May 16, 1958

6 air mail specials @ $1.20 each	$7.20
1 regular mail	.64
1 special delivery	.79
Total:	$8.63

5/19/58
1 air mail Special 1.20
Total $9.83

5/20/58 1 report to Margaret Price .48

5/21/58 1 report to Kay Wilkey 1.20
11.51

2250.00
1010.44
1239.56
1250.00

fact. d.

May 16, 1958

Miss Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program
American Friends Service Committee
20 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Barbara:

Thanks for your remittance of the national office's half of AFSC's commitment to the Joint Fact-Finding Project. Despite Tartt's blithe assurance that you are dough-laden, I noticed the tear-stains on the check.

The project is rapidly approaching completion. Enclosed is a rough draft of the findings, prepared by our researcher, Margaret Price. We are sending it our "raw" to all the participating agencies, in the hope that we can put our respective reactions together at the interagency conference of May 27-28. The report will be carefully checked and edited, of course, and I should think that Margaret's introductory material should be rewritten in a more factual and restrained style.

The recent demolitions have made the project very timely. The steering committee hopes that we can get the report in final form, work out the

details of release, and issue it as soon as possible. I hope this "crash" schedule will give you time to communicate with Tartt before the interagency meeting.

All the best to the Community Relations staff.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Draft of Fact-Finding Project Report)

cc: Mr. Tartt Bell

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

May 13, 1958

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Tartt Bell's gay and witty letter of early April about the AFSC's commitment of $500 to the Fact-Finding Project is before me and reminds me of our debt. All I can say to account for the good humor with which Tartt parted with his $250 and for the confidence with which he looked toward the "dough-laden" national office of the Community Relations Program for the matching sum is that his was a pre-budget-drawing-time letter and mine is "post"!

Despite the depressing days in which it is done, the $250 enclosed is sent with great enthusiasm. The project can do something important and we are for it 100 per cent. I hope that at the meeting in Atlanta later this month details can be worked out and that we'll be receiving reports from our attenders that the project is on the way. If there is anything else we can do to forward it, please let us know.

CR
250.00
RHA
5/16/58

Cordially,

Barbara Moffett

Barbara W. Moffett
Secretary
Community Relations Program

BWM:bs
Enclosure

cc: Jean Fairfax
Tartt Bell

May 20, 1958

Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

Enclosed is the first draft of your report. Thought you'd like to see it. This draft is now being circulated to the participating agencies.

Harold plans to write. For the moment, however, he's at home - knocked out with a stomach virus.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

IRVING M. ENGEL, *President*
RALPH E. SAMUEL, *Chairman, Executive Board*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *Chairman, Administrative Board*
WILLIAM ROSENWALD, *Chm., Nat'l Advisory Council*
MAURICE GLINERT, *Treasurer*
ARTHUR D. LEIDESDORF, *Associate Treasurer*
JULIUS S. LOEWENTHAL, *Secretary*
JOHN SLAWSON, *Executive Vice-President*

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JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER, *Honorary President*
HERBERT H. LEHMAN, *Honorary Vice-President*
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LESLIE L. JACOBS, *Dallas, Vice-President*
J. M. KAPLAN, *New York, Vice-President*
BARON deHIRSCH MEYER, *Miami, Vice-President*
SOL SATINSKY, *Philadelphia, Vice-President*
A. M. SONNABEND, *Boston, Vice-President*

May 21, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The rough draft of the findings in the Joint Fact-finding Project arrived a few days ago, and has already been given a once-over.

Harry Fleischman will dip into it even more deeply, before coming to your next Interagency meeting on the 27th, at which time he will bring with him our criticisms and suggestions.

My best to you.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
FOR
THE SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE JOINT
FACT-FINDING PROJECT

MAY 26, 1958i

INCOME*

Anti-Defamation League	$ 500.00		
American Friends Service Committee	500.00		
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	500.00		
Southern Regional Council	500.00		
United Automobile Workers	250.00		
Total Income			$ 2,250.00

EXPENSE

Salary	693.00		
Travel expenses	204.35		
Clerk-typist	55.90		
Social Security Tax	9.75	$ 963.00	
Other expense (SRC to be reimbursed):			
Stencils (87 @ 15¢)	13.05		
Mimeograph Paper (6rms. @ $1.44)	8.64		
Mimeographing Draft (12 hrs. @ $1.00)	12.00		
Postage	11.51	- Thru. 5/21/58	
Telephone and Telegraph	2.30	47.50	
Total Expense			$ 1,010.50

BALANCE, MAY 26,1958 $ 1,239.50

*Due from Participating Organizations

National Council of Churches	$ 300.00
U. A. W. (Balance)	250.00
American Jewish Committee	Unspecified

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
FOR
THE SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE JOINT
FACT-FINDING PROJECT

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Mimeograph Paper (6rms. @ $1.44)	8.64		
Mimeographing Draft (12 hrs. @ $1.00)	12.00		
Postage	~~9.83~~ 11.51		
Telephone and Telegraph	2.30	~~45.82~~ 47.50	
Total Expense			~~$ 1,008.82~~ 1,010.50
BALANCE, MAY 26, 1958			$ 1,241.18 1,239.50

* Due from Participating Organizations

National Council of Churches	$ 300.00
U.A.W. (balance)	250.00
American Jewish Committee	Unspecified

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
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THE SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE JOINT
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National Council of Churches	$ 300.00
U. A. W. (Balance)	250.00
American Jewish Committee	~~Unspecified~~ 250.00
	800.00

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE

Date May 29, 1958

To: Harold Fleming

From: Tartt Bell

Subject: Fact-finding Publication

We have a national Board meeting scheduled for Wednesday, June 4, and an executive committee session of our regional office on June 7. These will be the two hurdles we will need to clear before we can give you a final word on our ability to release the fact-finding survey in the AFSC's name. My personal feeling at this time is that we actually do not need any clearance from the national Board and that we are highly likely to receive easy acceptance by our executive committee. I shall try diligently to resist giving the executive committee the opportunity to do any editing - for this is one problem that's obviously involved. If things go as I anticipate, I should be in position to give you an answer on Monday, June 9.

Could you scrounge six copies and send them to me pronto.

BTB:cs

5 copies sent -- six were not available.
H. F.

Postage $2.64 June 2, 1958

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

POSTAGE FOR FACT-FINDING PROJECT

June 2, 1958

5 copies of report mailed to Tartt Bell, AFSC, High Point, North Carolina.

Total: $2.64

File Harold Fleming

June 5, 1958

Tartt Bell

Barbara Moffett Barbara

THE JOINT FACT FINDING PROJECT

We have had a chance to put the proposal that the inter-agency fact finding project bear only the imprint of the AFSC -- specifically, the Southeastern Regional Office of the AFSC -- before several key people and last night before the Community Relations Committee as a part of a larger report on Atlanta Friends and various parts of the "confederate" CCD sessions which might suggest some action from us. As a result, we have some reactions and suggestions to share with you and your Executive Committee.

Obviously the points made in favor of publication with our imprint included the enthusiasm you feel for this line of action and the judgment of other organizations that ours would be a helpful imprint. The importance of the document, no matter whose imprint it bears, was also clearly recognized.

Weighing against the use of our name alone in its publication were such factors as: our usual caution in the publishing field heightened when considering a case in which we have not had clear responsibility for the project with publication under our name in mind from the start; the possible impact of this project on the hoped-for publication of our own Working Party document which has a clear priority over anything to be printed by us in the race relations field (the University of Oklahoma Press is much interested); the fact that most Quaker by-lined publications speak from our own direct experience; and lastly, the particularly Quaker-based apprehension over publishing a document, no matter how shocking, absorbing and necessary, that gives only the negative side of a story without the balance of the positive steps which have been taken.

As you can see, these do not add up to basic criticism of the document or its importance; they are questions relating to the document over an AFSC imprint alone, thus making it necessary to consider it as a major AFSC effort in a field into which we do not venture often.

There were several expressions at our Committee meeting of the real value of having all the sponsors of the research project listed. It seems so valuable to say to the world -- and to each other, perhaps, as colleagues in the field -- that we stand together in our desire to place these facts before people in strategic places. We know of the reasoning behind choosing the most acceptable imprint public relations-wise and we're realistic enough, I think, to make decisions on this basis along with other considerations of more importance from time to time. But, we really need to pass along this strong positive reaction to the possibility of having all who sponsored the project list their names on it. (This morning Jean has raised the interesting possibility of having the document signed by individuals in the sponsoring organizations. What about this?)

The Community Relations Committee asked that their reactions be passed along to you promptly in view of your Saturday Executive Committee meeting. They feel that it is hard to divorce the Southeastern Regional Office of the AFSC in particular and the AFSC in general and thus want to express themselves in this matter. They are aware that our judgments may differ on this project and will be anxious to hear of the opinion of the Southeastern Regional Office Executive Committee.

BWM:bs

cc: Lewis Hoskins
Earle Edwards
Steve Cary
Jean Fairfax
Harold Fleming

File

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

June 9, 1958

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold Fleming:

Tartt is away from the office this week - vacationing at the coast. Before he left, he asked me to write to you that at their meeting on Saturday, June 7, the executive committee tentatively approved the publication of the fact-finding document. A preface will have to be written and cleared with the inter-agency group.

Next week Tartt will write to you more fully about this.

Sincerely yours,

Corinne Shore

Corinne Shore
Secretary to Tartt Bell

cs

June 10, 1958

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director
Division of Christian Life and Work
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches, U.S.A.
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

This is belated but grateful acknowledgement of your recent letter on the joint fact-finding report.

The draft report and the various reactions to it were discussed by representatives of the organizations involved in the recent Southern Interagency Conference. A plan of revision was agreed upon and various assignments were handed out. We are presently marking time until these assignments are completed, but I will shortly be writing you again, hopefully, with a revised draft embodying the changes agreed upon.

Your point about voting discrimination is a good one. The interagency steering committee felt that certainly the implication of these findings for the field of voting should be pointed out, but they also recall that the purpose of the study was basically to document violence, intimidation and reprisals rather than concentrate on voting discrimination as such. There was full

agreement that further studies were needed, whether cooperative or by individual agencies to document further the record of disfranchisement.

We will also be in touch with Will as the project moves toward conclusion.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK
DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

297 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • TELEPHONE ORegon 4-5000

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President

REV. ROY G. ROSS
General Secretary

R. H. EDWIN ESPY
Associate General Secretary

CHARLES E. WILSON
Treasurer

Officers of the Department

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Recording Secretary

J. OSCAR LEE
Executive Director

ALFRED S. KRAMER
Associate Executive Director

WILL D. CAMPBELL
Associate Executive Director

GENEVA R. JONES
Administrative Assistant

May 29, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have read the rough draft of the Joint Fact-Finding Report with a great deal of interest. I regret that it was not possible for me to get to it before the 27th so that my comments may be late.

First, let me say that I think overall the report is an excellent one and it is very well presented. However, it is my impression from contacts in Washington, that the Civil Rights Commission will be dealing primarily with the right to vote. I agree with many other people that the Commission ought to tackle the total problem of civil rights, however, if they limit their work to this specific area it would seem to me that the report ought to include more material about the denial of the right to vote and about the purging of voters lists which have occurred in many counties in the South. For instance, reliable information has come to this office that a number of names of Negroes have been taken off the voters list in Jefferson Davis County, Mississippi. This is particularly interesting, because for a long period of time consistent efforts have been made by Prentiss Institute to carry on citizenship education in order to get Negroes to vote. As a result of this program, it is our understanding that a substantial number of Negroes had registered to vote. It is reported that about 30% of the voting strength of the County was exercised by Negroes. Mr. A. L. Johnson of Prentiss Institute may be able to give you additional information about this matter.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. Oscar Lee

J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director

JOL:g

Atlanta, Georgia
July 21, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

An examination has been made of the books and records of the Southern Interagency Conference-Joint Fact-Finding Project for the six months ended June 30, 1958.

This report consists of the following:

EXHIBIT A - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

SCHEDULE 1 - Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Company

COMMENTS

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., acting as coordinator and secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference-Joint Fact-Finding Project, agreed to serve as custodian of funds for a joint fact-finding project on Intimidation and Violence. Exhibit A is a record of the receipts and disbursements of those funds for the six months ended June 30, 1958.

The receipts were traced to bank deposits and all disbursements were made by check. The bank balance was confirmed by correspondence with the depository.

Respectfully,

L E Campbell

L. E. Campbell, C.P.A.

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE--JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

January 1, 1958 to June 30, 1958

RECEIPTS*

Southern Regional Council, Inc.	$ 500.00	
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	500.00	
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	500.00	
United Automobile Workers of America	250.00	
American Friends Service Committee, Southeastern Regional Office	250.00	
American Friends Service Committee, National Office	250.00	
Total Receipts		$ 2,250.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Salary, Project Director	$ 693.00	
Salary, Special Clerical Assistant	55.90	
Travel	204.35	
Supplies	59.65	
Social Security Taxes	16.84	
Total Disbursements		$ 1,029.74
Balance, June 30, 1958		$ 1,220.26

*After the period of this audit, on July 7, the National Council of Churches, remitted $300 for this project.

EXHIBIT A

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE--JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

Reconciliation--Citizens Trust Company

June 30, 1958

Balance per Bank	$ 1,279.91
Less, Check Outstanding Number 4350	59.65
Balance per Books, June 30, 1958	$ 1,220.26

SCHEDULE 1

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

July 23, 1958

fact-finding project

Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This unhappy hour has been put off as long as possible. With considerable reluctance I have arrived at the decision that the AFSC is not in position to publish in its own name our fact-finding document. Personal consultation with Stephen Cary, head of our American Section, during his recent visit here indicates that the objections and questions on the minds of Philadelphia staff and Board members are too serious and weighty not to be taken into account. A good deal more is involved than I originally envisioned when we talked about our taking this project on.

Ultimately what has proved too high a barrier for us is the combination of problems arising from the relationship of this publication to our own forthcoming LIFT EVERY VOICE, the lack of "balance" in the fact-finding document, a reluctance to assume responsibility for what has been from its initiation an interagency project-and, perhaps, a pinch of the summer doldrums.

As you well know from our conversations of last week, I am thoroughly aware of the muddle this leaves us in. Do further reflections on our conversation indicate to you any new sense of direction or possible alternatives. As a first step I suppose I should communicate this decision to everybody concerned. At the same time I would certainly like to couple this with a creative suggestion of how we move forward from this point. Would it be beyond the pale to suggest our "buying out" the NAACP - both literally and figuratively - and then trying to secure interagency clearance for publication? I don't think this should be done however until we have put some real heat on the Jewish agencies to come through with full cooperation and publication under everybody's name. I know you are feeling pretty hopeless

about this prospect. With the passage of at least a few days is there any reason to suspect the answers might be different?

I will look forward to hearing from you.

Warm regards,

Tartt

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:cs

cc: Byron Haworth
Earle Edwards
Barbara Moffett
Jean Fairfax
Steve Cary

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
20 SOUTH TWELFTH ST., PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

Date August 4, 1958

To: Tartt Bell and Harold Fleming

From: Barbara Moffett Barbara

Subject: Fact Finding Project

We are anxious to hear what alternatives seem possible in the matter of publishing the fact finding document. Our difficult decision has certainly created problems. Last week in a conference with Lewis Hoskins, Steve Cary and Earle Edwards we were discussing the project and the group there felt that perhaps the most urgent piece of business was to get the document before the Commission on Civil Rights while the events reported in it were relatively up-to-date. As a matter of fact that was the suggestion of one member of the Community Relations Committee in June--namely that the most effective way of all to use this material was to type an original manuscript and present it as a specially prepared document to the Commission. Any publicity that we cared to build around that project might be a kick-off for wider circulation of the document if we can find a way to do that.

Jean Fairfax and I were just discussing the idea that we "buy out" the NAACP in order to secure interagency clearance for publication. We have a rather unhappy reaction to this and would not like to see it happen.

BWM/fy
cc: Byron Haworth
Lewis Hoskins
Earle Edwards
Steve Cary
Jean Fairfax

Discussed with them by telephone HF

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

Fact finding

August 7, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I was delighted to hear from Ed Lukas your news that the National Council of Churches will be willing to co-sponsor the fact-finding pamphlet, providing the Southern Regional Council and the American Friends Service Committee do likewise.

Ed Lukas was talking to Al Kramer of the NCC's Race Relations Department (in the absence of Oscar Lee who is on vacation until September). Kramer said that while he knows nothing about the sponsorship problem, if Will Campbell recommends it he will be glad to go along.

I am sure that you are in touch with Will on this matter but I thought I would give you this info anyway.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

Harry

HF/hw

Harry Fleischman

Fact-Finding Project

August 25, 1958

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

This is to acknowledge with thanks, AJC's check for $250, to be applied on the join fact-finding project.

I have found it impossible to reach - much less assemble - the steering committee during this vacation-riddled month. But I'm hopeful of early success and trust your assumption (and mine) regarding sponsorship will turn out to be correct. I'll keep you posted.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *Chairman, Administrative Board*
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A. M. SONNABEND, *Boston, Vice-President*

August 14, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 432, Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed find AJC's check in the sum of $250.00, to be applied toward our share of the expense involved in publishing the pamphlet -inventorying acts of violence, reprisal and intimidation in the South.

CR
Rha
8/22/58

I take it that arrangements have been completed for publishing this item under the imprimatur of SRC, the American Friends Service Committee and the National Council of Churches, and that no mention will be made anywhere of the participation of any of the other agencies in the project.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ps
Encl. Check #33876
$250.00

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

October 1, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have your memorandum of September 24, 1958 regarding the transmittal of a revised draft of the joint fact-finding project on violence, intimidation, and reprisals in the South.

In view of the questions posed pursuant to the revised draft, it would be appreciated if I could have a few more copies as soon as possible for our Board Meeting. I do hope so much that these can be made available. Thanks for your cooperation in this matter.

Kindest personal regards.

Sincerely,

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW.

WHO:ws
oeiu42

2 copies rec'd
10/6/58 [illegible]

99

Encls: 3 Copies - Joint Fact-finding Report

October 10, 1958

Mr. Alfred S. Kramer
National Council of Churches of Christ
in the U. S. A.
Division of Christian Life and Word
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Kramer:

In our interagency session this morning, Will Campbell gave us the welcome news that your Department would consider taking on the public release of the joint fact-finding report.

Representatives of the sponsoring agencies were enthusiastic over the prospect of the National Council serving in this capacity. I very much hope that the decision of your committee will be favorable.

At Will's suggestion, I am sending the additional copies of the report enclosed. We made some minor editorial changes last night and have updated the incidents through June 30 on the master copy. But in all major respects, this mimeographed draft is what we propose to publish.

With all best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 3

ATLANTA AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM

ROOM 703
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.
ATLANTA 3, GA.
PHONE: JA 3-8451

DATE: Oct. 10, 1958

TO: Harold C. Fleming, Southern Regional Council, Inc., Atlanta, Ga.

FROM: Samuel Lubin, Atlanta Area Director, AJC

SUBJECT: Transmittal of Revised Draft of Findings

This is in response to your September 24 memo regarding "The Joint Fact Finding Project". I am excerpting below, several lines of suggestions which have been made by several members of the AJC staff. They are presented ver batim and without any comment on my part:

* * *

On page 7 I suggest substituting "one national agency" for "The Anti-Defamation League." Since we agreed that no Jewish agency names should be used, this should apply to the text as well as the sponsorship.

On page 76 it is reported that three klansmen were sentenced to twenty years. I believe four klansmen were convicted.

I find that the prefatory content of each of the sections is too highly editorialized and argumentative; that in its present form, it detracts from the total impact of the incidents recited. In other words, I found a lot of "special pleading" which was not necessary under the circumstances.

Mention of the ADL or any other Jewish organization should not be included, as it has been in the prefatory matter.

Also, I feel that the low estimates of Klan membership are not justified - especially, as a reading of the total memorandum clearly indicates the probability of a membership way in excess of the figures quoted.

It would seem to me that, instead of the presentation of a compendious "volume" such as this, it would have been better if the compiler and writer had incorporated all of these incidents into a running narrative, preserving identity and source of the item through appropriate footnotes.

* * *

From my own point of view, I find that the report as it now stands, except for the comment regarding the ADL above, meets with my approval. I wish to remind you again that it is the policy of the American Jewish Committee that its name <u>should not appear on the report</u> as one of the sponsoring groups.

Best regards.

Sam

SL:ru

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS.....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

October 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Regarding your letter of September 24, 1958 transmitting the revised draft of the joint fact-finding project on violence, intimidation, and reprisals in the South, please be advised that we have given the revised draft a cursory examination. However, as I am sure you realize, due to the many problems confronting us we have not had adequate time of course to review it thoroughly. Nevertheless, we feel that you and those responsible for it are in a good position to evaluate these studies in their present form.

With respect to the three questions posed in your correspondence transmitted to us on September 24th, this is to advise that we of course had not contemplated participating in the project other than on the basis of the request made to us earlier. Therefore, we feel that it is not necessary to include the name of our organization in the release of the report or in its subsequent publication.

I look forward to hearing from you regarding the aforementioned, and we of course are prepared to follow through on our commitment as soon as you call for it.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

William H. Oliver

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW.

WHO:os
oeiu42aflcio
cc- Roy L. Reuther
Emil Mazey

VIA AIR MAIL

November 18, 1958

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director
Division of Christian Life and Work
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

I've been involved in the difficult process of tracking down members of the steering committee for the project on violence, intimidation and reprisals. Most of them have now responded, and the consensus is that you be asked to submit the proposal on publication to your Committee on Policy and Strategy. It is the group's earnest hope that the decision will be favorable.

Meanwhile, if your printer gave you any estimate I would appreciate your sharing it with me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK
DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

297 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • TELEPHONE ORegon 4-5000

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President

REV. ROY G. ROSS
General Secretary

R. H. EDWIN ESPY
Associate General Secretary

CHARLES E. WILSON
Treasurer

Officers of the Department

JOHN W. THOMAS
Chairman

RALPH M. ARKUSH
Vice Chairman

GALEN R. WEAVER
Recording Secretary

J. OSCAR LEE
Executive Director

ALFRED S. KRAMER
Associate Executive Director

WILL D. CAMPBELL
Associate Executive Director

GENEVA R. JONES
Administrative Assistant

November 17, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

This is an inquiry about the status of the document on Violence, Intimidation and Reprisals. Have you had any success in getting someone to help in publishing it? Do you desire us to present this matter to our Committee on Policy and Strategy, which meets about December 1, to get approval? If so, I would suggest that you contact me as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Oscar

J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director

JOL:g

VIA AIR MAIL November 20, 1958

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative of Southern
Programs
American Friends Service Committee
20 South 12th Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Thanks for your letter of November 12. I had occasion to call Barbara Moffett the other day and took the opportunity to convey through her the answer to your question about the Fact-Finding Report. To repeat what I told her, it is still in the hands of Oscar Lee, who is to present it to the appropriate policy committee about December 1. Oscar and his superiors felt this was necessary. We all regret the delay, but to work out another arrangement would doubtless have taken even longer. Let us now pray that the decision will be favorable and that publication may proceed.

I have taken some steps to make it possible for the report to be quickly updated once the decision to publish is final.

I shall look forward with interest to word of your interview with Dr. Carr of NEA. We were in touch with Knoll about his series and were able to

give some help. Once it has run, we ought to compare notes on the need for reprints and their distribution.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY

Executive Secretary
LEWIS M. HOSKINS

Executive Secretary Emeritus
CLARENCE E. PICKETT

American Friends Service Committee
INCORPORATED

Twenty South Twelfth Street

Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Telephone, RITTENHOUSE 6-9372

November 12. 1958

Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta. Georgia

Dear Harold:

What is the status of the fact-finding survey at the present time? Did the National Council of Churches agree to release the report? If so. when will it be published?

I have an appointment in Washington tomorrow with Dr. William G. Carr, Executive Secretary of the National Educational Association and will let you know the outcome.

I have heard through our Washington representative. Burns Chalmers. that Irwin Knoll. Educational Editor of the Washington Post. is preparing a "careful and forceful series of articles" to be published in the Post on the subject of desegregation in Washington. Perhaps these articles may provide some of the printed materials which we need to circulate to refute the Davis Report. I hope to see Irwin Knoll in Washington.

Best wishes.

Sincerely.

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative of
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Barbara Moffett
Tartt Bell

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

ack
by fel. 11-21-58

November 17, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

By now you have received a letter from Oscar Lee, stating that he is asking his committee, which is meeting on December 1st, to approve of the publication of the report on reprisals, intimidation and violence, jointly by the National Council of Churches, the American Friends Service Committee and the Southern Regional Council.

Ed Lukas just talked to Alex Miller who says that the Anti-Defamation League definitely will not have its name on the pamphlet.

Lukas also talked to John Morsell who is writing to Ruby Hurley, stating that for reasons for which we are all too familiar, the NAACP thinks it best to keep its name off the pamphlet too.

Hopefully, when you come to the Mass Media Committee meeting on Tuesday, December 2nd, we should be able to send the pamphlet right to the printers.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harry

HF/hw

Harry Fleischman

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

November 24, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I talked to John Morsell today and he agreed to call Oscar Lee immediately to tell him that the NAACP prefers not having its name on the fact-finding pamphlet.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman per hw

HF/hw

Harry Fleischman

VIA AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY November 25, 1958

Mr. J. Oscar Lee
Executive Director
Division of Christian Life and Work
Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
National Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Oscar:

This is to confirm the understandings reached in our recent telephone conversation concerning the Joint Fact-Finding Project on Violence, Intimidation, and Reprisals.

The organizations which cooperated in the execution of this project have authorized me to request the Department of Racial and Cultural Relations of the National Council of Churches to accept responsibility for the publication and public release of the resulting report. To finance the printing of the document is $1,483.84 available in the keeping of the Southern Regional Council, and another $250 has been pledged by the United Auto Workers. I shall be prepared to remit from these funds the cost of printing and handling, as well as any additional costs that we may agree upon, on receipt of your statement.

A draft of the report has been forwarded to you previously, and an updated version will be

supplied if your decision is favorable.

The cooperating agencies feel that this report is a significant one. We appreciate your con sidering the role of publishing agency and look forward hopefully to an affirmative reply.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

November 26, 1958

Dr. J. Oscar Lee
National Council of Churches
297 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Oscar:

I am told that John Morsell was to get directly in touch with you about the NAACP's decision on public sponsorship of the fact-finding report.

If by any chance the question is still not settled, let me know and I will make further efforts to get a final answer.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Atlanta, Georgia
January 20, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

An examination has been made of the books and records of the Southern Interagency Conference-Joint Fact-Finding Project for the year ended December 31, 1958.

The following Exhibit and Schedule, with comments, are submitted herewith:

EXHIBIT A - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

SCHEDULE 1 - Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Company

COMMENTS

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., acting as coordinator and secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference-Joint Fact-Finding Project, agreed to serve as custodian of funds for a joint fact-finding project on Intimidation and Violence. Exhibit A shows the receipts and disbursements of those funds for the year ended December 31, 1958.

Receipts were traced to bank deposits. All disbursements were made by check. The bank balance was confirmed by correspondence with the depository.

Respectfully,

L. E. Campbell

L. E. Campbell, C.P.A.

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE--JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

January 1, 1958 to December 31, 1958

RECEIPTS

Southern Regional Council, Inc.	$ 500.00	
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	500.00	
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith	500.00	
United Automobile Workers of America	250.00 + 250	
Americans Friends Service Committee, Southeastern Regional Office	250.00	
Americans Friends Service Committee, National Office	250.00	
National Council of Churches	300.00	
American Jewish Committee	250.00	250
Total Receipts		$ 2,800.00
		3,050.00

DISBURSEMENTS

Salary, Project Director	$ 772.50	
Salary, Special Clerical Assistant	151.15	
Travel	215.99	
Supplies	104.66	
Social Security Taxes	20.77	
Telephone and Telegraph	13.92	
Postage	17.17	
Office Expense	20.00	
Total Disbursements		1,316.16
Balance, December 31, 1958		$ 1,483.84

EXHIBIT A

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE--JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

Reconciliation--Citizens Trust Company

December 31, 1958

Balance per bank and per books	$ 1,483.84

SCHEDULE 1

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM January 20, 1959

To: Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Mr. Charles Wittenstein
Mr. B. Tartt Bell

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director, SRC

Re: INTERAGENCY FACT-FINDING PROJECT

- : -

At the Interagency meeting last week we had no opportunity to discuss our durable project, and this is an attempt to see if we can reach a new consensus without ~~more detail of~~ further meetings.

At our last session, you will recall that we agreed to request the National Council of Churches to be the publishing agency. This matter was taken under consideration by Oscar Lee's department and for a period of some weeks was subjected to the scrutiny of various staff and lay committees. Ultimately, however, the National Council decided that it could not assume the role of publishing agency.

As matters now stand, the cooperating agencies that have indicated a wish to be publicly identified with the report are three - The American Friends Service Committee, the National Council of Churches, the Southern Regional Council. Of these, the first two have declined the role of publishing agency. This leaves us with the following alternatives. If you feel you can do so, please check the alternative which you prefer, or write in at the bottom of the second page any other preferred alternative that I may have overlooked, and return the sheet to me. We will be guided by the group's preference, which I will communicate as soon as all returns are in.

(1) Schedule another meeting of the Steering Committee.

(2) Ask the AFSC and/or the National Council of Churches to re-consider the proposal that they publish.

(3) Ask the SRC to up-date and publish the report.

(4) Request one of the other cooperating organizations to publish.

(5) Request some organization outside the cooperating group to publish.

✓ (6) (Some other alternative as follows:)

AFSC, NCC & SRC publish jointly - i.e. "sign" report; SRC do actual release.

Art Swan

If not feasible, then (3).

Best regards,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

January 20, 1959

To: Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Mr. Charles Wittenstein
Mr. B. Tartt Bell

From: Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director, SRC

Re: INTERAGENCY FACT-FINDING PROJECT

- 1 -

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As matters now stand, the cooperating agencies that have indicated a wish to be publicly identified with the report are three - The American Friends Service Committee, the National Council of Churches, the Southern Regional Council. Of these, the first two have declined the role of publishing agency. This leaves us with the following alternatives. If you feel you can do so, please check the alternative which you prefer, or write in at the bottom of the second page any other preferred alternative that I may have overlooked, and return the sheet to me. We will be guided by the group's preference, which I will communicate as soon as all returns are in.

Memorandum - 2.
January 20, 1959

(1) Schedule another meeting of the Steering Committee.

(2) Ask the AFSC and/or the National Council of Churches to re-consider the proposal that they publish.

(3) Ask the SRC to up-date and publish the report.

(4) Request one of the other cooperating organizations to publish.

(5) Request some organization outside the cooperating group to publish.

(6) (Some other alternative as follows:)

Best regards,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

File

ADL

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE
41 Exchange Pl., S. E., Atlanta 3, Ga.

For your information

2/4

Harold Fleming

I agree 200%, if not more.

When Tarr jumps out in front, who can be far behind?

Art Levin

cc: Arthur Levin, Ruby Hurley, Charles Wittenstein
Byron Haworth, Jean Fairfax

American Friends Service Committee

Southeastern Regional Office

1818 S. Main St. High Point, N. C.

NATIONAL OFFICES
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
Henry J. Cadbury, *Chairman*
Lewis M. Hoskins, *Executive Secretary*

TELEPHONE 2-4025

REGIONAL OFFICE
Byron A. Haworth, *Chairman*
W. Evan Cecil, *Treasurer*
B. Tartt Bell, *Executive Secretary*

January 26, 1959

Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The second sentence in the third paragraph of your January 20 memo on the Fact-Finding Project calls for an important refinement. It is stated that the AFSC and the National Council have declined the role of publishing agency. It would be a bit more accurate, as far as AFSC is concerned, to say that we have declined the role of sole publishing agency. We have all along been ready to be a joint publisher with other agencies. If the situation stands that the Service Committee, the National Council, and the SRC are the three agencies which now wish to be publicly identified with the report, I say let's the three of us pbulish it together as quickly as possible, giving what acknowledgement seems proper and acceptable to the other agencies that have helped finance the project. I assume a fairly quick check could be secured from the National Council on its willingness to proceed on this basis.

I think Ruby should be encouraged to speak very frankly about how she feels to have the NAACP not be one of the publishers because of the judgment that this would handicap seriously the usefulness and acceptance of the document.

We are anxious to go ahead with it. If the National Council can't see its way clear to this let's proceed to publish it as a joint report from the AFSC and the SRC, provided of course this meets the approval of the other underwriters.

Let us know at once what responses you get and what wisdom you have about the next steps.

Sincerely,

Tartt cs

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB:cs

National Council of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America

DIVISION OF CHRISTIAN LIFE AND WORK
DEPARTMENT OF RACIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS

1716 WEST END AVENUE • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE • TELEPHONE ALpine 5-3842

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General Secretary

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Recording Secretary

J. OSCAR LEE
Executive Director

ALFRED S. KRAMER
Associate Executive Director

WILL D. CAMPBELL
Associate Executive Director

GENEVA R. JONES
Administrative Assistant

P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee
March 31, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your memorandum of March 24 regarding the publication of the report on "Violence, Intimidation and Reprisal" has been received and I have no reason from the Lord for disagreeing with its content.

Cordially yours,

Will

Will D. Campbell
Associate Executive

WDC:ddw

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

April 2, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I talked to Ed Lukas and Isaiah Terman concerning the publication of the fact-finding report. We agreed that the 500 copies that will be sent to us will be enough for our purposes and that we will not need to order any additional. We plan to put out a joint mailing with ADL on this.

Would you please send me four sets of galley proofs so that I can attempt to secure orders for the pamphlet from several unions?

Sent 4/3/59

Thanks for sending me the Arkansas Gazette article. Could you please send me four copies each of the Jim Montgomery pamphlet and the February 1959 issue of New South so that I may be able to use this with various business writers and others?

I have an appointment with August Heckscher of the Twentieth Century Fund on Monday, April 6, 1959. I would appreciate getting this material immediately. If Les Dembar's summary of the evidence in this field is ready, I would very much appreciate receiving that at this time.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw

cc: Edwin J. Lukas

VIA AIR MAIL

April 15, 1959

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Service Committee
1818 S. Main Street
High Point, North Carolina

Dear Tartt:

We have reached the page-proof stage of the report on violence, intimidation, and reprisal. Inch by inch....

I don't recall having received your reaction to the proposed news release and the designation of the Southeastern Office of AFSC as one of the three publishing agencies.

We continue to receive exhortations from some of the agencies to get the thing out while this subject is in the national limelight. So do give me the word as quickly as you can.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

4-20-59

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA67 RB348

1421 1959 APR 20 PM 3 52

R HPA287 PD=HIGH POINT NCAR 20 322PME=

HAROLD FLEMMING=

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE

ATLA=

PROCEED WITH FULL STEAM ON PLANS FOR RELEASE OF FACT FINDING DOCUMENTS STOP AFSC APPROVAL IN YOUR POCKET STOP=

TARTT BELL AMERICAN FRIENDS SVC COMMITTEE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

April 24, 1959

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Here are the page proofs of the report on intimidation, reprisals and violence. Please bear in mind that these proofs have not yet been read by us and therefore probably contain some errors in addition to those marked by the printer.

We do not have graduated costs, except for 4,000 and 5,000; those totals are $1,450 and $1,640 respectively - and unit cost .36 and .32. Roughly, we may expect the unit cost to drop for every 1,000 copies wanted. This may seem fairly expensive, but remember that the type setting job was an unusually difficult and time-consuming one.

Let me know what success you have and thanks.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

Read - Ipl.

RECEIVED MAY 6 1959

May 5, 1959

Mr. HaroldFleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave.,N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I was hoping to get some orders for the "Report on Intimidation, Reprisals and Violence." Unfortunately, all I have gotten to date is an order for one hundred copies from Francis C. Shane, Civil Rights Director, United Steelworkers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania. If the steel negotiations should be settled without a strike, we can come back to him for another order on this, but at the moment they will only make a token purchase.

I am waiting to hear from the Rubber Workers and will let you know what they have to say soon.

Have you been in touch with Bill Oliver of the UAW on this -- or should I get after him?

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harry

HF/hw

Harry Fleischman

VIA AIR MAIL

May 13, 1959

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Thanks for the letter concerning your efforts to get advance orders for the report on violence, etc. Frank Shane's 100 will help. (I must say the Rubber-workers' letter strikes me as insane -- the type is bigger than that in most comic books.)

The UAW is one of the co-financing agencies, and Bill Oliver accordingly has received an invitation to place an advance order for copies beyond their pro-rata share. Since there's been no word, I assume he wants no more. As a matter of fact, the UAW still owes $250 on their pledge, and I will be content to get that once the pamphlet is in print.

We're proceeding with the printing without further ado. The final corrections are now being made. SRC will order, at its own expense, an extra supply of 1,000 copies, from which we can fill any orders that may materialize after publication.

While I'm writing, I must regretfully report that I won't be able to make New York in time for the

MM Committee meeting next week. My only other commitment there -- a conference of the SSSP -- doesn't begin till Friday, and the demands here are just too heavy for me to get away two days early. Anyhow, I'll hope to talk with you Friday.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I haven't had a chance to work up the prospectus for Hollander yet, but I still intend to do so.

H.C.F.

NATIONAL LABOR SERVICE

386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 5-0181

HARRY FLEISCHMAN, Director

RECEIVED MAY 13 1959

May 11, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Enclosed is the note I received from the Rubber Workers indicating that they cannot use the pamphlet on Intimidation and Violence in the South.

Are you in touch with Bill Oliver on this or do you want me to contact him?

Best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

HF/hw
Encl.

L. S. BUCKMASTER, PRESIDENT JOSEPH W. CHILDS, VICE PRESIDENT DESMOND WALKER, SECRETARY-TREAS.

United Rubber, Cork, Linoleum and Plastic Workers of America

AFL - CIO

UNITED RUBBER WORKERS' BLDG., 87 SOUTH HIGH STREET
Akron 8, Ohio

PHONES
FRANKLIN 6-6181, 6-6182, 6-6183, 6-6184, 6-6185, 6-6186

May 8, 1959

Mr. Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Harry:

I am afraid we cannot use quantity copies of the pamphlet dealing with intimidation and violence in the South. The type is small, and I doubt if we could get anybody to read it.

When it is published, however, you can send me four or five copies for use around the office.

Best wishes,

Joe Glazer

Joe Glazer
Education Director

JG:sm
OEIU 339

United Steelworkers of America

I. W. ABEL
SECRETARY-TREASURER

DAVID J. McDONALD
PRESIDENT

HOWARD R. HAGUE
VICE-PRESIDENT

Committee on Civil Rights

1500 COMMONWEALTH BUILDING · PITTSBURGH 22, PA.

GRANT 1-5254

THOMAS SHANE
CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH GERMANO
BERT HOUGH
JOHN W. GRAJCIAR
THOMAS MURRAY
GILBERT C. ANAYA
JOSEPH H. NEAL
BOYD L. WILSON
FRANCIS C. SHANE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

May 7, 1959

Hold For your info,
Harry

Mr. Harry Fleischman, Director
National Labor Service
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Harry:

This note will confirm my telephone conversation with you on May 4 at which time I ordered 100 copies of the report on Intimidation and violence in the South.

Since returning to my office I have read the proofs of the pamphlet and I am impressed with the value that is included in the report.

I am very sorry circumstances prevent our making a union-wide districution of this item.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Francis C. Shane
Executive Secretary

FCS:sm

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

6-15-59
MJ

Incl. Ppt Distribution

Air Special

Jim Mathis
Houston Post
817 Nat'l Press Bldg
Washington DC

Herbert J. Blitz 2 cc
Rm 326
Sen. Ofc Bldg

Daily 3

Embassy of Union of SA
3101 Mass. Ave.
Attn Press Attaché

Chas Goodrum, Librarian
Legislative Ref. ~~Serv~~ Ser.
Library of Cong
Wash DC.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

File

First Class —

10 copies Viol. Rept
to —

Senate Constitutional
Rights Subcommittee
Washn 25, DC.

Attn: Miss Simmons

(Distribution: Violence
Rpt)

~~Also - Mrs. Hoge~~
~~Mrs. Abram~~
~~Reid Ru~~

Mr. August Heckscher
Twentieth Century Fund
330 W. 42d St.
NY 36, NY

Memo

MF - Please note

FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH** H.

HCF - fyi JR

Stephen Cumrie
Staunton Hill Farm
Brookneal, Va.

Mr + Mrs. DeJough Franklin
1585 W. Paces Ferry Rd. N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

VIOLENCE REPORT DISTRIBUTION

Distribution of VIOLENCE REPORT

LIST

Mr. Francis C. Shane
U. A. W.
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh 22

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Asst. Secy.
of Defence
Washington 25

Miss Marguerite Hawkins
WDCS - Methodist Church
150 Fifth Ave.
New York 11

Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.
Washington 25

Senator John A. Carroll
Washington 25

Senator Jacob R. Javits
Washington 25

Senator John F. Kennedy
Washington 25

Rep. Emanuel Celler
Washington 25

Mr. Gordon Tiffany
Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 25

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Washington

Mr. W. Wilson White
Dept. of Justice
Washington 25

Mr. Harris Wofford
Civil Rights Commission
Washington

Mr. Henry Shine
Civil Rights Commission
Washington

Mr. Jim Mathis
Boston Post
Washington

Mr. Herbert J. Blitz
Room 326 Senate Bldg.
Washington

The Embassy of Union of S. Africa
3101 Massachusetts Ave.
Washington
(Attn: Press Attache)

Mr. Charles Goodrum
Librarian
Library of Congress
Washington

Rep. Richard Bolling
Washington

Senate Constitutional Rights
Sub-committee
Washington 25
(Attn: Miss Simons)

Mr. August Heckscher
Twentieth Century Fund
330 W. 42d St.
New York 36

Mr. & Mrs. DeJough Franklin
1585 W. Paces Ferry Rd. N.W.
Atlanta

Mr. Stephen Currier
Staunton Hill Farms
Brookneal, Va.

Mr. Galen Weaver
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10

Miss Dorothy Hampton
1503 Benehan Street
Raleigh, N.C.

Mr. John J. Scanlon
Fund for Advancement of Educ.
477 Madison Ave.
New York 22

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
President
Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square West
New York 3

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
N. A. A. C. P.
859 Hunter Street
Atlanta

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Ser. Cottee.
1818 S. Main St.
High Point, N. C.

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
~~Am~~ Amer. Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Rm. 703
Atlanta 3

Mr. William Oliver
U. A. W.
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit 14

Mr. Will D. Campbell
National Council of Churches
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville

Mr. Michael Straight
c/o The New Republic
1224-19th St., N.W.
Washington

Mr. Roger Baldwin
c/o Amer. Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Miss Georgene B. Lovecky
John Hay Whitney Foundation
630 Fifth Ave.
New York 20

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
Sigmund Silberman Foundation

Dr. Grayson Kirk, President
Columbia University

Dr. Buell G. Gallaher, Pres.
City College of New York

Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd
Curator, Pennsylvania Library

Mr. Lloyd Garrison

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky

Mr. Frank Loescher

Mr. Gordon Alport
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust

Mrs. Justine W. Polier

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Bros. Fund

Mr. Montgomery Bradley
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Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Bros. Fund

Mr. Jack Clareman
Christopher Reynolds Foundation

Mr. ~~[illegible]~~ Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund

Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal
Ben. R. Rosenthal Foundation

Mr. Frank A. Weil
Aaron E. Norman Fund

Mrs. Max Ascoli
20 Gramercy Park, S.
N. Y.

Mr. Stephen H. Stackpole
Carnegie Corp. of N. Y.

Mr. Alan Pifer
Carnegie Corp. ofN. Y.

Mr. Harold Evans, Chrm.
Chace Fund

Mr. Richard Hocking
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. May E. McFarland
Doris Duke Foundation

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Field Foundation

Mr. Sol Markoff
N. Y. Foundation

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation

Miss Katharine Taylor
Cambridge, Mass.

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Marie K. Drigga
N. Y. Fund for Children

Mr. Solomon I. Sklar
(New-Land Foundation)
Sent as an individual

Mrs. David Levy
993 Fifth Ave.
New York

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Hopkins Charitable Fund

Mr. W. H. Ferry
Fund for the Republic

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
FFR

Mr. Alexander F. Sharp
Presby. Church USA

Mr. Joseph Lyford
FFR

Mr. John Thompson
Farfield Foundation

Miss Nina Ridenour
Ittleson Family Foundation

Mr. John R. May
San Francisco Foundation

Mr. George Meany
AFL-CIO
Washington

Mr. Wm. F. Schnitzler
AFL-CIO
Washington

Mr. Boris Shiskin
Dept. of Civil Rights
AFL-CIO
Washington

Mr. George L. P. Weaver
AFL-CIO
Washington

Mr. David Dubinsky
ILGWU
N. Y.

Mr. David J. McDonald
USteelworkers of America
Pittsburgh

Mr. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Rev. William G. Wright
Protestant Episcopal Church

Dr. Leon M. Adkins
The Methodist Church

Mr. Vernon Middleton
The Methodist Church

Miss Thelma Stevens
The Methodist Church (WDCS)

Mr. Malcolm Calhoun
Presby. Church US

SRC Board

MASS MEDIA CTTEE:

Sidney Hollander

Al Hamilton - United Auto Workers

Guichard Parris
Nat'l Urban League

J. Oscar Lee
Nat'l. Council of Churches

Arnold Aronson
Nat'l Community Rel. Advisory Council

Jacob Schlitt
Jewish Labor Committee

H. B. Sissel
Presby Church USA

~~Galen Weston~~

George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council

Mr. Shad Polier
Amer. Jewish Congress

~~M~~ Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League

Edwin Lukas
Amer; Jewish Cttee.

Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service

Alfred Bernheim
Amer. Jewish Cttee.

Alex Morisey
Amer. Friends Ser. Cttee.

Alan Reitman
Amer. Civil Liberties Union

Distribution Violence Rpt. -- JC's list

Media Personnel sent VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION REPORT

Ashmore, Harry S.
Arkansas Gazette

Attwood, William
Look Magazine

Austin, L. E.
Carolina Times

Baggs, William
Miami Daily News

Baker, Robert
Washington Post

Baird, Joseph H.
Dekalb New Era

Barnett, Claude A.
Associated Negro Press

Clark, Dale
WAGA Radio Station

Beach, Clarke
U. S. News & World Report

Blair, Frank
TODAY

Boone , Buford
Tuscaloosa News

Briney, Russell
Louisville Courier Journal

Broder, David S.
Congressional Quarterly News Feature

Brown, Robert W.
St. Petersburg Times

Carter, Hodding
Delta Democrat Times

Cater, Douglass
The Reporter

Clayton, Charles C.
The Quill

Daly, John
American Broadcasting Company

Davidson, Herbert M.
Daytona Beach News Journal

East, P. D.
Petal Paper

Emerson, William
Newsweek

Ernest, Harry
The Charleston Gazette

Etheridge, Mark
Louisville Courier-Journal

Eubanks, Bicknell
Christian Science Monitor

Fowler, Robert
Cobb County Times

Fowlkes, William
Atlanta Daily World

Friendly, Alfred W.
Washington Post

Fuller, Helen
The New Republic

Fullerton, Gary
Nashville Tennessean

Galphin, Bruce
Atlanta Constitution

Gitlin, Irving
Columbia Broadcasting System

Harrison, Gilbert
New Republic

Atlanta, Ga., AP Bureau
Hawkins, Lewis E., Chief

Jackson, E.O.
Birmingham World

Johnston, Harry
Time, Inc.

Johnston, John H.
Jet

Kaplow, Herb
National Broadcasting System

Kuettner, Al
United Press International

Lofton, John
Pittsburgh Post Gazette

Lumsden, Marsahll
Life Magazine

Marlowe, Jim
Associated Press

McAndrew, William
NBC News Department

McGill, Ralph
Atlanta Constitution

McKnight, C. A.
Charlotte Observer

McMillan George
Aiken, S. C.

McWilliams, Carey
The Nation

Meyer, Sylvan
The Daily Times

Mickelson, Sig
Columbia Broadcasting System

Montgomery, Jim
Atlanta Constitution

Morgan Edward P.
Washington, D. C.

Morse, Arthur
Columbia Broadcasting System

Oberdorfer, Donald
Washington, D. C.

Ochs, Martin S.
The Chattanooga Times

Orr, Edward B.
The Christian Science Monitor

Parham, Joe
The Macon News

Parrish, John R. Jr.
The Nashville Tennessean

Peters, William
Pelham Manor, N. Y.

Phillips, Cabell
N. Y. Times Magazine

Editor
Pittsburgh Courier

Popham, Joe
Chattanooga Times

Poynter, Nelson
St. Petersburg Times

Price, Bem
McLean, Va.

Rubin, Morris
Progressive Magazine

Sarratt, Reed
Piedmont Publishing Company

Schwab, A.
Review of the Week--N. Y. Times

Shoemaker, Don
Miami Herald

Simmons, Paul
Associated Press

Sitton, Claude
New York Times

Spalding, Jack
Atlanta Journal

Stanley, F. L.
Defender

Stern, Phillip M.
Northern Virginia Sun

Stolley, Richard
Time-Life

Struby, Bert
Macon Telegraph

Watters, Pat
Atlanta Journal

Wesley, Carter
Houston Informar

Westfeldt, Wallace
Nashville Tennessean

Wyant, William K. Jr.
St. Louis Post Dispatch

Young, Thomas W.
Journal and Guide

Christian Century
Chigago, Illinois

Christianity Today
Washington, D. C.

Evangelical Press Service
Long Island, N. Y.

Religious News Service
Miss Lillian Block
New York, New York

June 16, 1959

Mr. Galen Weaver
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Galen:

Dorothy Hampton has suggested that you might be interested in ordering some copies of the enclosed report on intimidation, reprisal, and violence in the South. As you may have noted in the press, the report has just been released.

The pamphlet costs 40¢ per single copy; 35¢ each in quantities over 50. This is rather expensive, I know, but the limited number we could print ran up the unit cost.

We've been pleased with the publicity we have seen so far -- front page in the New York Times, the Atlanta Journal, and the Chattanooga Times.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 Violence Report

cc: Miss Dorothy Hampton

RECEIVED JUN 8 1959

CONSULTANT ON RACIAL RELATIONS

A Project of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ (Congregational Christian and Evangelical and Reformed) in North Carolina and Virginia

MISS DOROTHY E. HAMPTON, 1503 Benehan Street
Raleigh, North Carolina TEmple 4-1213

June 4, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

A couple of weeks ago when I saw Galen Weaver I found that he had not seen and did not know about the joint fact-finding report. Perhaps you should send him a copy. He may want to order some.

He will order a few for me when he places his own order.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Dorothy

Dorothy E. Hampton

vm

violence Rpt

VIA AIR MAIL

June 16, 1959

Mrs. Bem Price
3916 Mackall Avenue
McLean, Virginia

Dear Margaret:

I suppose you've seen about as much of the publicity on the violence report as we have. But I don't want to chance your missing the fact that it was first page, top and center in the New York Times; also first-paged with Shannon's byline in the Atlanta Journal and (AP) in the Chattanooga Times. You undoubtedly saw Baker's piece in the Post.

One of the interesting things was the excellence of the AP story out of Atlanta. I don't yet know who did it, but I want to find out so I can cultivate him.

Sorry to be so long communicating about the voting report. As usual, we keep getting derailed by the flying objects around here. But you'll hear from us on it soon.

Meanwhile, though you disowned it, congratulations and thanks for all the good work that made the violence report possible. Whatever impact it has -- and I think it will have quite a bit -- is ~~uie~~ due to you.

Best,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

read. Rept

June 16, 1959

Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt
345 East 46th Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mrs. Roosevelt:

We are most appreciative of your kind remarks about the Southern Regional Council in your column of June 11. There is no one whose good opinion of our efforts means more to us.

I thought you might like to see a copy of the enclosed report on "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis," published by the Council and two sister agencies. This presents a distressing side of the Southern picture, but one which requires the concern of us all. We were encouraged by the prominent attention it received in the press yesterday.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1. Violence Report

Social Dept

June 16, 1959

Mr. Raymond B. O'Neill
National News Editor
The New York Times
Times Square
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. O'Neill:

Thanks for your thoughtful note. I too enjoyed our meeting and was only sorry that we couldn't have had a longer and more sociable time together.

We were delighted with the fine treatment in yesterday's Times of the story on our inter-agency report of intimidation, reprisal, and violence in the South. The story appears to have had good play generally, but the Times treatment was especially important and valuable.

I might add that I recently had a visit from John Wicklein and was most impressed with the thoroughness of his research on the churches and race relations.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The New York Times
TIMES SQUARE NEW YORK 36 N Y
LAckawanna 4-1000

June 8, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

This is to express my appreciation for the trouble you took to sit down with me on my recent visit to Atlanta to discuss some of your activities. I found our talk enjoyable and instructive, and I assure you it made my trip to the South more productive than it might otherwise have been.

I came away from your office with a wider concept of the problem of integration in general and in education in particular after our chat.

I hope that next time you come this way you will drop by to say hello and to give me an opportunity to reciprocate your hospitality.

Sincerely,

Raymond B. O'Neill

Raymond B. O'Neill
National News Editor

RBO/ps

"ALL THE NEWS THAT'S FIT TO PRINT"

100 copies sent 6-16-59

ston" coming in from official quarters and elsewhere.

Cordially,

HCF/mf

Harold C. Fleming

HCF/mf

Violence Rpt

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 16, 1959

Mr. Francis C. Shane
United Steelworkers of America
AFL - CIO
1500 Commonwealth Building
Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania

Dear Frank:

Harry Fleischman has written me of your order for 100 copies of the just-published report on "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis." I am enclosing a copy of the printed report, and am shipping separately 100 copies.

Because of the limited number printed, the unit cost runs rather high -- 35¢ a copy. I am asking the appropriate staff member to bill you on this cost basis.

Incidentally, we were encouraged by the good press the pamphlet got yesterday. Requests for it are already coming in from official quarters in Washington and elsewhere.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
encl. 1. Orig. Report

Violence Rpt

June 17, 1959

Mr. Lewis Hawkins
Associated Press
Atlanta Journal Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Hawkins:

This is just a word of appreciation for the AP story of last Monday on the joint report of SRC and two other agencies titled "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence."

Whoever did the piece handled it very well indeed. One measure was the front-page treatment by the New York Times, as well as the good play it apparently got elsewhere.

With thanks for your cooperation and best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
TWENTY WEST FORTIETH STREET • NEW YORK 18, N.Y. • LOngacre 3-6890

Please direct reply to:
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE NAACP
859½ Hunter Street, N. W.
Room 107
Atlanta, Ga.
Telephone: MUrray 8-8869

RECEIVED JUN 19 1959

June 18, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your memorandum of June 10 along with the enclosed copy of the Release of Violence Report. We have also received the remaining 500 copies of the report. If we need additional copies we will not hesitate to send you an order.

Best wishes to you and your staff.

Sincerely,

Ruby Hurley (a.w.)

Ruby Hurley
Regional Secretary

RH:aw

Dictated, not read. 6/18/59

Violence Rpt

June 22, 1959

Mr. Arnold Aronson
55 West 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Arnie:

I am mailing you today 100 copies of the report on violence, etc., for distribution to the CCD mailing list. In order to prevent duplication, I'm enclosing a list of the human relations agency people who have received the report. Your mailing should omit all of the personnel of the agencies that cooperated in publication, since they each have a quantity; they are SRC, ADL, AJ Committee, NAACP, AFSC, NCC, and UAW. You will also note that most of the members of the Mass Media Committee received copies.

As to price, I'm in some difficulty, since we didn't do any "price fixing" and I don't know what the other agencies will be charging. It's all right to say that SRC will fill orders for 50 copies or more at 35¢ each. Individual copies are available from any of the seven agencies listed above at -- you'd better say -- "a somewhat higher unit cost."

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta, Georgia

MEMORANDUM

June 24, 1959

To: Will D. Campbell
Oscar Lee
Tartt Bell
Miss Barbara Moffett
J. M. Dabbs
Mrs. Margaret Price

From: Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant, SRC

:

We thought you would be interested in the enclosures. Harold Fleming returns to the office on the 29th. At that time a reply will be prepared for the enclosed letter from the Savannah Morning News.

:

What a Switch!
WF

Savannah Morning News
SAVANNAH EVENING PRESS
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

June 22, 1959

Rec'd 6-23-59

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

Attached is a tearsheet of our lead editorial of Monday, June 22, one week following release of the report referred to in it.

We would appreciate any comments you might care to make on the enclosed.

Yours very truly,

J.E. Lambright
Associate Editor
Savannah Morning News

SAVANNAH MORNING NEWS Monday, June 22, 1959

The South Is Due an Apology

EVERY RESIDENT of the eleven Southern states from Virginia to Texas is due a personal apology from three organizations which united to publish a slanderous and prejudicial document purporting to show that there has been a general breakdown of law and order in the South in the past four years.

The 30-page booklet, entitled "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis" was published jointly by (1) Southeastern Office, American Friends Service Committee of High Point, N.C.; (2) Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, of New York City; and (3) the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta.

The purpose of the tract, obviously, was to amass a box score of real or alleged "incidents" from newspaper clippings, and to present the total listing largely out of context without benefit of any statistical comparisons on which it could be properly judged or evaluated, in an effort to prove that the South is fairly wallowing in race riots and anarchy.

FROM THE RESULTING conglomeration came a "news release" announcing widespread "erosion of individual liberties" in the eleven Southern states involved, attested to by a list of 530 specific cases of "violence, reprisal and intimidation" in the four-year period. The story made page 1 of New York papers last Monday. Editorials of condemnation followed. Declared the South-hating *Washington Post & Times Herald:* " . . . there is little hope for the South to shake off this trend toward violent eruptions until its own basic thinking about adherence to the law as defined by the courts is straightened out."

Thus, the three groups responsible for the publication have, for reasons best known to themselves, contrived through a misleading document to fan the fires of sectional animosity.

LET'S TAKE A LOOK at the report itself, which covers the period from Jan. 1, 1955 to Jan. 1, 1959, during which 530 specific cases of violence, intimidation or reprisal were cited. How many cases occurred in the four years from 1951 to 1955? This is not listed, but if twice as many occurred, it could be said that conditions in the eleven states are improving. More important, what would the box score show for the same period in eleven Eastern or Midwestern states, of any eleven chosen at random with the highest Negro-white ratios of population, if a similar count were made? Would the South show *more* cases—or would it show *less*?

Since no attempt was made to give such a comparison, the motive of the joint endeavor may be taken for granted—namely, to hold the South up to scorn and contempt.

DOES A TOTAL of 530 "incidents" in eleven states over a four-year period show a general breakdown of law and order? This would average out to about a dozen incidents per state per year.

Last year a congressional committee investigated more than 800 specific incidents of violence (not including intimidations and reprisals) during the same period of time in one labor dispute in Kohler, Wis. And this was by Walter Reuther's union—we don't even have to get into the statistics from the real bad boys such as Jimmy Hoffa. Does this indicate a widespread erosion of individual liberties in Wisconsin? And if so, why was this not included in the report?

On race incidents, what about Cicero, Ill., or Levittown, Pa., or Dearborn, Mich.? What about New York, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Chicago? The box score, had one been kept, of similar incidents, would have shown a greater number in New York or Chicago during the four-year period than the 530 total for eleven Southern states!

IN FACT, when we consider that the Southern states have the highest proportion of Negro population to white, we'll bet our last dollar that an honest survey would prove race relations in the South to be better and more amicable than any other area of the country where there is an appreciable Negro population.

The organizations responsible for this report have done an irresponsible thing that will not help the cause of better race relations in the South or elsewhere. Their report, itself, admits "this is not a comprehensive survey . . . It describes only their angry, violent side." We ask them—Why? We think the South is *due* an explanation.

Hold On, Senator

SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS of Illinois has leveled a broadside against retired military officers who accept positions with industry. He said that when firms seeking defense contracts "hire former officers of high rank to negotiate with their former fellow officers—some of whom they have promoted—the potential and actual abuses are magnified."

Yankee Ingenuity

Russian Scientific E

Does That Again

But before we look at them, it will be useful to understand, if we can, the historical situation in which the issues have been posed.

Since the war which ended 15 years ago Franco-American relations have been based on a premise which was never openly avowed but has always been assumed both in Paris and in Washington. The premise has been that France, though it is counted among the victors, was in fact defeated, and that her colonial empire is in the process of dissolution, and that she is no longer a first class power. The chronic instability of the post-war governments in France, the budgetary and monetary disorders, supported this view.

LIPPMANN

Our government acquired a habit of not consulting France regularly and genuinely, and indeed of treating her with less intimacy and confidence not only than Great Britain but even West Germany. On two recent occasions which might have led to a war involving France—the landing in Lebanon and the affair at Quemoy—there was no full consultation with Paris.

* * *

THE ADVENT to power of Gen. de Gaulle was bound to mean, as it has meant, that France would not accept the lower position which she has occupied. She has been regarded not only as not so great a power as Russia and the United States, but not even as being in the second rank with Great Britain or even with Adenauer's Germany.

We must never forget that Gen. de Gaulle, to his everlasting honor, is the Frenchman who never surrendered and who never accepted defeat, and it is a kind of historic justice that he should be the man who now insists that France must not be treated as a defeated and inferior power.

In this context we may look at the issues. They were raised diplomatically last summer and then in a note addressed to President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan on Sept. 24, 1958. This note has never been published. But it is said to set up three French objectives.

* * *

ONE IS THAT NATO, which is now a regional pact, shall become a global alliance in which France, Britain, and America have the same policy and the same

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Talmadge Hits Racial Strife Study

By ALBERT RILEY
Constitution Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Sen. Talmadge took the floor of the Senate Tuesday to denounce a report published last week on racial incidents in the South since 1954.

The Senator called the report "an irresponsible, unfounded, and slanderous attack upon the good name of the South."

He branded the three groups who published the report as "organizations dedicated to racial agitation."

ORGANIZATIONS NAMED

They are the American Friends Service Committee, of High Point, N.C., the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America, of New York City, and the Southern Regional Council, of an Auburn avenue address in Atlanta.

They joined in publishing a 30-page booklet titled "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis."

Talmadge said the three agencies "sought by innuendo, distortion, association and half truths to conclude from a series of 530 unrelated 'incidents' spread over a four-year period that law, order and harmonious race relations no longer exist in the 11 states of the South."

CALLED ONE-SIDED

"This studied effort to indict a whole region of our nation is wholly one-sided and makes no pretense at comparison with other periods or regions, nor does it attempt to report on the manner in which these so-called 'incidents' have been dealt with under due process of law in the states and localities where they occurred," Talmadge declared.

"The hypocrisy which motivated this biased and inflammatory publication is unspeakable and deserves the condemnation of all fair-minded Americans regardless of their place of residence," the Senator added.

Talmadge inserted in the record editorials from The Augusta Herald and The Savannah Morning News attacking the report as a biased distortion of facts slanderous to the entire South.

ATTACK CALLED UNJUST

In Atlanta, the Southern Regional Council issued a statement expressing belief Talmadge had not read the report and calling his attack unjust.

The statement said, in part:

"The Senator could not have read the report before making his charges. If he had, he would have found that each incident reported was taken from objective newspaper accounts and that arrests and convictions of offenders were also reported. Moreover, cases in which Negroes were the perpetrators of violence against whites were also included.

HITS AT TALMADGE

"The Senator is grossly misinformed if he believes that these (sponsoring) organizations engage in 'racial agitation.' Each of them is known for its temperate, responsible approach to race relations.

"It is a great pity that Sen. Talmadge is not more concerned about these critical problems of lawlessness, rather than unjustly attacking those who soberly point out the dangers."

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

WALTER P. REUTHER.....PRESIDENT
EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

RECEIVED JUL 13 1959

July 9, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have your memorandum of June 10, 1959 and your subsequent letter of June 12, 1959 regarding the release of the report on violence in the South and your reminder of the $250. remaining on our pledge. I am today processing the check for $250. Be advised I have received the 500 copies of the report, which are most illuminating and should serve to awaken the conscience of many, both North and South, to the seriousness of the present impasse in race relations in the South.

I have distributed most of the copies I received to all our officers, Executive Board members, and to the field staff working on Race Relations. I would suspect, based on the reactions to date, we can use another 500 copies or possibly more. It is my current impression that the concise format and straightforward analysis of this report will command far greater attention than any of us anticipated. Please let me know how much an additional 1,000 copies will cost.

Regards.

Sincerely,

William H. Oliver

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW.

WHO:os
oeiu42aflcio

violence

June 12, 1959

Mr. William H. Oliver
Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department
U. A. W. - C. I. O.
Solidarity House
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit 14, Michigan

Dear Bill:

Now that the report on intimidation, reprisal, and violence is out, we are trying to wind up the Council's responsibilities as custodian and administrator of the join funds for this special project.

In reviewing the correspondence, I find that you have sent in $250 toward the UAW's pledge of $500. If you can send us the remaining $250 for the project, this will enable us to have a final audit of the special account for the benefit of all the participating organizations.

It will be interesting to see the kind of public notice the report attracts following its public release Monday. Lord knows, it took long enough to get it out, but I hope all of us will feel it was worth it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

July 31, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sir:

An examination has been made of the books and records of the Southern Interagency Conference--Joint Fact-Finding Project for the period from January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959.

The following Exhibit and Schedule, with comments, are submitted herewith:

EXHIBIT A - Statement of Receipts and Disbursements

SCHEDULE 1 - Reconciliation - Citizens Trust Company

COMMENTS

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., acting as coordinator and secretariat of the Southern Interagency Conference--Joint Fact-Finding Project, agreed to serve as custodian of funds for a joint fact-finding project on Intimidation and Violence. Exhibit A shows the receipts and disbursements of those funds for the period from January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959.

Receipts were traced to bank deposits. All disbursements were made by check. The bank balance was confirmed by correspondence with the depository.

Respectfully,

Daniel E. Harrison

Daniel E. Harrison
Registered Public Accountant

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE--JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements
January 1, 1959 to June 30, 1959

RECEIPTS

Balance, January 1, 1959		$1,483.84

DISBURSEMENTS

Salary, Project Director	$ 70.00	
Social Security Tax	1.75	
Postage	.70	
Printing Project Report	1,320.00	
Total Disbursements		1,392.45
Balance, June 30, 1959		$ 91.39

EXHIBIT A

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE--JOINT FACT-FINDING PROJECT

Reconciliation--Citizens Trust Company

June 30, 1959

Balance per bank and per books	$ 91.39

SCHEDULE 1

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

Atlanta, Georgia
September 19-20, 1960

Jean Russell, Chairman Galen Martin, Secretary

1. In opening the meeting everyone was urged to respond to future requests for agenda suggestions and reservations plans, only a very few having done so for this meeting.

2. New project or agency reports included:

   Dr. Thornton W. Merriam was introduced as a new staff member of the Southern Area Council of the YMCA, with responsibility for human relations concerns.

   James R. Wood, Wyatt T. Walker, and Dorothy F. Cotton were presented as new workers with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Mr. Wood explained that the SCLC staff had been doubled and that they were trying to provide increased assistance to leaders, with attention also devoted to voting registration and encouraging discussion of the philosophy of non-violence.

   Richard M. Shapiro was present as a new staff member of the Southeastern office of the Anti-Defamation League.

3. The Atlanta Steering Committee presented six recommendations for improved functioning of the Southern Interagency Conference.

   a. Participation should involve only agencies national or regional in scope.

   b. Only professionals should be involved normally.

   c. A permanent chairman should be chosen for the 1960-61 year.

   d. There should be a well planned agenda for each meeting. Formal program should not be planned for the evening, rather it is hoped that some informal social activity can be arranged. On the second day the meeting should continue until about 3:00 p. m.

   e. Reports should be limited to things not known through the press. Generally there is no need to arrive at conclusions. On policy phases if there are more than twenty participants, there should be a division into more than one group.

   f. CORE and the Southern Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee should be invited to participate.

May 2,3 - 1961

The First five recommendations were accepted. It was felt, however, that since the group was not organized, no suggestions for additional participants should be entertained by the group. It was agreed that the Secretariat and the Atlanta Steering Committee would be responsible for maintaining the agency mailing list for announcements of future meetings.

REPORTS

4. Art Levin and others reported on Jacksonville. It was suggested that the trouble was engineered with the initiative taken by Klansmen. They came from South Georgia and North Florida, and even instructed police not to interfere in disturbances. The police stood on the side lines. The Mayor was once a candidate for Governor and to some extent the trouble reflected a political battle between the Mayor and the Governor.

   It was suggested that in such situations the police be publicly put on notice that the public expected law and order to be maintained. Public opinion should be mobilized in advance so blame can be affixed.

   The police put one white student in a "tank" with his attackers who continued the attack. The Mayor rejected a request for settlement made by Governor Collins.

5. Constance Curry of the National Student Association Southern Project reported on the student movement. There was to be a student conference October 13-15, in Atlanta. The emphasis was on the philosophy of non-violence. A monthly newsletter is being sent out by the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, called Student Voice.

   The problem of expelled students was raised, and the possibility of work projects. Also mentioned were students who had lost part-time jobs.

   Hope was mentioned that leadership for kneel-ins might come from campus religious groups. Agencies which have been helping expelled students include:

   National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students
   National Student Christian Federation
   Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee

   SNCC is to prepare a list of agencies, with type of aid available, and criteria for aid.

6. Prince Edward County. Irene Osborne is now at work for the American Friends Service Committee on the scene. An audit is being made of the number of children and their school needs. Fifty have gone

North to desegregated schools, Litigation is in process, but with little hope for this year. One hopeful sign is the development of a small interracial group.

7. Art Levin reported on the implications of anti-Semitism in the South. The swastika painting caused a re-examination. They revealed much more anti-Semitism than realized. Anti-Semitism is a high paying profession. Gerald K. Smith groups have an estimated gross earning of $225,000 a year. The National States Rights Party (200 members) openly espouses violence to establish control of the government. The Klan is considered more anti-Semitic than anti anything else. The same groups oppose the Salk Vaccine, flouridation, and psychiatrists. Publications of these groups include: Common Sense, American Nationalist, American Mercury, and the Economic Council Letter.

   The National States Rights Party is on the ballot for this fall in Alabama and Arkansas and attempting to get on in Tennessee. Faubus and Crommelin comprise their ticket.

   The problems of discrimination and prejudice seem inseparable. The hate groups make no distinction. The conclusion should be the need to keep in mind that these matters are inseparable. They go hand in hand.

8. Paul Rilling of SRC reported that the report on the South Carolina consultation on work in non-urban areas is due soon and that agencies will be informed.

9. Herman Long and others told about the work of the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials and distributed membership leaflets. NAIRO has over 600 members. This year's conference will be held in Cincinnati November 15-18.

10. Mr. Saul Silverman, Staff Assistant to the Florida Commission on Race Relations reported on the organization and work of that agency. It is headed by Cody Fowler of Tampa, former President of the American Bar Association, and is called the Fowler Commission. It has established advisory committees in several areas. Their communications have suggested that it is no longer a choice of change or no change, because change is inevitable. The Advisory Committee on Higher Education has 42 exceptional members. A religious advisory committee is also active. Fourteen interracial committees have been organized in different cities. This is seen as a way of institutionalizing city supported efforts for better human relations.

11. The National Broadcasting Company will present an hour long television documentary on race relations in December or January, with special emphasis on the changing role of the Negro in the South.

12. It was reported that Bob Hughes, Executive Director of the Alabama Council on Human Relations will go to Southern Rhodesia as a Methodist missionary in the near future. Bob's going to Africa is

reported as a result of the Methodist Church provision that a minister must serve a "charge" every so often. This is stated as not being a direct result of recent developments in Alabama in which he was summoned by a local grand jury in a libel suit, and refused to give the names of members and contributors to the Alabama Council. Later the subpoena was reworded to remove this requirement and he did testify.

13. STRATEGY DISCUSSION OF STUDENT MOVEMENT

Observations included the view that the movement was changing into new directions. The opposition may be better organized. The student movement was cited as a rebirth of social concern on the campus not seen since the 30's. Adult professional workers can't have much to say about the movement; they might tend to slow it down.

What is the role of intergroup workers?

a. To interpret.
b. To encourage realization of the need to take sides.
c. To point out what the community may face in the future.
d. To bring the groups together without trying to solve differences.
e. To give advice without inhibiting those making the decisions.
f. To exchange information.

It was suggested that with one or two exceptions, there have been no resolutions of lunch counter sit-ins solely by negotiation between students and business men. The pattern is for involvement of adult business and community leaders to achieve desegregation. Intergroup workers can talk of alternatives without trying to make decisions. The advice giving process can be very subtle.

14. The next meeting will be held January 3 and 4 in Atlanta.

Mrs. Jean Russell was elected by acclamation as chairman for 1960-61.

Charles Wittenstein was elected secretary for the next meeting.

It was suggested that a more informal concensus process be used except when definite difference is evident.

<u>Agenda Suggestions</u>

1. New Orleans school desegregation.
2. Review of tokenism, grade-a-year plans, and teacher desegregation.
3. Voting cases in Terrell and Fayette Counties
4. Prince Edward County suit.

It was agreed that the chairman and the steering committee would work for a more systematic reporting on some of these topics.

Meeting adjourned at 11:59 A. M. September 20.

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
Don Slaiman, Director
815 - 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
E. T. Kehrer
40 Marietta Street, N. W., Suite 1422
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

American Baptist Convention
Rev. J. Martin England
Post Office Box 10201
Federal Station
Greenville, South Carolina 29603

American Baptist Convention
Rev. J. C. Herrin
Box 188
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

American Civil Liberties Union
Charles Morgan, Southern Regional Director
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

American Friends Service Committee--Southcentral Regional Office
Garnet Guild, Executive Secretary
4717 Crawford
Houston, Texas 77004

American Friends Service Committee
Miss Constance Curry
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 502
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

American Friends Service Committee--Southeastern Regional Office
Wil Hartzler, Executive Secretary
Post Office Box 1791
High Point, North Carolina 27261

American Jewish Committee--Atlanta Area Office
Charles Wittenstein, Director
The Hartford Building
100 Edgewood, N. E., Suite 526
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

American Jewish Committee--Southwest Regional Office
Gustave Falk, Regional Director
1809 Tower Petroleum Building
Dallas Texas 75201

American Jewish Committee
Harry Fleischman, Race Relations Coordinator
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

American Jewish Congress--Southeastern Region
Joseph I. Yanich, Executive Director
Congress Building, Room 714
111 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida 33132

Amistad Research Center
Dr. Clifton H. Johnson, Director
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith--Southcentral Regional Office
A. I. Botnick, Regional Director
535 Gravier Street, Suite 806
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Irwin Schulman, Director
1715 City Federal Building
Birmingham, Alabama 35203

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith--Southern Office
Ted Freedman, Director
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith--Southwest Regional Office
Andy Friedbery
1513 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas 77002

Anti-Defamation League
Monroe Schlactus, Director
Practonian Building
Dallas, Texas 75201

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
Mr. Jerome L. Levingrad, Director
700 East Main Street, Suite 1006
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Christians Social Relations Board of Missions--The Methodist Church
Mrs. J. Ben Stalvey
6780 S. W. 75th Terrace
South Miami, Florida 33143

Committee for Racial Justice NOW--United Church of Christ
Charles Cobb, Executive Coordinator
289 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10003

Committee for Racial Justice NOW--United Church of Christ
The Rev'd Harold K. Schulz, Executive Secretary
289 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10003

Committee of Southern Churchmen
Will Campbell
1207 - 18th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Community Relations Service
Rev. Cornelius Tarplee
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C. 20530

Congress of Racial Equality
Richard Haley, Core Southern Office
2211 Dryades Street
New Orleans, Louisiana

Disciples of Christ, United Christian Missionary Society
Ian McCrae
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis, Indiana 46207

The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
Rev. David B. Nickerson
5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Room 200
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Jewish Labor Committee
Mr. Irving Gordon
630 Ansley Court, Apt. 15
Atlanta, Georgia 30324

Jewish Labor Committee
Emanuel Muravchik, Director, Field Services
25 East 78th Street
New York, New York 10021

Mennonith Service Committee
540 Houston Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30312

The Methodist Church, Women's Division, Dept. of Christian Social Relations
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox, Secretary
1752 Old Niles Ferry Pike
Maryville, Tennessee 37801

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Southeastern Regional Office
Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Director
859½ Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc.
Miss Jean Fairfax
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
Southwestern Regional Office
Clarence Laws, Director
2600 Flora Street
Dallas, Texas 75204

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
Southern Field Service
Jack Sisson, Director
8017 Palm Street
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice
Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director
1307 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60005

National Conference of Christians and Jews, (Ga. & Ala.)
Don McEvoy, Director
1009 First Federal Building
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

National Conference on Religion and Race
Dr. J. Oscar Lee, Executive Director
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

National Council of Churches
The Rev'd Dr. Benjamin F. Payton, Director
Commission on Religion & Race
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

National Council of Churches
Rev. Bruce Hanson
Commission on Religion and Race
475 Riverside Drive
New York, New York 10027

National Council of Churches, Commission on Religion and Race
Edward Brown
499 Emory Circle, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

National Council of Jewish Women
Miss Hannah Stein, Executive Director
1 West 47th Street
New York, New York 10036

National Council of Negro Women
(1) Miss Dorothy Height, President
(2) Miss H. Elsie Austin, Director
1318 Vermont Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

National Urban League, Southern Regional Office
Clarence D. Coleman, Director
78 Marietta Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

National Sharecroppers Fund
Jac Wasserman
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Penn Community Services
Courtney Siceloff, Director
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina 29920

The Potomac Institute, Inc.
(1) Harold C. Fleming, Executive Vice-President
(2) Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director
1501 - 18th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

The Presbyterian Church in the United States
Board of Christian Education
Malcolm P. Calhoun
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Protestant Episcopal Church
Executive Council
815 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Selma Inter-Religious Project
Francis X. Walter, Director
810 - 29th Avenue
Tuscaloosa, Alabama 35401

Southern Baptist Convention, Christian Life Commission
Foy Valentine, Executive Secretary
460 James Robertson Parkway
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Rev. Andrew Young
334 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Southern Baptist Convention -- Home Mission Board
Dr. Victor T. Glass
161 Spring Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Paul Anthony, Executive Director
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Southern Student Organizing Committee
Jody Palmour
Box 15474
Atlanta, Georgia

Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee
360 Nelson Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30313

Union of America Hebrew Congregations
816 Congress Building
Miami, Florida 33132

Unitarian Universalist Regional Office
Cliff Hoffman, Consultant
1145 Peachtree, N. E., Room 422
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

United Automobile Workers
Earl H. Henderson, Field Representative
1776 Peachtree Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309

United Church of Christ Council for Christian Social Action
S. Garry Oniki, Associate Secretary
289 Park Avenue, South
New York, New York 10010

United Presbyterian Field Office
J. Oscar McCloud
40 Marietta Street, N. W., Suite 1418
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

United Presbyterian Church
Rev. Albert C. Saunders
110 Maryland Avenue, N. E.
Washington, D. C. 20202

USNSA
Steven McNichols
3457 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

YMCA, Southern Area Council
Dunbar Reid
1611 Candler Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

YWCA, National Student Council
Miss Rosetta Gardner
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

YWCA, National Board
Miss Eileen E. Muir
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Mrs. H. V. Richardson
671 Beckwith Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Mrs. Jean Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greenville, Tennessee

SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

MINUTES ONLY

All State Council Directors

ACLU
Mr. John DeJ. Pemberton
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10010

AFSC
Mr. Noyes Collinson
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Georgia Council of Churches
Mr. Ed Driscoll
26 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Kentucky Commission on Human Rights
Mr. Galen Martin
311 Capitol Building
Frankfort, Kentucky

YWCA, National Board
Miss Edith Lerrigo
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

YWCA, Executive Community Division
Miss Mary Jane Willett
600 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10022

824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
October 30, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

My calendar says I am to write you Novemb er 1 about the agenda for the next SIC meeting. Since Galen hasn't gotten the minutes out yet and I find my notes rather incoherent, this isn't easy.

However, you said for me to remind you that you might send out a note asking for agenda suggestions about this time.

You will remember that it was suggested by several people that we should have the school situation brought up to date at the January meeting. John Hope suggested that we do some depth discussion of the problems of tokenism and teacher desegregation. Dr. Long was interested in having the SCLC discuss their philosophy, as was Art Levin. You will remember the lengthy discussion about that. Back up to the school situation, Knoxville, the Prince Edward County suit, and New Orleans were specifically mentioned. Also mentioned were the Fayette County situation, the Terrell County, Ga., situation, and I have a note that says "formation of quasi-public commission on human relations" which I can't remember a thing about.

You will remember the discussion about assigning proper persons to take the various topics in advance, so that the background material necessary for an intelligent discussion would have been presented.

I will write Galen today to send me at least the complete list of topics presented for the next agenda. If I remember correctly, you said you will be at N.A.I.R.O. If something doesn't happen, I will be there for two days of the meeting, and maybe we could get together to talk farther. Incidentally, if Iam taking the matter of agenda too seriously, just ignore me. But I feel Art Levin's hot breath on my back.

Seriously (but not about Art),

Jean R.

Same ltr to:
Murray Shapiro
Ed Brown
Rosetta Gardner

November 17, 1960

Mr. Wyatt Tee Walker
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
208 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Wyatt:

Since you indicated an interest in joining NAIRO last week, I am enclosing a membership form. The rush for you to join fairly soon is to give me credit for your membership before I go out of office as membership chairman. It's also a bargain -- if you join now, your membership extends through 1961.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm
Enc.

824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
December 12, 1960

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I assume you are in New Orleans where all good pros should be, But this letter may catch you between trips.

Could we plan to have the meeting of the Atlanta steering committee to work on the agenda for the SIC meeting on Monday afternoon, January 2, about two o'clock. That will give me plenty of time to get down that morning and also enough time for it to be run off before the next afternoon.

I have received no further agenda suggestions. In looking over what we got at the last meeting, I find I am not sure who should be asked to do what. You will, of course, report on New Orleans, and I will ask Galen to bring us up to date on Knoxville. Who would do Dallas and Houston? Are there other school situations we should have reports on?

I suppose Connie can report on the student movement assisted by, or assisting, anyone who shows up from the Student Co-ordinating Committee.

Would Ruby want to do the Prince Edward County suit and the Terrell and Fayette county voting cases?

And that leaves what John Hope had suggested as a depth discussion on tokenism, grade-a-year plans, and teacher desegregation.

For the latter, at least, the person should be notified in advance, and I really think it would be best for me to drop a note to anyone whom you think should handle these subjects.

Should Jean Fairfax have time to present orally the thing she has sent out on Prince Edward County? And what did we finally decide about asking the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to report on their philosophy?

After the meeting coming up, I think you and I should look at the agenda items suggested for the next meeting (at lunch, instead of just talking about it), and it would save you some of this trouble by correspondence.

Jean R.

Same ltr. sent to attached list.

March 2, 1961

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
Director
Southeastern Regional Office
N. A. A. C. P.
859½ Hunter Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Ruby:

We are closing out the account of the Joint Fact-Finding Project which made possible the study of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis. A proportionate share - according to the amount originally contributed - of the burrent balance of $328.60 is being sent to each contributor. Accordingly, our check for $54.68 is enclosed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1.

Same letter sent to the following agencies
with checks in the amounts shown:

UAW - William H. Oliver ($54.68)

AFSC - Jean Fairfax ($26.84)

AFSC - Wilton Hartzler, High Point, N. C. ($26.84)

AJCommittee - Chas. Wittenstein ($26.84)

ADL - Art Levin ($54.68)

NCC - Will Campbell ($29.30)

Chairman: BYRON A. HAWORTH Executive Secretary: WILTON E. HARTZLER Treasurer: W. EVAN CECIL

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated

Eighteen Eighteen South Main Street, High Point, North Carolina Telephone 2-4025

March 7, 1961

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul Anthony:

Thank you for your recent note and check in the amount of $26.84 representing re-imbursement from the "Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence" report account. We never dreamed that any part of the pie would remain for dividing up. Our sincere appreciation for the fine way in which you managed this project.

Sincerely,

Wil Hartzler

Wilton E. Hartzler
Executive Secretary

WH/jr

Enclosure

Solidarity House
8000 EAST JEFFERSON AVE.
DETROIT 14, MICHIGAN
PHONE LORAIN 8-4000

INTERNATIONAL UNION, UNITED AUTOMOBILE, AIRCRAFT & AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENT WORKERS OF AMERICA-UAW

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EMIL MAZEY.....SECRETARY-TREASURER
RICHARD GOSSER.....VICE-PRESIDENT
NORMAN MATTHEWS....VICE-PRESIDENT
LEONARD WOODCOCK..VICE-PRESIDENT
PAT GREATHOUSE.....VICE-PRESIDENT

March 7, 1961

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 201
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thanks for your letter of March 2, 1961 and the check which you enclosed No. 2854 in the amount of $54.68 which is the difference in our proportionate share of the Joint Fact-Finding Project of Intimidation, Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis. We are, of course, pleased to have had the opportunity to participate in this Project. Tell Harold Fleming I was shocked to receive the check. (Smile)

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

William H. Oliver

William H. Oliver, Co-Director
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
Department, UAW.

WHO:cl
oeiu42afl-cio

99

Interesting — Beverly

May 17, 1961

Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee

Dear Jean:

I accept service on the SIA committee, as requested in your letter of May 11. For your information, may I recapitulate the responsibility which the Atlanta steering committee wanted this committee to consider:

1. Should SIA meetings be continued? Why?

2. What is the purpose of such consultations. If the meetings are continued, how can they be more effectively structured to obtain this purpose.

3. Should SIA affiliate itself or relate itself to NAIRO? Should it consider disbanding and channel clearing house efforts through the appropriate regional departments of NAIRO?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Field Director

PMR/sn

824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
May 11, 1961

Ladies, gentlemen, etc.:

The steering committee of the SIC requested me to appoint a committee to evaluate the usefulness of SIC and report to the fall meeting. These persons are requested to serve on this committee: Art Levin, Ruby Hurley, Will Campbell, Paul Billing, and Jean Fairfax. I will serve as convenor.

We should look toward meeting in August perhaps. I will send out a suggestion of dates and meeting places at a later date, however.

In the meantime, let's all think mean thoughts about JFK.

Jean Russell

Interagency — General

June 22, 1961

Mrs. Ben Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee

Dear Jean;

I would be perfectly willing to go along with Jean Fairfax's suggestion if this is the best we can do. Having been involved in the originalsuggestion for the committee, however, I would hope we could make one more effort to convene it. You may know that Art Levin is now in Washington for a four months period. I have a meeting in Baltimore the week-end of July 14-16, and will probably be going to Virginia in August when our new state director takes over there. I believe that Will has some sort of meeting in New York this summer. Might it not be possible to schedule a meeting in Washington which would accommodate Jean Fairfax? If I were already as far North as Washington for other purposes, I could probably justify travel on to New York or Philadelphia, but this would seem pretty far off center unless two or three of us were already there. How goes your schedule?

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PMR/sm

824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
June 13, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have heard from only one of the persons appointed to serve on a committee to discuss the future of the SIC, and this was Jean Fairfax. She said it would be very difficult for her to get to Atlanta this summer, and suggested that the members be circulated with some sort of questionnaire and meet the morning of September 20.

Since you are the only other person who has responded, I thought I might ask your advice. Should we see if there is a possibility of another meeting place (farther north), or should we just give in to what is probably the inevitable and send out the questions raised by the steering committee? I would not imagine we would receive many answers from these busy people - which would mean handling the matter on that morning.

I will appreciate your considered advice.

Sincerely,

Jean Russell

September 1, 1961

Mrs. Jean Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Russell:

Paul Rilling has asked me to write you that in sending invitations to the September Interagency Conference we are omitting H. B. Sissel. We are inviting J. Metz Rollins and John Marion. This is in line with our general pattern of inviting regional representatives. Do you have any objections to our omission of the Rev. Sissel?

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Sec.
Field Services

824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
September 5, 1961

Miss Marge Manderson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

With regard to your letter of September 1, please communicate to Mr. Rilling that I have no objections.

Sincerely,

Jean Russell

Mrs. Ben Russell

SIAG - Gen

September 5, 1961

Mr. Carl J. Landes
5605 Oak Street
Guilford College, North Carolina

Dear Carl:

Paul Anthony shared with me your recent letter requesting information on the Southern Interagency Conference and the Consultative Conference on Desegregation. We received this morning your return card indicating that you will attend the September meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference. This group meets quarterly and we will keep you informed.

I'm afraid that the Consultative Conference on Desegregation no longer has any meaningful existance. An organizational structure was set up for CCD, but this has been inactive for several years with the exception of the Mass Media Committee of CCD, which continues to meet regularly in New York. This committee consists primarily of New York based representatives of national agencies and considers how to make more effective use of the national media. I would suggest that you ask to be placed on the mailing list of this committee. Write to Barry Fleischman, National Labor Service, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y..

I look forward to seeing you at the September Interagency Conference.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

YWCA

National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the U.S.A.

600 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
PLAZA 3-4700
CABLE: EMISSARIUS, N. Y.

National Board, YWCA
Southern Region
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
Telephone: JAckson 5-2381

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MRS. ARTHUR LORD NASH
Assistant Treasurer

MISS EDITH M. LERRIGO
General Secretary

September 7, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Sometime ago I listed two names with you for the mailing list for agencies participating in the "Inter-Agency Meeting". The two names are mine and Miss Edith Lerrigo, General Secretary YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, New York.

I would like to add a third name - Miss Mary Jane Willett, Executive Community Division, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, New York.

You probably remember Miss Willett as a former correlator for the National Board in the Southern Region, and more recently executive director of the New Orleans YWCA. Beginning this month she accepts the responsibility for the Community Division of the National Board located in New York and I am sure her name on the mailing list would add greatly to her information concerning the strategic development in the Southern Region at this time.

I am looking forward to seeing you in the meetings on September 21 and 22.

Best wishes to you.

Sincerely,

Florence

Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region

FCH:c
CC-Mary Jane Willett
Edith Lerrigo

YWCA ®

September 14, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

I apologize for not sending you the notice of the September Interagency meeting, one of which is enclosed. Actually, we cannot officially ask you to participate until the Atlanta committee formally approves the issuance of an invitation to the Potomac Institute. We can assume that this is a ritual which will be completed at the meeting of the Atlanta committee, which will be held either Friday, September 15, or Monday, September 18. Pack your bags, but don't leave until we let you know officially. I do hope that you can come.

I think your suggestion to Paul that the Interagency Conference meet at the Potomac Institute is an excellent one, primarily because I have not been to Washington recently. Perhaps you can invite us for the January meeting.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm
Enclosures

September 14, 1961

Miss Florence C. Harris, Correlator
Southern Region YWCA
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Suite 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Florence:

We will be happy to send minutes of the Interagency Meeting to Miss Willett and Miss Lerrigo. Our usual policy is to send only one invitation to attend the meeting to each agency, which in this case would normally go to you. Of course, this does not limit the YWCA as to who would represent the organization. It is just intended to simplify and standardize the invitation proceedure. We were at one time inviting as many as five from some agencies and only one from others.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

October 2, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Potomac Institute
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Harold:

The Southern Interagency Conference eagerly accepts your invitation to meet next time in the Nation's Capital and make use of the fabled resources of the Potomac Institute, whatever that is.

The dates will be January 11th and 12th; if, for some reason, this is inconvenient to you, we suggest the 18th and 19th. It is our understanding, of course, that you will arrange to have such persons as Feild, Bernhard, and Marshall scheduled to meet with the group at that time.

We are assuming that each individual will make his own housing arrangements, although we will probably designate the Cairo as hotel headquarters.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

Tenn.
Gen 7
J. Russell

August 7, 1961

Mrs. Jean Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee

Dear Jean:

I have been delaying an answer to your letter of July 6 until my plans developed for a trip to Virginia. I am now caught up in the inevitable August rat race. I will be going to Virginia August 15th and 16th, but could not make a meeting in Washington that week unless it were the evening of the 16th or the day of the 17th, which you hardly have time to arrange. My next flexible schedule would be around the week of September 11.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

P.S. Art's address is 2401 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greeneville, Tennessee
July 6, 1961

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Well, it seems to me that our best hope would be to try to schedule a meeting in Washington preceding or following your Virginia trip. Will is taking July for a vacation, I was told by his secretary last week. I am pretty unscheduled and un-nerved, because my mother has rather suddenly become almost bedridden due to age, and I am still trying desperately to adjust to this new situation both emotionally and physically. However, I have some help that I can get to stay with her for short periods until I can work out something better. So if you can give me some notice of your Virginia date, I can circulate the committee for a Washington meeting and feel sure that since A rt is already there, we could get enough together for a meeting.

How about accommodations in Washington? We will have to determine a meeting place and everything.

What is Art's Washington address?

Sincerely,

Jean

SJC

UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST
COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION

289 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK · GR 5-2121

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September 10, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
The Southern Regional Council
5 South Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

Miss Jean Fairfax, who is a member of our Council, has suggested that I write you concerning the Southern Inter-agency Conference because of our work in the South. I would appreciate information regarding time and place of meetings, etc.

Sincerely yours,

S. Garry Oniki

S. Garry Oniki
Associate Secretary on
Race Relations

SGO:lc

SIC

September 17, 1962

Mr. S. Garry Oniki
Associate Secretary on Race Relations
United Church of Christ
Council for Christian Social Action
289 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Oniki:

We are placing you on the list for information concerning the Southern Interagency Conference and will shortly be sending you minutes of our recent meeting. The United Church of Christ has been represented at our meetings through Carl Landes, Ed Brown, and Herman Long. It is the normal practice of participating agencies to assign staff working in the South to represent them at these discussions.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

PR - as you know, I agree emphatically. I want to suggest to you very strongly ~~that~~ this ~~the~~ matter be brought to a decision. Moreover I think it decidedly should not wait: can't there be a specially called meeting of the steering com the

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

September 19, 1962

Atlanta Steering Committee
Southern Interagency Conference
c/o Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

As one who has been participating in the Southern Interagency Conference for five years, I believe there has been a change in the nature of our meetings and am very grateful for it. I sense a shift away from factual reporting and information per se and more interest in the analysis of developments in the South and in a search for their deeper significance.

Inevitably as more groups have become active in the South, the participation in the Interagency Conference has grown. We have ceased to be a little club. At the same time I am glad that we have not become a collection of representatives who are united only through the formalities of an agenda. As human relations and civil rights programing moves into the more resistant areas of the Deep South and as there is more diversity among groups active in the field, there are bound to arise more genuine differences of opinion about goals, strategy, techniques, the effectiveness of personnel, etc. I hope we will be sufficiently generous and resilient to see in this new situation the potential for mutual stimulation and growth rather than for interagency conflict.

One matter troubles me about the Interagency Conference and that is the absence of representatives of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). I do not know the specific reasons for their non-participation. Perhaps they have not been asked to attend. If so, what prevents us from extending an invitation to them to join us? Inasmuch as representatives of the American Friends Service Committee meet representatives of SNCC in national meetings where SNCC is accorded the dignity of recognition as a bona fide civil rights organization, I am uneasy to be in meetings from which I feel they may have been excluded.

I would find it hard to sit in judgment on the credentials of another body and hope that the Southern Interagency Conference will not have to devote valuable time in our sessions to a discussion of qualifications of membership. I think it is more appropriate for those of us who want to include a new group to express our points of view to the Atlanta Steering Committee which has the responsibility for extending invitations. I believe that most of the persons who have been participating in the Southern Interagency Conference would agree with me that an invitation should be extended to SNCC to send representatives to our meetings.

I am writing to you now hoping that an early and favorable consideration by you of this matter will result in the inclusion of SNCC in our new roster of participating groups.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Jean Fairfax

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

cc: Cornelius Tarplee

September 24, 1962

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative for Southern Programs
American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

Dear Jean:

Your formal letter concerning the admission of SNCC to the Southern Interagency Conference is at hand and will be placed before the Atlanta Steering Committee at its next meeting which will be in advance of the next quarterly meeting of SIC. The question of admitting SNCC did come up some time ago, and the Steering Committee elected not to act on it either way but to table the question until the reorganization of the Committee, then in process, was completed. We have not had a request from SNCC since that time, but they have been advised as to the procedure for indicating a desire to be invited.

I agree with your position and will support the admission of SNCC at the meeting of the Atlanta Steering Committee. I will let you know what happendd

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

October 29, 1962

The Rev. Cornelius Tarplee
Assistant Executive Secretary
National Council of the
Protestant Episcopal Church
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neal:

Would a meeting of the Atlanta Steering Committee on Monday, December 3, be too far away? If so, let me know and I'll try for a November date. I think it important that I be present, if possible, and my November schedule is already a mess.

On the matter of Anne Braden's request which you discussed with Les by telephone, I would suggest that we grant her request by letting her provide us with so many copies of her letter and then mailing them, along with Bill Higgs' letter to Branton, to all persons who were present at the Interagency session. Let me know your thinking on this.

Sincerely,

Paul M. Rilling
Director of Field Activities

PR:mm

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
October 23, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

It seems to me important to get a chance to meet with some of the members of the Atlanta Steering Committee for the Interagency conference. Besides the agenda, there are some communications which we should consider. I wonder if it would be possible to see if we could have such a meeting? Except for the weekends and December 5 and 6, I can, as of now, get to Atlanta for one day almost at the convenience of the committee. As you know our calenders fill up pretty fast, so if you could conveniently find a day for such a meeting fairly soon, I would appreciate it very much.

Most sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

CCT/sm
(Signed in Mr. Tarplee's absence)

281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y. SPring 7-9100

The National Council
Protestant Episcopal Church

P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Va
Nov. 8, 1962

Dear Paul,

Dec. 3 suits me fine. I have a stack of stuff from Anne Braden. I know nothing of Bill Higgs letter to Brantley. Can you get the Atlanta group together for a meeting on the third of December. If we could meet from lunch time to dinner and even afterward it would be fine. I could come the night before for a morning meeting but would rather take an early morning plane which would get me there by noon.

Hope to hear from you -

Sincerely

Neil.

281 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y. SPring 7-9100

Mar-28-29- MM

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Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA
JAckson 2-8764

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

INTEROFFICE MEMO

Date December 5, 1962

To: Paul Anthony
(cc: Les Dunbar)

From: Paul Rilling

Subject: Conclusions of Atlanta Steering Committee, Southern Interagency Conference, meeting December 3.

1. It was agreed that Anne Braden's memorandum to Wiley responding to his comments at the last Interagency Meeting will be circulated to all persons who were present at that meeting. Bill Higgs' letter to Wiley will be included. Neil Tarplee will notify Anne Braden. Mrs. Braden will provide copies of her memorandum, which we will mail out to agencies present at the last session. Marge has the list of such agencies. It was further agreed that the Bradens will not be invited to appear personally at the next Interagency Meeting, as they requested.

2. There was no positive consensus on inviting SNCC to participate in future Southern Interagency Meetings. Consequently, no invitation will be issued concerning the next meeting.

3. It was agreed that the members of the Atlanta Steering Committee will meet with Neil Tarplee on the morning of Jan. 3, prior to the convening of the regional meeting in the afternoon to consider further the whole question of membership and criteria for membership. It is also thought that the discussion should range over the philosophical differences dividing various agencies et cetera. In the light of this discussion, the suggestion that SNCC be invited to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference will be considered by the Steering Committee. The secretariat is responsible for reminding members of the Steering Committee about the meeting the morning of the third and scheduling a place for it. Neil Tarplee will be on hand to preside.

4. It was agreed that in the future host agencies will provide a secretary to keep the minutes of Southern Interagency discussions so that participating members will not be so burdened. SRC will furnish a secretary for the meeting January 3 and 4. This responsibility will rotate pending on where the meetings are held, etc..

5. It was suggested that the secretariat arrange the next meeting for January 3 and 4 at the Peachtree Manor Hotel. It was suggested that SRC discuss the matter with the management of the Peachtree Manor and make the arrangements unless the management of the hotel feels that this will be a sensitive meeting that might embarrass the establishment. If it is not found convenient to hold the meeting at the Peachtree Manor, the Waluhaje or ITC are possibilities.

6. The secretariat, as usual, will make contacts with persons who will have program responsibilities, and arrange their involvement. The agenda agreed upon at the Steering Committee Meeting is attached. In arranging the agenda it should be remembered that the group decided last time to have an early evening session followed by a later evening social hour.

7. As has been our practice, three members of the group will be listed as hosts for the social hour and will share the costs of the refreshments. Or maybe it is four. Marge will have the list of those who have so far shared this responsibility. The secretariat must make the arrangements for the social hour, although if it is at the Waluhaje, Ruby Hurley has been willing in the past to handle this. The reception could be at the Waluhaje even if the meeting were at ITC.

Suggested Agenda, Southern Interagency
Conference, January 3 & 4, Atlanta

1. Announcements and notices.
   (Anyone wishing to pass on a program announcement or notify the group of pending developments may do so at this time.)

2. The Significance of the President's Housing Order and Discussion Thereof. -Harold Fleming or Art Levin

3. The Oxford Incident, Its Implications for the Future. -Will Campbell.

4. Whither Goest Alabama? -Norman Jimerson
   -Dick Shapiro
   (It was suggested that SRC bring Jimerson over if possible. If not, Neil Tarplee will contact the campus minister of the University of Alabama for the same purpose.)

5. Department of Justice.

   (This would be for the purpose of informal exchanges between a representative of the Department of Justice and the Interagency Group. Burke Marshall could be asked to designate who might come, or come himself. John Doar was also suggested for this purpose.)

(This format was devised with the thought that it might be preferable this time to have discussion in depth of a smaller number of topics.)

SCHEDULE:

Thursday, January 3

2:00 P.M.	-	Meeting begins.
5:30 P.M.	-	Adjournment.
6:30 P.M.	-	Dinner.
7:30 P.M.	-	Evening session of meeting.
9:30 P.M.	-	Adjournment.
9:30 P.M.	-	Social hour.

Friday, January 4

9:30 A.M.	-	Meeting begins.
12:00 Noon	-	Luncheon.
3:00 P.M.	-	Adjournment.

PA

mm

The National Council

Protestant Episcopal Church

P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
December 12, 1962

Mrs. Anne Braden
4403 Virginia Avenue
Louisville 11, Kentucky

Dear Mrs. Braden:

I have distributed copies of our correspondence to the Program Planning Committee of the Interagency Conference. The committee would like to suggest the following course of action: It has asked the Southern Regional Council to act as secretariat and mail to those who attended the last meeting of the ~~last~~ interagency conference copies of the statement which you and Mr. Braden have proposed making, together with an account by Bill Higgs of his telephone conversation which seemed to play an important part in the matter. If you will send about fifty copies of the statement from you and Mr. Braden to the Southern Regional Council in care of Leslie Dunbar, I am sure the statement will be sent out right away.

I am indeed sorry that you and Mr. Braden feel as strangly as you do in regard to this matter. I know that it is very distressing to people to feel unjustly accused of anything, and if there were any errors of statement at the interagency meeting they should be corrected. I was present at the meeting, however, and did not get the impression at all that either you or your husband were being "attacked and raked over the coals".

I hope sincerely that you will feel that this action will provide adequate communication with those who were at the last interagency meeting.

Most sincerely,

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

CCT/sm

BLIND COPY

January 7, 1963

Mr. James R. Forman
Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Jim:

In response to your request of December 5, the steering committee of the Southern Interagency Conference recommended to the full Conference that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee be invited to participate. I am pleased to inform you that the Conference accepted this recommendation at their meeting in Atlanta on January 3.

The next meeting of the group will be held in Atlanta on March 28-29. I hope you can be present.

Welcome.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

P.A.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

December 5, 1962

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Rilling:

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee is very interested in the Southern Inter-Agency Conference.

We would like to have more information about the Inter-Agency group and would also like to apply to become a part of it.

Sincerely yours,

James R. Forman/c

James R. Forman, Executive Secretary
Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee

JRF/nfc

M

January 7, 1962

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Committee on Organization, Southern Interagency Conference (Jean Fairfax, Vincent Harding, Ruby Hurley, Charles Wittenstein)

FROM: Paul Anthony

As I have discussed with you, the following procedure seems logical for the job our colleagues have generously given us: each of you send to me as quickly as possible your draft of--or comment on--the report we are to prepare. The drafts and our final report should be as brief as we can make them. Among the things we are to concern ourselves with are:

Description of the Interagency Conference;
Role of and procedures for selecting the secretariat;
Role, procedures for selecting, responsibilities of the steering committee;
Role, responsibilities, and procedures for selecting the chairman;
Agenda, minutes, secretary;
Membership;
Voting: if, when, and how;
Representation by agencies.

I will send to each member of the committee the drafts received here. Thereafter we will plan for an early meeting. Jean Fairfax will likely be able to stop by Atlanta from a Texas trip sometime between February 1-10. Until we know dates, will you please keep this period as free as possible.

The progress we make at that meeting will determine what next.

I think we have been given a very serious responsibility, one which may well determine the future structure and effectiveness of what is basically a very worthy idea. Perhaps if we can plow through this we can get about the business at hand again.

PA:mm

LWD ✓
mm

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

January 10, 1963

688-0331

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your letter of January 7 informing us that we have been accepted as participants in the Southern Interagency Conference.

We will be sure to attend the next meeting on March 28-29.

My best wishes,

Sincerely,

James Forman
Executive Secretary

JF:dm

LESLIE DUNBAR V

12:30 - SRC conference room

RECEIVED JAN 14 1963

CONFIDENTIAL

Memorandum

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
160 North Fifteenth Street Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania

January 11, 1963

TO: Paul Anthony, Vincent Harding, Ruby Hurley, Charles Wittenstein

FROM: Jean Fairfax

SUBJECT: SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE: Some Thoughts About the Committee on Organization

May I suggest Wednesday, February 6, beginning with lunch, as a tentative date for a meeting of our committee? I shall have to ask your forbearance because I may have to change the date but it seems to be a possibility now.

I am not prepared to submit a draft of a report for committee consideration. Here are some random thoughts, in a rough outline.

I. We need to recognize the fact that agencies have different attitudes toward consultation with other groups.

A. Very frankly, I get the feeling sometimes that some agency representatives really do not feel the need to consult with anyone else. Therefore, they will give a low priority to interagency consultations, so far as staff schedules are concerned, and will not have much sense of responsibility for making the consultative process effective.

B. Agencies, like AFSC, need interagency consultation. As an agency without a broad constituency, we have staffed programs in few communities in the South. Therefore, we can be very knowledgeable about a few places but often have no source of information, other than the mass media, about developments in other areas. We are not equipped to be "fire-fighters" and usually do not have the resources to move quickly into crisis situations. We depend on our interagency contacts as a source of information and insight about general developments and crisis situations. Membership organizations which have a broad constituency in the South may not be in this situation.

C. Agencies which are not based in Atlanta and which do not have the opportunity to confer regularly with other groups may expect more from the Interagency Conference than those that are in Atlanta. The time and expense involved and the need to get as much accomplished as possible in one meeting (because the next opportunity will not come again for another 3 months) are some of the factors behind the pressure for evening meetings, more planning and advance preparation of sessions, etc.

II. As I see it, the Southern Interagency Conference provides an opportunity for information, analysis and coordination.

Wittenstein - OK
Harding - message
Hurley - OK call back around 11:00

A. Information: the sharing of information about developments in the South and about agency programs.

B. Analysis: assessment of situations, discussion of trends, consideration of questions of strategy. I sense a growing interest, particularly in representatives of religious groups, for discussions on the deeper level of the ethical and religious impulse which motivates work in intergroup relations.

C. Coordination: I think we learned fairly early that it is very difficult to coordinate widely differing organizations into single action programs. However, the Southern Interagency Conference has provided a framework within which coordination has taken place among organizations which felt they could work together on particular matters. For example:

(1) the pamphlet "Intimidation Reprisal and Violence in the South's Racial Crisis"

(2) AFSC has called special consultations on tokenism in North Carolina, on human relations programing in hardcore areas, on Prince Edward County and on Mississippi which we were able to have more easily and with greater confidence because of the interagency framework.

III. The nature of our meetings

A. They should be carefully planned.

B. They should make full use of the rich resources in the group.

C. There should be an informal and easy atmosphere which is conducive to candor; the confidential and off-the-record nature of these gatherings is vital to their success.

IV. What kind of organization do we need to accomplish this end?

A. I think we need a relatively stable group so that confidence can develop. For this reason I am in favor of the following:

1. The present list of agencies that are invited should be reviewed. Some are dead wood and have not sent representatives for several years. They should be queried about whether they really wish to participate and to send representatives reasonably regularly. If not, they should be dropped. I see us developing a contact list of interested agencies who might wish to be on an interagency mailing list but who do not feel they can participate regularly in the Conference. I would separate this list from the "members."

2. I think we should ask agencies to designate who their official representatives will be for a given program year. We should cut down on the number of persons who drop in for a single session which might give them a warped idea of what we're about. I think it is okay to have visitors but would be in favor of submitting their names in advance to the secretariat so that we do not have a disproportionate number of outsiders at a given meeting.

B. On the basis of the above we should develop a "membership list." In general these will be agency representatives with area or regional responsibilities although I have no objection to including local intergroup persons (Atlanta Council on Human Relations, Atlanta Urban League, etc.) if that number does not get too large.

C. The Southern Interagency Conference is not an organization with a constitution and by-laws. Nor is it a meeting where representatives come with fixed agency positions which they wish to put over and defend. There should be relatively few matters on which we should vote and I am not yet prepared to say whether voting should be by agency or by individual.

D. We may need a statement of agreement to which members would give their assent; that discussions are confidential and that reports of meetings are not to become public information; that no pictures are to be taken without consent of those present; that membership lists may not be shared, etc.

E. We need a recognized procedure for extending the invitation to new groups. What about a vote by 2/3 of the members? This would prevent a blackball by one group but would accept the fact that the consultative process will not work if a substantial minority of the members feel uneasy about the participation of a certain organization. I should think this procedure could work for "un-inviting" someone who has violated the commitment to confidentiality or who has engaged in behavior which we feel is unacceptable.

F. I am in favor of asking the Southern Regional Council to continue to serve as the secretariat.

G. I think the steering committee should have a definite composition, chosen each year by the Conference. For the sake of convenience, most of its members will probably be Atlanta persons. What about a steering committee of four, plus the chairman, two of whom would not be based in Atlanta. The responsibilities of the steering committee would include planning the meetings, keeping members informed on matters of importance, doing advance preparation when policy matters need to be presented to the body, etc. It would handle the "casual" invitations to a given meeting and would work out a procedure for polling members on invitations to prospective members.

JF:mt

cc: Cornelius Tarplee
Leslie Dunbar

January 21, 1963

Miss Jean Fairfax
National Representative for
Southern Programs
AmericansFriends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pa.

Dear Jean:

Thanks for your good memo on the Southern Interagency Conference. I shall try to get my thoughts down soon.

February 6 has been set aside and I hope you can make it then. Have just spent several days in Birmingham. There are possibilities which I'm anxious to discuss with you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

January 21, 1963

Mr. Cornelius C. Tarplee
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

Dear Neal:

Jean Fairfax's memo regarding SIC has been shared with you. She holds out the likelihood of being in Atlanta on February 6. If these plans hold, and should you find it possible to be in Atlanta then, we would be pleased to have you with us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

M

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AGENCY FOR RELIEF AND OTHER CHRISTIAN SERVICES

TELEPHONE: AKRON 859-1151 (Area Code 717) • CABLE ADDRESS MENCENCOM

ORGANIZED 1920
INCORPORATED 1937

~~21 South 12th Street~~
~~AKRON, PENNSYLVANIA~~
540 Houston Street, N.E.
Atlanta 12, Georgia

January 28, 1963
(dictated January 24, 1963)

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This letter is coming to you in a rather round-about fashion because we are snow-bound in Kentucky on our way back from Chicago and are making use of the time with our dictaphone machine. Since secretaries at our Pennsylvania office do the typing for us, this is a somewhat circuitous route for this letter. I am writing--I hope not too late--concerning some of my ideas for our committee of the inter-agency group.

I would throw out several suggestions concerning the inter-agency group, and let you do with them what you will as far as distribution is concerned. These are my suggestions and concerns:

1. The inter-agency group should be, I think, primarily a clearinghouse for ideas and information for all who work in the South in the field of human relations.

2. I think that there should be membership in this group only in terms of a willingness to be listed on our mailing list and in terms of a willingness to commit the agency to regular attendance and confidential sharing at the meetings.

3. On the crucial question of membership, I think that the decision to accept a group into this loose kind of membership should be made by a substantial majority of those already represented--perhaps two-thirds of our number.

4. I think that the initiation of the process of membership should still come about either by invitation or by application.

5. I think that the decision as to whether or not persons should be recommended to the entire group for membership should not rest with a smaller steering committee, but any group that seeks for membership or is recommended for membership should come to the entire group.

6. I think that we should regularly spend some time discussing the goals and direction of the inter-agency conference whenever this is possible or whenever this seems helpful to the entire group.

7. It seems to me that there should be some time during each meeting when we get a chance to hear about the program ideas and planning and execution of each of

the groups represented if they wish to say anything about what they are doing.

8. Concerning a steering committee, I am not sure of my feelings on this at this point. I think that the group should be smaller than it has been. Perhaps a group of seven or nine with the majority made up of Atlanta people but with a definite attempt to be sure that more than Atlanta people are represented at steering committee meetings. I think that one important function of the steering committee would be the preparation of agenda for our inter-agency conference meetings. As I suggested above I think the steering committee should serve the purpose of passing on requests or recommendations for membership but not of making decisions on this.

9. I think that meeting together three times a year is probably sufficient for our purposes.

10. Generally it seems to me that as little parliamentary procedure in our meetings as possible is definitely to the good of us all. This includes as little formal voting as possible, too.

11. I think that the chairman for the coming year should be nominated and voted on at the last meeting of the previous year, and I think that it should always be suggested that he sit in the steering committee whenever possible.

I don't have any monumental thoughts on this matter, as you can see, Paul. This is about all I have to say now.

By the way, the April 18-19 dates look all right from Mennonite House.

I expect to be seeing you somewhere.

Vincent Harding (ps)

Vincent Harding

VH:mm

Memorandum AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, Incorporated, 160 NORTH 15TH STREET, PHILADELPHIA 2, PA.

To: Paul Anthony and Vincent Harding

Date: January 26, 1963

From: Jean Fairfax

Subject: INTERAGENCY COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION

Let's leave the date as scheduled: Wednesday, February 6, beginning with lunch. I have discovered that I really have lots to do in Atlanta and can use the extra day chez vous. So, Vincent, we'll plan to return by air from Jackson in time for the luncheon meeting.

Paul, do you want to use this occasion to see whether you can get me into one of the downtown hotels? If you are unsuccessful, ask John Yungblut whether I can stay at Quaker House that evening and confer with him about Mississippi. Thanks.

Vincent, I'll call you from Jackson Wednesday night or Thursday morning. Will you let the SNCC office in Atlanta know of our plans? I tend toward spending the week-end in Greenville-Greenwood-Cleveland-Clarksdale, leaving early Saturday morning and returning in time for the meeting on Monday. In addition to visiting the SNCC representatives I'd like to stop at the vocational school at Itta Bena. If AAron Henry is not planning to attend the meeting Monday, this would be a chance to see him . In addition to getting a first-hand picture of the situation in the Delta, I am particularly interested in finding out whether any of the persons who have been having difficulties recently might come within the scope of AFSC's Rights of Conscience Program which has a little money for legal aid and for sufferings grants. (We might need to apply ourselves!)

I'll be in touch.

Voting Roster

January, 1963

INTERGROUP AGENCIES

1 - AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights
Don Slaiman, Assistant Director
815 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

2 - American Baptist ~~Home Mission Societies~~ Convention
J. C. Herrin
Box 188
Chapel Hill, N. C.
942-2804

3 - American Friends Service Committee Community Relations Division
Jean Fairfax, National Representative for Southern Programs
160 North Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

American Friends Service Committee Southcentral Regional Office
Garnet Guild, Executive Secretary
4717 Crawford
Houston 4, Texas

American Friends Service Committee Southeastern Regional Office
B. Tartt Bell, Executive Secretary
1818 South Main Street
High Point, North Carolina
882-0109, 2-0100, 3-6416

4 American Jewish Committee, Atlanta Area Office
Charles Wittenstein, Director
41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 703
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 3-8451

American Jewish Committee, Southeast Area Office
Seymour Samet, Area Director
1208 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida
FRanklin 3-4749

American Jewish Committee, Southwest Regional Office
Gustave Falk, Regional Director
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas 2, Texas
RIverside 7-3531

5- American Jewish Congress, Southeastern Region
Harold Kramer, Executive Director
Room 713 Congress Building
111 N. E. 2nd Avenue
Miami 32, Florida
FRanklin 9-6195

6- Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Florida Regional Office
Nathan Perlmutter, Director
330 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Southcentral Reg. Office
Irwin Schulman, Regional Director
535 Gravier Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana
JAckson 2-9534

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Southeastern Reg. Office
Monroe Schlactus, Director
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 3-1618

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Southwest Reg. Office
Theodore Freedman, Regional Director
2405 San Jacinto Street, Suite 209
Houston 2, Texas

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith Virginia-N.C. Reg. Ofc.
Robert Kohler, Director
216 North Second Street, Room 306
Richmond, Virginia

7 Congress of Racial Equality
Richard Haley, Assistant to National Director
38 Park Row
New York 38, New York
CO. 7-6270

8 Disciples of Christ, United Christian Missionary Society
~~Louis Deer~~ Ian McCrae
222 South Downey Avenue
Indianapolis 7, Indiana
FLeetwood 7-1166

9 The Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity
John B. Morris, Executive Director
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 200
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 5-7975

10 Jewish Labor Committee
Emanuel Muravchik, Director, Field Services
25 East 78th Street
New York, New York
LEhigh 5-3700

11 Mennonite Service Committee
Vincent Harding
540 Houston Street
Atlanta, Georgia
688-0594

12 The Methodist Church, Women's Division, Dept. of Christian Social Relations, Board of Missions
Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox, Secretary, Southeastern Jurisdiction
16 Minnekahola Place
Chattanooga 5, Tennessee
267-2598

13 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southeastern Regional Office
Mrs. Ruby Hurley, Director
859-1/2 Hunter Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia
MUrray 8-8868

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southwestern Regional Office
Clarence Laws, Director
2600 Flora Street
Dallas, Texas

14 National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, Southern Field Service
Henry Cabirac, Director
1046 Baronne Street, Suite 2
New Orleans 13, Louisiana
523-2901

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Southeastern Div.
~~Gordon W. Lovejoy, National Program Consultant~~
P. O. Box 3587
Greensboro, North Carolina
273-8800

15

National Conference of Christians and Jews, Georgia and Alabama
Don McEvoy, Director, Georgia and Alabama
1144 Bank of Georgia Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia
688-7510

National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., Department of Racial and Cultural Relations
~~Will D. Campbell~~, Associate Executive Director
16
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville, Tennessee
CY. 1-7850

National Council of Jewish Women
Miss Hannah Stein, Executive Director
17
1 West 47th Street
New York 36, New York
CIrcle 6-3175

National Council of Negro Women
Miss Dorothy Heights, President
Miss H. Elsie Austin, Director
18
1318 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
COlumbia 5-4434

National Labor Service
Harry Fleischman, Director
19
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York
PLaza 1-4000

National Urban League Southern Regional Office
Clarence D. Coleman, Director
Heman M. Sweatt, Associate Director
20
250 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Room 511
Atlanta 3, Georgia
MUrray 8-8778

21 Penn Community Services
Courtney Siceloff, Director
St. Helena Island
Frogmore, South Carolina

22 The Potomac Institute, Inc.
Harold C. Fleming, Executive Vice President
Arthur J. Levin, Staff Director
1501 - 18th Street, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.
332-5566

23 The Presbyterian Church in USA, Board of Christian Education
Malcolm P. Calhoun
8 North Sixth Street
Richmond, Virginia
MIlton 3-6691

24 Protestant Episcopal Church
Cornelius C. Tarplee
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
VI. 5-8995 or VI. 6-8937

25 Southern Baptist Convention, Christian Life Commission
Foy Valentine, Executive Secretary-Treasurer
161 Eighth Avenue, N.
Nashville, Tennessee
ALpine 4-1631

26 Southern Christian Leadership Conference
Wyatt Tee Walker, Director
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
524-1378

27 Southern Regional Council
Paul Anthony, Director of Field Activities
5 Forsyth Street, N.W., Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia
522-8764

28 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
James R. Forman, Executive Secretary
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia
688-0331

29 Union of American Hebrew Congregations
(staff unknown at present)
816 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

30 Unitarian Service Committee
Ernest Lent, Director
~~9 Park Street~~ 129 E. Forsyth St., Jacksonville, Fla.
~~Boston 8, Massachusetts~~

31 United Automobile Workers, AFL-CIO, Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination Department
Earl H. Henderson, Field Representative
3304 Capital Trail
Cranston Heights, Wilmington, Delaware

32 United Church of Christ Board of Homeland Ministries
Carl J. Landes
5606 Oak Street
Guilford College, North Carolina

United Church of Christ Council for Christian Social Action
S. Garry Oniki, Associate Secretary on Race Relations
289 Park Avenue South
New York 10, New York

United Church of Christ
Edward M. Brown, Consultant on Christian Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 3-0775

United Church of Christ, Fisk University
Herman H. Long
Department of Race Relations
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

33 United Presbyterian Church in the USA, Department of Social Education and Action
Mrs. Jean Russell
824 Tusculum Boulevard
Greenville, Tennessee

United Presbyterian Church in the USA, Regional Office, Church and Society
J. Metz Rollins, Jr., Special Field Representative
John H. Marion, Jr., Special Field Representative
2011 Grand Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee
CY. 2-2509

34 U.S. National Student Association Southern Student Human Relations Project
Constance Curry, Director
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Room 701
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 3-8322

35 YMCA's, Southern Area Council of
Thornton W. Merriam
Dunbar Reid (in absentia, 1962-63)
706 Standard Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 1-0352

36 YWCA National Student Council
Miss Rosetta Gardner
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia
JAckson 5-2372

YWCA Southern Regional Office
Miss Florence C. Harris, Correlator
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georiga
JAckson 5-2381

Natl. Conf. on Rel. + Race -
Galen Weaver
Matt Ahmann (check this)

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

HAROLD EVANS
Chairman
HENRY J. CADBURY
Honorary Chairman
CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Executive Secretary Emeritus
COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

February 18, 1963

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Your draft of the report of the Committee on Organization is very good. I have only a few comments, mostly editorial.

Page 1, lines 2 and 3. I would omit "essentially" and would prefer, "Since the Southern Interagency Conference is not an organization, this statement....."

Definition, #3. I would use a colon after agencies. Can we find a better phrase than "public information" and is there a reason for omitting the areas of our civil rights activities (school desegregation, equal employment opportunity, etc.) especially when inter-religious activity is mentioned? Or, had you intended for "community relations" to be a catch-all?

Page 2, line 1....."to determine which agencies shall be invited..." We do not want to give the impression that we determine the individual representation.

Das ist alles!

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax

THE POTOMAC INSTITUTE, INC.
1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W. • Washington 6, D.C. • DEcatur 2-5566

HAROLD C. FLEMING
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

February 21, 1963

WM

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Art and I have read your draft policy statement for SIC and found it good on the whole. We have suggested a few changes in language on the enclosed, mostly designed to substitute the looser word "consultation" for "cooperation" and to clear up one or two ambiguities that might lead to later difficulty.

Art also feels that there should be no provision for voting except on the 3/4 matters discussed under "Participants," but I see no problem about majority voting on other, purely internal matters.

One or both of us will attend the spring meeting; we'll let you know.

Best,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Vice President

HCF:EMA
Enc.

DRAFT

REPORT OF THE ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE, SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

Jean Fairfax
Ruby Hurley
Paul Anthony
Vincent Harding
Charles Wittenstein

The following are the Committee's recommendations for the definition and procedures of the Southern Interagency Conference. Essentially, the Southern Interagency Conference is not an organization, but rather a consultative process. Therefore, this represents an attempt to put into writing those minimum necessary policies and rules which any informal gathering of persons and agencies must have.

Definition

1. The ~~cooperative effort~~ consultative process of Southern field staff members of agencies concerned with human relations may most appropriately be referred to by the name that has developed as a matter of convenient usage, the Southern Interagency Conference.

2. ~~The strength of our cooperation lies in the~~ Our purpose is the periodic consultation among staff members with common concerns based in the Southern region. These consultations are informal and off-the-record and involve no organizational commitments or publicity of any kind.

3. We regard the areas of our ~~cooperation~~ consultation as including any of the functions in which we engage on behalf of our respective agencies--public information, fact-finding, community relations, inter-religious activity, consultative services, assistance to victims of pressure or reprisal, etc.

4. Participation by any individuals or representative of an agency does not necessarily commit said individual or agency to the programs of other participants, nor does participation in consultation imply approval or support of any other programs.

5. A list of agencies with participants currently taking part in the conference is attached. These participants reserve the right to

to determine who shall be invited to join them. Procedures for such invitations are outlined below. These are agencies who have shown their interest in this process of program consultation. #6. Agencies not represented at three successive meetings shall be considered ~~inactive by~~ non-participating choice and therefore no longer invited by the Secretariat.

7. The group shares a commitment to the establishment of a free and just society achieved through the democratic process.

8. The Southern Interagency Conference as a body has no program, although it does provide a framework within which participating agencies may voluntarily join in cooperative efforts on specific programs.

Participants

Participation shall be limited to national and regional agencies having program concerns in human relations extending to more than one Southern state. Agencies operating in more restricted geographical areas may on occasion be invited [Specify by whom] to participate. Such representatives shall have no voting rights.

To encourage a free exchange of information, regular participants and persons occasionally invited to participate accept the responsibility of keeping confidential the discussions of the meetings.

Agencies not presently participating who wish to participate shall express this in writing to the secretariat who will so inform the full membership. This request shall be acted on by the full body at its earliest convenience. An invitation shall be extended upon an affirmative vote of three-fourths of those present and eligible to vote. ~~at any regularly scheduled~~ stet. meeting. (See below section on "Voting.")

Chairman and Secretariat

The conference year shall begin in September of each year.

An individual as Chairman and an agency to serve as Secretariat shall be chosen by three-fourths vote of those present at the spring meeting, to serve for one year beginning in September.

The Chairman shall preside at each meeting and shall be an ex-officio member of all committees.

The Secretariat shall keep all records of the conference, send notices, arrange for meetings, disseminate materials to the participants, and otherwise assist the group in administrative matters.

Steering Committee

The Steering Committee shall consist of nine persons selected by the Interagency Conference to serve for a period of one year. At least three of these individuals shall be from outside Atlanta.

The Steering Committee shall plan programs and otherwise carry out the instrucitons of the full conference.

Voting

Since the Southern Interagency Conference sponsors no programs of its own, voting is generally not appropriate except on procedural or other internal matters.

Issues shall be decided by majority vote of those present except in the matter of participations and the selection of chairman and secretariat. These shall be decided by three-fourths vote of those present at any regularly scheduled meeting.

EAch participating agency shall have only one vote. Votes may be by secret ballot, one ballot provided by the secretariat to each participating agency.

The Steering Committee may designate a mail ballot on any issue which should, in the opinion of the Committee, be acted on by the Con-

ference between meetings. The Secretariat shall be responsible for conducting such an election, and the Steering Committee shall be responsible for determining the results of said election.

Program

At each meeting the Steering Committee shall be advised by the participants of specific program interests for future meetings. The Steering Committee shall be responsible for planning meetings, inviting speakers and consultants, and suggesting the place and facilities for meetings.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. • TN 7-8400

P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia
March 28, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the memorandum. The report looks very good to me. I have had no reaction at all to the Braden memo. I do have an application from them for admittance to the S. I. C.

See you on the 18th.

Most sincerely,

Neil

Cornelius C. Tarplee
Associate Secretary for
Intergroup Relations

CCT/sm

3-63

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Participants, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Paul Anthony

At the last meeting of the SIC a committee on organization was formed to draft a report defining the SIC and establishing those minimum necessary procedures for the operation of the conference. The committee's report is enclosed.

Formal action will be taken on the report at the SIC meeting April 18-19.

As a reminder, the meeting will be held at the Peachtree Manor Hotel, 826 Peachtree Street, N.E., Atlanta. If you wish overnight accommodations, and have not written us, please do so as soon as possible. If you plan to use hotel facilities we hope you will stay at the Peachtree Manor.

PA:mm

Chairman, Secretariat
Chosen by 3/4 vote of those
present at the spring meeting
to serve for one year
beginning in September.

Steering Cmte -
9 persons elected to serve
for a period of one year.
At least 3 of them from
outside Atlanta. Decided
by 3/4 vote of those
present.

As Amended

REPORT OF THE ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE
SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE

Jean Fairfax
Ruby Hurley
Paul Anthony
Vincent Harding
Charles Wittenstein

The following are the Committee's recommendations for the definition and procedures of the Southern Interagency Conference. The Southern Interagency Conference is not an organization, but rather a consultative process. Therefore, this represents an attempt to put into writing those minimum necessary policies and rules which any informal gathering of persons and agencies must have.

Definition

1. The consultative process of Southern field staff members of agencies concerned with ~~human~~ intergroup relations may most appropriately be referred to by the name that has developed as a matter of convenient usage, the Southern Interagency Conference.

2. Our purpose is the periodic consultation among staff members with common concerns based in the Southern region. These consultations are informal and off-the-record and involve no organizational commitments or publicity of any kind.

3. We regard the areas of our consultation as including any of the functions in which we engage on behalf of our respective agencies: public information, fact-finding, community relations, inter-religious activity, consultative services, assistance to victims of pressure or reprisal, etc..

4. Participation by any individuals or representative of an agency does not necessarily commit said individual or agency to the programs of other participants.

5. A list of agencies with participants currently taking part in the conference is attached. These participants reserve the right to determine which agencies shall be invited to join them. Procedures for such invitations are outlined below. These are agencies who have shown their interest in this process of program consultation.

6. Agencies not represented at three successive meetings shall be considered non-participating by choice and therefore no longer invited by the Secretariat.

7. The group shares a commitment to the establishment of a free and just society achieved through the democratic process.

8. The Southern Interagency Conference as a body has no program although it does provide a framework within which participating agencies may voluntarily join in cooperative efforts on specific programs.

Participants

Participation shall be limited to national and regional agencies having program ~~concerns~~ in ~~human~~ intergroup relations extending to more than one Southern state. Agencies operating in more restricted geographical areas may on occasion be invited by the Steering Committee to participate. Such representatives shall have no voting rights.

To encourage a free exchange of information, regular participants and persons occasionally invited to participate accept the responsibility of keeping confidential the discussions of the meetings.

Agencies not presently participating who wish to participate shall express this in writing to the secretariat who will so inform

the full membership. This request shall be acted on by the full body at its earliest convenience. An invitation shall be extended upon an affirmative vote of three-fourths of those present and eligible to vote at any regularly scheduled meeting.

Chairman and Secretariat

The conference year shall begin in September of each year.

An individual as Chairman and an agency to serve as Secretariat shall be chosen by three-fourths vote of those present at the spring meeting, to serve for one year beginning in September.

The Chairman shall preside at each meeting and shall be an ex-officio member of all committees.

The Secretariat shall keep all records of the conference, send notices, arrange for meetings, disseminate materials to the participants, and otherwise assist the group in administrative matters.

Steering Committee

The Steering Committee shall consist of nine persons ~~selected~~ elected by the Interagency Conference to serve for a period of one year. At least three of these individuals shall be from outside Atlanta.

The Steering Committee shall plan programs and otherwise carry out the instructions of the full conference.

Voting

Since the Southern Interagency Conference sponsors no programs of its own, voting is generally not appropriate except on procedural or other internal matters.

Issues shall be decided by majority vote of those present except in the matter of participation and the selection of chairman, steering committee, and secretariat. These shall be decided by three-fourths vote of

those present at any regularly scheduled meeting.

Each participating agency shall have only one vote. Votes may be by secret ballot, one ballot provided by the secretariat to each participating agency.

The Steering Committee may designate a mail ballot on any issue which should, in the opinion of the Committee, be acted on by the Conference between meetings. The Secretariat shall be responsible for conducting such an election, and the Steering Committee shall be responsible for determining the results of said election.

Program

At each meeting the Steering Committee shall be advised by the participants of specific program interests for future meetings. The Steering Committee shall be responsible for planning meetings, inviting speakers and consultants, and suggesting the place and facilities for meetings.

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

21 West Superior Street • Chicago 10, Illinois • MOhawk 4-8222

April 9, 1963

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Your recent memorandum with the report of the Organization Committee of the Southern Inter-agency Conference attached did not include a list of agencies with participants currently taking part in the Conference. I wonder if you could forward such a list to me.

Sincerely yours,

Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director

MA:mfw

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

Southern Field Service
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, La.
523-2901

20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N. Y.
REctor 2-5417

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

April 11, 1963

Dear Paul:

I attach a letter addressed to the Inter Agency Group asking that I might be included in the membership if this is possible. I trust that you will present it if it is convenient at the forth coming meeting.

Thank you so much for arranging to have luncheon with me the other day. Arlo Tatum enjoyed it very much too. I shall look forward to working something out with you in connection with Missiasippi.

Faithfully yours,

John

John Yungblut

SIC Gen

MINUTES, SOUTHERN INTERAGENCY CONFERENCE
ATLANTA, GEORGIA - APRIL 18, 19, 1963

Administrative.

The Organization Committee presented its recommendations for the definition and procedures of the Conference. Its report was unanimously adopted, with amendments and with the proviso that procedural rules go into effect immediately but the report will not be released until after the approval of a preamble, to be considered at the fall meeting. Amendments are: (1) the phrase "human relations" is to be changed to "intergroup relations" wherever it occurs; (2) item 7 under "Definition" will be deleted, and the Committee on Organization is instructed to prepare for the document a short preamble that will endeavor to state reasons why this group of people has an identity and purpose, to be presented to the next meeting; (3) the first paragraph under "Participants" will be changed to read: "Participation shall be limited to national and regional agencies having program in intergroup relations extending to more than one Southern state"; (4) under the section "Steering Committee," the word "selection" is changed to "election"; (5) under the section "Voting," paragraph 2, sentence 1 will read: "Issues shall be decided by majority vote of those present except in the matters of participation and the election of chairman, steering committee, and secretariat."

Requests to participate in S.I.C. from Quaker House and the Southern Conference Educational Fund were brought before the group. The chair ruled that Quaker House is ineligible to participate on grounds that participation is limited to agencies having program concerns extending to more than one Southern state. Participants, voting in an open ballot, declined to extend an invitation to participate to SCEF.

Mississippi - Jim Forman and Wiley Branton.

Recent so-called "demonstrations" in Greenwood were not a planned thing. Reports coming out of that city have confused the facts, making it appear that Greenwood police officers and officials were only preventing large numbers of people from gathering, not inhibiting access to the registrar's office. The facts were just the opposite.

There was no "agreement," insofar as is known, preceding the Justice Department's withdrawal of its request for a preliminary injunction against Greenwood and Leflore County officials; city and county officials would not formally agree to any change in tactics. Eight Negroes who had been jailed were released. Much of the harassment directed against voter registration efforts appears to have diminished and the city seems to be aware that it will be hurt unless earlier tactics are changed.

Local Negroes remain enthusiastic about the registration effort and this enthusiasm has overflowed into adjoining counties.

Alabama - Norman Jimerson and Paul Anthony.

There are two threats in the Birmingham situation: the possibility that current demonstrations might cause the state legislature to rescind the city's newly chosen form of Mayor-Council government, and the possibility that Governor Wallace might declare martial law in response to the demonstrations. There is some division in the Negro community in regard to supporting demonstrations at this time; however, it is probable that long-term demonstrations will foster coalescence and support.

The possibility of court ordered public school desegregation in any or all of three communities--Mobile, Huntsville, and Birmingham--remains, as does the assumption that in the event of desegregation Governor Wallace will empower himself to personally remove Negro students from desegregated schools, as he has threatened. Save Our Schools groups are active in these three locales.

It is conceivable that the Governor's hand will be called in June, at the level of higher education, and in Huntsville, where two Negroes (both employees at nearby federal installations) have applied for admittance to the Huntsville Center of the University of Alabama. They are asking for a court order for entrance to the Center for the summer quarter.

Merit Employment and Federal Government Participation - George Butler, President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity.

Within the next year the President's Committee will probably be able to move into the area of requiring of contract holders affirmative action toward employment of minority group members. Until now, the Committee has deliberately avoided spelling out what constitutes affirmative action. Contract-holders will be turning increasingly to existing public or private agencies to produce qualified recruits. Individuals are urged to send complaints to the Committee in known cases of non-compliance on the part of government contract-holders.

Other.

Nominations for chairman, steering committee, and secretariat for the coming SIC year were approved by the group: Chairman, Charles Wittenstein; Steering Committee, Ruby Hurley, Vincent Harding, Paul Anthony, John Morris, Monroe Schlactus, Rosetta Gardner, Tartt Bell, Henry Cabirac, and Jean Russell; Secretariat, Southern Regional Council.

The CORE representative requested that all SIC participants send him descriptive material on their program and function.

Wednesday and Thursday, September 25 and 26, were selected as the dates of the next meeting, and the Steering Committee was asked to explore several possibilities and determine a suitable location.

April 23, 1963

Mr. Mathew Ahmann
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois

Dear Mr. Ahmann:

Enclosed is a listing of the agencies currently participating in the Interagency Conference.

A revised list--with inactive participants deleted--is to be prepared soon. We will send you a copy.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

April 30, 1963

Mr. John Yungblut
Quaker House
1384 Fairview Road, N.E.
Atlanta 6, Georgia

Dear John:

As secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference we have baan asked to inform you of the group's decision on your request. Following a discussion of the good program of Quaker House the chairman ruled Quaker House ineligible for consideration on the basis of the requirement of participation that "agencies must have programs extending to more than one state." This was done with the understanding that you are invited and most welcomed as a visitor and "non-voting" participant.

Should the program of Quaker House be expanded to more than one state--as a part of the official program and budget--I am sure the group would be happy to reconsider your request.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

PA:mm

May 1, 1963

Mr. James A. Dombrowski
Executive Director
Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc.
822 Perdido Street
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Dombrowski:

As secretariat for the Southern Interagency Conference, we have been asked to inform you of the action taken by the group at its recent meeting on your request for an invitation to participate.

The group considered the request of the Southern Conference Educational Fund and that of one other agency concerned with race relations in the South. It was the decision in both instances that it would be unwise to expand the size of the conference at this time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony

PA:mm

Quaker House 1384 FAIRVIEW ROAD, N.E., ATLANTA 6, GEORGIA, DRAKE 3-7986
ATLANTA MEETING OF THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

May 8, 1963

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your letter of April 30. Its contents had of course already been made known to me. I appreciate the courtesy of being allowed to attend as a visitor and "non-voting" participant. I fully understand the position of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference, and therefore accept their decision without regret.

However, I believe that our Trustees will presently decide that my work in Mississippi and elsewhere will be an outreach of the Quaker House program itself. This may change the picture. Perhaps we can talk it over later on.

Faithfully yours,

John

John Yungblut

IA file

May 10, 1963

Mr. George O. Butler
President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity
Room 3836
General Accounting Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear George:

It could not possibly have been three weeks since we were together in Atlanta, but that is what my calendar says. In any event, please accept my very belated but appreciative thanks for coming down to meet with the Interagency Conference. It was very useful to have you there for the opportunity afforded to some of the newer members of the conference group to get acquainted with your programs and to allow a few of the older heads to take another look at the possibilities of coordination and cooperation on the employment front. It was good that you could be there overnight for some very informal personal discussions with individual members of the group.

Again please accept my apologies for the imposition of interrupting your presentation. I felt that you took this quite gracefully and this helped all of us to feel more at home about it. Thanks again. Warm personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

B. Tartt Bell
Executive Secretary

BTB/vps

cc: Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

IA 8

May 14, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, La.

Dear Henry:

I just returned from Birmingham (what a mess!) and am leaving tomorrow for New York to attend our Annual Meeting and Staff Conference. I won't be back in my office until the 27th of May. Paul Anthony is out of town today. It may well be, however, that we could set up a Steering Committee Meeting in Atlanta late in May or early in June. But I can't give you anything definite to help you in your planning at this time. If you can arrange to be in Atlanta during the last week in May or sometime early in June, I would certainly make every effort to set a date for a Steering Committee Meeting during the period of your visit.

Let Paul Anthony know when you're coming and suggest that he explore the possibilities for scheduling our meeting then.

Cordially,

Charles

CHARLES F. WITTENSTEIN
Southeast Area Director

CFW:ru
cc: Paul Anthony

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

4

May 15, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Field Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forysth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Matt Ahmann has requested that you put him on the Southern Interagency Mailing List including the minutes. In order for him to be informed as best as possible to what's going on in the South, I would certainly appreciate you doing this.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

HC/ej

Paul, he is on it and regularly receives minutes + notices of meetings. He's not listed on the roster, however, because when I sent him a questionnaire he designated Cabirac as SIC rep. for NCCIJ.

Fine

SIC - Gen

MM

Challenge
to Justice
and Love

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE REV. GALEN R. WEAVER
150 Fifth Avenue
New York 11, New York
(212) ALgonquin 5-7575-6

FIELD SECRETARY, MR. MATHEW AHMANN
21 West Superior Street
Chicago 10, Illinois
(312) MOhawk 4-8222

J. Irwin Miller
Chairman, Continuation Committee

Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
First Vice-Chairman

Rabbi Irving M. Blank
Chairman, Steering Committee

Rev. Arthur E. Walmsley
Chairman, Local Communities Follow-up Committee

September 12, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul,

I will plan to attend the Southern Interagency Conference at Nashville, but can only come on the afternoon and evening of September 25th. I will have to fly back early in the morning Thursday in order to be at an important meeting here in our headquarters. In fact, the Wednesday meeting conflicts with another important engagement, but I have decided to give precedence to this one. I appreciate the opportunity. I will write to the Holiday Inn, West End Avenue for an overnight reservation.

I would like to be regarded as a regular participant in the Southern Interagency Conference, and would appreciate it if the application could be acted upon at the national meeting. Mathew Ahmann will be my alternate

With cordial personal good wishes,

Sincerely yours,
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

Galen R. Weaver

Galen R. Weaver
Executive Director

GRW/jk

CONVENERS: Department of Racial and Cultural Relations, National Council of Churches; Social Action Commission, Synagogue Council of America; Social Action Department, National Catholic Welfare Conference

339

Interagency - General

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

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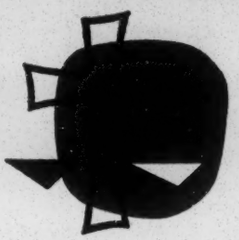

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Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

September 12, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W. Room 201
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Would it be possible for you to include Mathew Ahmann on your mailing list of invitations to the Southern Interagency Conference?

You might also want to consider at our January meeting inviting Matt Ahmann, who is also the Field Director for the National Conference on Religion and Race, to spend about a half a day interpeting and answering questions on the activities of the National Conference on Religion and Race and how the various Southern agencies might want to make use of these services.

See you in Nashville the morning of Wednesday, September 25.

Yours sincerely,

Henry

Henry Cabirac

fl

Answer

P.S. I will be in Huntsville September 23 for a night meeting with the group that integrated aCatholic school. Can you tell me who are the two most knowledgeable people in town to see?

September 16, 1963

Mr. Henry Cabirac
Executive Director
Southern Field Service
National Catholic Conference for
Interracial Justice
1046 Baronne Street
New Orleans 13, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Cabirac:

I have your letter of September 12 in Paul Anthony's absence (he's on a one-week vacation). Mathew Ahmann is regularly invited to attend the Southern Interagency Conference. His name did not appear on the list of participants we mimeographed and sent out last winter since he had designated you as the representative from the National Catholic Conference; he is, however, invited to each meeting and sent minutes from each meeting. We received a reply card from him today stating that he would not attend the September 25-26 Nashville meeting.

Sedondly, I spoke with Paul this morning about your need for contacts in Huntsville. He suggests Dr. John Cashin, Jr., 1815 Lydia Drive, N.W., telephone: 536-3240 or 534-8331. Dr. Cashin is highly knowledgeable about Huntsville and would be able to put you in touch with other persons knowledgeable in specific areas.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

SIC-Gen

October 8, 1963

Mrs. Sandra Hayden
Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hayden:

Participants in the Southern Interagency Conference (for which SRC serves as secretariat) have asked us to request that they be placed on your mailing list for all SNCC reports such as the recent Special Report on Selma and the report on Americus (which may have been a news release--I'm not sure,,since I didn't get an opportunity to see this one). Could you do this? I believe that you have a "key" list, which I'm told would be the appropriate one. A list of participants in the Interagency Conference is enclosed; probably a number of these agencies already receive your materials. Also, I'm marking a few which seem to be inactive in the Conference and never acknowledge mail I send them. You may or may not want to send your materials to them.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

6 Raymond Street, N.W.
Atlanta 14, Georgia

688-0331

October 11, 1963

SJC

Marge Manderson
Administrative Secretary
Field Activities
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta 3 ,Georgia

Dear Miss Manderson:

Your letter caught us just as we are in a transitional s tage. Sandra Hayden is going to work in Mississippi and I am her replacement. I have decided to revise our mailing list system. Not going into all the gruesome details of my plan, I merely wish to inform you that I am starting a mailing list of people who will get things like our Special Reports, but not all the day-to-day press releases. I a m therefore holding the names of the participants in the Southern Interagency Conference to be added to that list. I am sure you can understand that there will be some delay, and hope that you will inform those concerned. Thank you.

ONE MAN - ONE VOTE

Dinky Romilly

Dinky Romilly
Northern Coordinator

SIC

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street • New Orleans 13, Louisiana • 523-2901

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HONORARY CHAPLAIN
Rev. John LaFarge, S.J., *New York*
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann
DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

December 9, 1963

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

When considering resource people to invite to our next Southern Interagency Conference meeting, you might want to consider Mr. Percy Williams, assistant Executive Director of the President's Committee on Equal Employment. He has become responsible for co-ordination of efforts with other groups and I am sure could give us a meaningful presentation and at the same time learn what our groups are doing.

By the way, when and where will our Conference be held? See you soon, and in the meantime Merry Christmas.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

fl

P.S. Please add the National Catholic Conference to your mailing list. Although they recieve invitations to our Southern Interagency Conference meetings, they don't receive your regular mailings.

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION
WITHERSPOON BUILDING, PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.
Telephone: PENNYPACKER 5-6722

December 10, 1963

Mrs. Montez G. Albright
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mrs. Albright:

Thank you very much for your letter of November 14 enclosing the list of state commissions on human relations. This will be most useful information. In your listing of Intergroup Agencies you may want to note that the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. is the correct designation for the denomination represented by Malcolm P. Calhoun in Richmond, Va. The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has headquarters offices in New York and in Philadelphia. The Department of Social Education and Action is now called Office of Church and Society, and the address is 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. Rev. John H. Marion is our Special Field Representative in the Nashville office. Rev. J. Metz Rollins is now an Associate Executive Secretary in the United Presbyterian Commission on Religion and Race, Room 367, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Your letter mentioned your current publications' list, but it was not enclosed. Could you please send us a copy?

Cordially yours,

Florence L. Ridgely

Florence L. Ridgely
Program Assistant
Social Education

FLR/et

P.S. Please remove the listing of Mrs. Jean Russell on the top of page 7 of the Intergroup Agencies, as she is not the representative of this office.

January 7, 1964

The Rev. Andrew Young
Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Andy:

The next Southern Interagency meeting will be held in Washington February 11-12. The Steering Committee, in planning the agenda, asked me to express their hope that you could be present at this meeting and share with us some of the current thinking and planning of SCLC.

The meeting will begin at 10:00 A.M. on the 11th; end mid-afternoon of the 12th. We can put you on the agenda during any of this time if you can't be with us for the whole meeting.

Hope you'll find it possible to come.

Also hope your trip to Europe gave you some opportunity for sightseeing and relaxation.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

SIC - Gen

Dear Mrs: Please remove my name from your files. I am no longer working in N.C.

Thanks,

Carl J. Landes

Carl J. Landes,

I (will) (will not) attend the Southern Interagency Conference in Washington February 12 and 13.

formerly Box 8112,
Greensboro, N.C.

Name

SIC-Gen

SOUTHERN STUDENT ORGANIZING COMMITTEE

915 18th Avenue, South
Nashville, Tennessee

February 8, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Executive Committee of the Southern Student Organizing Committee (SSOC) has requested that SSOC seek membership in the Southern Interagency Conference. Could you please submit our name to the conference at its February meeting in Washington? If there are other steps to be taken in requesting this membership, please let me know.

I appreciate very much your taking time to talk with Gene and me about the future of SSOC. We will certainly take your ideas into consideration as we begin writing our joint proposal to the conference.

Sincerely,

Sue Thrasher

Sue Thrasher
Executive Secretary

SIC

hold to light

[redacted]

TO: Paul Anthony

FROM: Fred Heath

SUBJECT: Info you should have.

1. All sessions of SIC will be at the Potomac Institute including the reception -- a visit to Arlington will be an exception to this ruling.

2. I will be back in Washington eve, flight arrives at 5:15 and I come to Potomac to reception.

3. Delighted you are staying with us starting Thursday; have several things for you and lots to talk about.

4. Have arranged with Col. John F. Art L. to write their sig cards up the 15th for trip to Arlington. Sure hope you will go.

5. Have set up appointment for you with Race of the USC for 3:00 pm Thursday the 15th at the Potomac Institute. His phone number is 632-2900 ext.287, should you need to call.

6. [redacted]

M E M O R A N D U M

10 Feb 64

TO: Paul Anthony
FROM: Fred Smith
SUBJECT: Info you should have.

1. All members of SIC will be at the Potomac Institute including the reception -- visit to Arlington will be an exception to this ruling !

2. I will be back in DC Wednesday eve, flight arrives at 6:10 will come to Potomac to reception.

3. Delighted you are staying with me starting Thursday; have several things for you and Iota to talk about.

4. Have arranged with HCF, John F, Art L to bring their big cars on the 15th for the trip to Arlington..mine too will go.

5. Have set up appointment for you with Pace of the WSJ for 5:00 pm, Thursday the 15th at the Potomac Institute. His phone number is 622-2900 xt 227, should you need to call.

6. W E L C O M E T O W A S H I N G T O N ! ! !

Bill: Duplicate copy of this memo

SIC

February 18, 1964

Mr. Burke Marshall
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division
United States Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Burke:

On February 27, prior to the meeting scheduled here on the 28th relative to public accommodations, many of the same agencies will meet here to discuss what can be done to step up our programs in support of public education and preparing communities for desegregation. We hope you still plan to be with us, or will have a pepresentative from your office here.

In either event, this is to raise the question of whether or not the Justice Department representative could also be present for the school meeting. We would find such assistance very helpful, especially in covering all or part of the following:

1. A run-down on cases which have considered at various levels in the Federal courts the question of school closings.

2. What the courts have ruled on such matters as:

   a. tuition grants
   b. legality of school closings.

3. What are the various possible rulings that might come out of the Prince Edward case which is scheduled to be heard March 30 and what are the implications for the whole South of each possible ruling?

4. What new legal situation has been created by the partial closing of schools; that is, the closing of just the white schools in Surry County, Macon County, etc.?

5. Is there a possibility that an entire school system may be closed in a state like Mississippi? If so, what will be the legal remedies?

It's asking a lot, and an oral report will be fine, but if a brief memorandum could be prepared relative to the above the group would find it helpful.

At the meeting last week in Washington I did not have an opportunity to thank you for the tremendous help you have been to the state Councils. They have really had you on the circuit, and we are grateful for the amount of time and help you have given them.

Hope to see you at the Potomac Institute on Monday, when any of the above can be discussed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
INCORPORATED
160 North Fifteenth Street, Philadelphia 2, Pennsylvania
LOcust 3-9372

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COLIN W. BELL
Executive Secretary

February 18, 1964

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

If I remember correctly, you will not be back in Atlanta until Wednesday. I have several matters on my mind concerning our consultation next week on school desegregation developments that may precipitate school closings and plan to call you tomorrow. I am sending you my thoughts now so you may think them over before we confer.

Since we are primarily concerned in this conference on the threat to public education, I think we should ask the National Education Association and the Office of Education to send representatives. Would you be willing to write Richard B. Kennan, executive secretary of NEA (1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, 20036) and to Francis Keppel, Commissioner of Education? I would have been glad to approach these persons myself but I am sure Keppel identifies me as the Prince Edward nuisance since I pressed him pretty hard last year. I have not had direct contact with Richard B. Kennan since I went to see him some time ago to try to get NEA involved in the Prince Edward crisis. Your writing in behalf of an interagency concern would be much better.

I should also like to suggest that we request Burke Marshall to send a representative of the Justice Department and that we ask the Department to prepare a brief memorandum on where we are legally on the question of school closings. This memorandum could include:

1. A run-down on cases which have considered at various levels in the Federal courts the question of school closings

2. What the courts have ruled on such matters as:

   a. tuition grants
   b. legality of school closings. (For instance, I dimly recall the Fifth Circuit request for memoranda from the 50 state attorneys general on the subject of school closings and a statement made that "this is no time to experiment with ignorance").

3. What are the various possible rulings that might come out of the Prince Edward case which is scheduled to be heard March 30 and what are the implications for the whole South of each possible ruling?

4. What new legal situation has been created by the partial closing of schools, that is the closing of just the white schools in Surry County, Macon County, etc.?

5. Is there a possibility that an entire school system may be closed in a state like Mississippi? If so, what will be the legal remedies?

Should we also have a representative of the Legal Defense and Education Fund? Is there a southern member of the board of the national PTA body whom we should invite?

Are we interested primarily in agency representation or do we want to have persons from some of the counties affected? If so, is there any money to help defray their travel expenses? My personal feeling is that this should be primarily an agency consultation but I don't feel strongly on the matter.

I hope we can look into the question of strategies for preventing school closings. In addition to your new manual which includes some samples of materials which have been used by save the schools movements, are there other things (articles, reprints, etc.) which we should know about so that we can make them available to interested community groups?

I'll call you tomorrow. Or, if you anticipate a busy day, call me at a time convenient to you.

Sincerely,

Jean

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
Southern Programs

JF:mt

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

February 19, 1964

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Southern Interagency Conference participants

FROM: Paul Anthony

At the Southern Interagency meeting of February 12-13 two special meetings were scheduled for next week. They are:

February 27. A special meeting for those agencies with programs concerned with public schools and desegregation. Emphasis will be placed on what agencies are doing and can do jointly to prevent widespread closing of schools between now and September.

February 28. A meeting of Southern agencies called following a request by Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall that private agencies do all possible to prepare the region for the passage of the civil rights bill. This meeting is based on the assumption that a civil rights bill, including a public accommodations section, will become law in early summer. Mr. Marshall will be at this meeting.

Both of these meetings will be held in the SRC conference room. Each will begin at 10:00 A.M. on the scheduled day and will run until the conclusion of business. Please let us know immediately, on the enclosed postal card, whether or not you will be present at either or both of the above meetings.

Enc.

516

February 19, 1964

Mr. Stephen Currier
The Taconic Foundation
666 Fifth Avenue
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Currier:

Enclosed is a brief announcement relative to the meeting of agency representatives to be held here on the 28th. Should you or Mrs. Eddy wish to attend this meeting, or the one scheduled for the 27th, we would be pleased to have you with us.

I look forward to seeing you in Washington on Monday.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm
Enc.

BLIND COPY: Mrs. Jane Lee Eddy

S.C.-
Gen

February 25, 1965

Miss Sue Thrasher
Southern Student Organizing Committee
P. O. Box 6403
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Sue:

At the Southern Interagency Meeting, held in Washington February 11 and 12, SSOC's request for membership was considered and acted upon favorably by unanimous vote on motion made by USNSA and seconded by AFSC.

Welcome!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

PS: I am sorry to learn your spring conference comes at the time of the Georgia Council and Georgia Students for Human Rights meeting to be held in Athens, since the conflict may hurt the attendance for both.

SIC

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

February 26, 1964

BM:JKH:dek
144-19-0

AIR MAIL

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

I won't be able to be with you in Atlanta on February 28, 1964, for your conference. I'm sorry.

As I suggested by phone on Monday, most of the answers to your questions in your letter to Burke Marshall, February 18, 1964, can be found in reports of the Civil Rights Commission dealing with education, the Southern School News and Race Relations Law Reporter (especially summaries and articles appearing in the Race Relations Law Reporter.)

I have enclosed some of our briefs in the Prince Edward County case which I felt might be interesting.

Sincerely,

BURKE MARSHALL
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: Jerry
JEROME K. HEILBRON
Attorney

SIC

March 20, 1964

Alfred B. Fitt
Deputy Assistant Secretary for Civil Rights
Department of Defense
Washington, D.C.

Dear Friend:

Representatives of more than twenty agencies with human relations programs in the South met recently in Atlanta to discuss school desegregation developments and to anticipate potential crises which may develop by fall.

During our discussion questions were frequently raised about the progress of desegregation in Federally impacted areas in the South. Although some information was available about a few areas, it was generally agreed that we lack a picture of overall developments which is needed as we plan our work for the next six months. The role of Federal agencies in a community is frequently an important consideration as private agencies assess the forces for constructive change and make their plans for local action programs.

For example, the American Friends Service Committee is launching this spring a Mississippi Community Relations Program which will focus during its first phase on school desegregation. Since Biloxi is one of the three Mississippi communities which have recently been ordered to present plans for the desegregation of public schools, we need to know what the situation is at the military installation there. It will greatly enhance our effort in the community if we know that we can count on affirmative support for desegregation by the commander of the base.

It would be helpful for the southern human relations agencies to have a progress report on what the Department of Defense has been able to accomplish so far as the desegregation of school facilities for children of military personnel in the South is concerned. We would be interested in knowing where participation by military installations in local school segregation has been ended, and how, and what further developments can be anticipated by fall.

I would welcome an opportunity to talk with you about the concerns of the southern human relations agencies. We are dealing with a situation

which is in flux and we would appreciate having a channel of communication with those agencies in Washington that are bringing about the kinds of changes to which we are also committed.

Would it be convenient for you to see me on Thursday, March 26? I could get to Washington in time for a 10:00 a.m. appointment and would be glad to see you at your convenience any time after 10:00 a.m. I shall telephone your office on Monday to see whether an appointment can be arranged.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Jean Fairfax
National Representative
for Southern Programs

JF:ej
cc: Paul Anthony

SIC

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

MANPOWER

April 10, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of April 7, 1964 inviting a representative of the Department of Defense to the April 16th meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference.

Mr. Robert E. Jordan, III of my office will attend the meeting on my behalf. Should there be any late changes of time or place he can be reached by telephone on OXford 50120 in Washington.

Sincerely,

Alfred B. Fitt

Alfred B. Fitt
Deputy Assistant Secretary
(Civil Rights)

SIC

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

20530

Address Reply to the
Division Indicated
and Refer to Initials and Number

APR 10 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your invitation to attend the Southern Interagency Conference on April 16. Unfortunately, I will not be able to attend, nor is there anyone else in this office knowledgeable on the subject whom we can break free on that day to attend the conference.

I regret not being able to be with you.

Sincerely,

BURKE MARSHALL
Assistant Attorney General
Civil Rights Division

By: St. John Barrett

ST. JOHN BARRETT
Second Assistant

SIC.

JLC

JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

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NEW YORK, N. Y. 10021
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BESS TOPOLSKY, Pittsburgh
MEYER WEINTRAUB, Los Angeles
SAM WEISBERG, Cleveland
MAX WOHL, Cleveland
JOSEPH WOLMAN, Baltimore
JOSEPH ZACHARIAS, Mexico City

6 May 1964

Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
Room 201,
5 Forsyth Street N.W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen,

In future would you be so kind as to send notices of all Southern Inter-Agency Meetings to our representatives in Atlanta in order that they may arrange to attend on our behalf?

Mr. Irving Gordon,
845 Ponce de Leon Terrace N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Mr. E. T. Kehrer,
Director, Southeast Region,
ILGWU,
1065 Gordon Street S.W.,
Atlanta Ga. 30310

Mr. Nick Bonnano,
ILGWU,
1065 Gordon Street N.W.,
Atlanta Ga. 30310.

With many thanks,

Paul
O.K. ???
Yes PA

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel Muravchik

Emanuel Muravchik
National Director

SIC

Southern Field Service

National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

1046 Baronne Street · New Orleans, Louisiana 70113 · 523-2901

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Sister Claire Marie, O.S.F. *Milwaukee*
Dennis Clark, *Philadelphia*
Rev. Joseph Connolly, *Baltimore*
John J. Farrell, *Chicago*
Norman Francis, *New Orleans*
Terry A. Francois, *San Francisco*
George K. Hunton, *New York*
Harold T. Hunton, *Brooklyn*
Rev. Philip S. Hurley, S.J. *New York*
John T. Kenna, *Washington, D.C.*
James A. Leadon, *St. Paul*
George S. Lima, *Providence*
James K. Luger, *Minneapolis*
William McCoy, *Portland*
James J. McFadden, *New York*
Albert Miller, *Winona*
Joseph Newman, *Cleveland*
Dr. C. Joseph Nuesse *Washington, D.C.*
Very Rev. George F. O'Dea, S.S.J., *Baltimore*
Guichard Parris, *New York*
Very Rev. Harold R. Perry, S.V.D., *Bay St. Louis*
Michael F. Quinn, *Indianapolis*
Miss Margaret C. Roach *Washington, D.C.*
Rev. James J. Sheehan, *Detroit*
Rt. Rev. Msgr. Alexander O. Sigur *Lafayette*
Miss Theresa Staudt *San Antonio*
Percy H. Steele, Jr., *San Diego*
William H. Thompson *Little Rock*

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Mathew Ahmann

DIRECTOR, SOUTHERN FIELD SERVICE
Henry A. Cabirac, Jr.

June 5, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Please withdraw my name from the Steering Committee of the Southern Interagency Conference. It is with regret that I request that you do this, but as you know I am no longer the Director of the Southern Field Service of the National Catholic Conference.

Although I am being considered for several positions, I haven't definitely settled on anything new. If you know of anything that would be promising, I would appreciate you letting me know.

Yours sincerely,

Henry Cabirac

fl

1 - C. Wittenstein

Dialogue - [redacted]

Voting [redacted]

2 - Ruby Hurley

3 - Rosetta Gardner

NSA

4 - Paul Anthony

5 - Neil Jarplee -

6 - Ed Brown

7 - Jack Simon -

8 - Jed Freedman

9 - Al Kehrer

KEHRER

Chairman, Miss Fairfax

New Haven

SIC General

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

JAckson 2-8764

LESLIE W. DUNBAR,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

M E M O R A N D U M

August 24, 1964

TO: Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Paul Anthony

The fall meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held in Atlanta September 24-25, beginning at 2:00 P.M. on the 24th and ending at noon on the 25th. The meeting will be held in the SRC conference room.

Please let us know on the enclosed card whether or not you plan to attend. Also, if you wish us to make hotel reservations please indicate that as well as your preference of hotels.

Information on the agenda will be sent as soon as we hear from the steering committee.

You will recall Don Slaiman was elected as president at the Spring meeting and the following were elected to the steering committee:

Charles Wittenstein
Ruby Hurley
~~Vincent Harding~~
Rosetta Gardner
Paul Anthony
~~Jean Fairfax~~
~~Henry Cabirac~~
(2) Neil Tarplee
Ed Brown.

Jack Simon (1)
Ted Freedman -

PA:mm

al Kahner

SIC-Gen

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

AGENCY FOR RELIEF AND OTHER CHRISTIAN SERVICES

540 Houston Street NE · Atlanta, Georgia · Atlanta 688-0594 (Area Code 404)

ORGANIZED 1920
INCORPORATED 1937

September 2, 1964

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

This is both a note to say that I will not be able to be at the Southern Interagency Conference on September 24-25 and a notice of the fact that Rosemarie and I will be taking a leave of absence for several months beginning around the middle of September.

I mentioned this last to you especially in the light of my election to the steering committee of SIC. If it would be felt that somebody else on the scene and active at this point should take my place I would be very happy to be crossed off. Do what you will.

Vincent Harding

VH:jm

General Offices · Box 38 · Akron, Pennsylvania · Akron 859-1151 (Area Code 717)

SIC

United Presbyterian Field Office
Room 403-404
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
September 2, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This letter will introduce me as a new Staff person of the Board of Christian Education of the United Presbyterian Church, working in race relations in the 17 Southern States. I will be stationed in Atlanta with office at 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My work will be in conjunction with that of John Marion, who is in Nashville, Tennessee

I would appreciate very much having my name placed on the mailing list of the Southern Intra-agency Conference.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

J. Oscar McCloud

J. Oscar McCloud,
Field Representative

JOM:cj

SIC - Gen.

September 8, 1964

Mr. Vincent Harding
Mennonite Central Committee
540 Houston Street, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Vince:

If at all possible, I would hope that you will continue serving on the steering committee of SIC.

Also hope your several months absence means that you and Rosemarie are having a good vacation, though doubt this is the explanation.

Whatever, good trip.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Director of Field Activities

PA:mm

SIC - General

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

ONE WEST FORTY-SEVENTH ST., NEW YORK 36, N. Y. CIRCLE 6-3175 • MRS. JOSEPH WILLEN, NATIONAL PRESIDENT • MISS HANNAH STEIN, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

September 14, 1964

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We would appreciate it if you would consider Mrs. Lorraine Sulkin to be our representative on the Southern Interagency Conference. We have somewhat reorganized our staff and Mrs. Sulkin will be covering the south and southwest. It probably will not be possible for her to come to the meeting on the 24th and 25th, but she will make every effort to attend future meetings.

Sincerely yours,

Helen Raebeck

Helen Raebeck, Head
Public Affairs Department

HR:ds

SIC - Gen.

ARTHUR J. LEVIN
1501 Eighteenth Street, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Sept. 22, 1964

(reaction!)

Dear Paul:

I would like to suggest that you add to the mailing list to receive SIC meeting notices the name of

Percy Williams
Special Assistant to the
Executive Vice Chairman
The President's Committee on
Equal Employment Opportunity
Washington 25, D.C.

One of Percy's responsibilities is to serve as liaison with voluntary civil rights organizations, which makes SIC meetings of interest to him.

On SIC's part, Percy can serve as a resource to explain and report on the activities of the President's Committee, and on developments concerning Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

Best regards.

Art

SIC MM

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BOARD OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION

FIELD SERVICES

September 30, 1964

Done

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This letter will introduce me as a new Staff person of the Board of Christian Education of The United Presbyterian Church, working in race relations in the seventeen Southern states. I will be stationed in Atlanta with an office at 41 Exchange Place, S. E., Room 403-404, Atlanta 3, Georgia.

My work will be in conjunction with that of John Marion, who is headquartered in Nashville, Tennessee.

I would appreciate very much having my name placed on the mailing list of the Southern Intra-Agency Conference.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

J. Oscar McCloud

J. Oscar McCloud
Field Representative

JOM:cj

FIELD OFFICE FOR CHURCH AND SOCIETY

Rev. J. Oscar McCloud • Room 403-4 Kemper Bldg., 41 Exchange Place S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303 • Telephone: 404-525-9768

LMV
PAL
S/C

From the desk of . . .

GEORGE HEAD

Mr. Dunbar:

Sorry that I was not able to attend the conference on April 16-17 - my schedule did not get me back into town until today.

Just in case you have not seen the enclosed I am sending it to you - I see that some of your discussion will be on open housing. This folder is one that went to all American Baptists along with others describing the need for open housing.

Best regards to you - hope I can make the next meeting.

Sincerely,

George Head

George L. Head

MM: This interest would indicate we should keep this fellow on S/C list for awhile —

DRAFT

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Organizations Participating in Southern Interagency Activities of CCD

From: Harold C. Fleming

Re: PROPOSED COOPERATIVE FACT-FINDING PROJECT ON VIOLENCE, INTIMIDATION, AND REPRISALS

:

At the last Southern interagency meeting, it was agreed that participating organizations would be invited to contribute to a joint fact-finding effort. The purpose of this memorandum is to give a brief description of the project, the proposed mechanics for carrying it out, and a rough estimate of the total cost. If your agency would like to contribute to the effort, under the terms set forth below, please write me at your earliest convenience -- no later than January 30.

Following is the description of the project as approved by the agency representatives attending the Southern meeting in November:

I. Violence, Intimidation, and Reprisal

1. In view of the creation of the Civil Rights Commission, it is felt that a comprehensive report of incidents of violence, intimidation, and reprisal should be compiled as quickly as possible. It is tentatively agreed that the period to be covered might date from the Supreme Court school decision of May 17, 1954. We recognize that practical considerations arising in the course of the survey might lead to the adoption of a shorter period. In any case, the incidents reported should be limited to those involving violence, intimidation and reprisal growing out of Southern reactions to the Supreme Court's decision.

2. A temporary project person, having appropriate skills and experience, should be employed. This temporary project director would work under the overall supervision of an interagency committee made up of Southern staff members of the Anti-Defamation League, the American Friends Service Committee, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Southern Regional Council. These agencies were selected because they have existing files and materials in this field.

3. Each of the organizations participating in the Southern interagency effort will be invited to assume a prorata share of the cost of the project. We estimate roughly that the cost of the project will be between $3,000 and $5,000. It is understood that the four agencies previously mentioned shall have full responsibility for the direction of the project. When the fact-finding has been completed and a report

drafted, however, each of the contributing agencies will have an opportunity to review the manuscript and decide whether it wishes to be associated by name with the report.

4. The object will be to document each incident by newspaper reports. We recognize that it may be necessary in some cases to check the facts against other sources - organizational files, first-hand accounts, and so on. In addition to clippings and reports in the files of cooperating organizations, the files of the Southern Education Reporting Service should be utilized. It is hoped that the final report can state that each of the incidents is supported by published news reports.

5. Publication plans will be made when a draft of the report is in hand. The findings may be communicated directly to the Civil Rights Commission, released to the press and other media in printed or mimeographed form or both, depending on the circumstances at the time of completion.

LIST

Mr. Galen Weaver
Congregational Christian Churches

Miss Dorothy Hampton
1503 Benehan Street
Raleigh, N. C.

Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund

George Meany
AFL-CIO
Washington

Boris Shiskin
AFL-CIO
Washington

&&&
David J. McDonald
U.S. Steelworkers
Pittsburgh

Miss Thelma Stevens
WDCS - Methodist Church

Mr. Malcolm Calhoun
Presby. Church, US

MASS MEDIA CTTEE:

Sidney Hollander

Al Hamilton - United Auto Workers

Guichard Parris
Nat'l Urban League

J. Oscar Lee
Nat'l. Council of Churches

Arnold Aronson
Nat'l Community Rel. Advisory Council

Jacob Schlitt
Jewish Labor Committee

H. B. Sissel
Presby Church USA

&&&&&&&&&&&&

George K. Hunton
Catholic Interracial Council

Mr. Shad Polier
Amer. Jewish Congress

&& Oscar Cohen
Anti-Defamation League

Edwin Lukas
Amer; Jewish Cttee.

Harry Fleischman
National Labor Service

Alfred Bernheim
Amer. Jewish Cttee.

Alex Morisey
Amer. Friends Ser. Cttee.

Alan Reitman
Amer. Civil Liberties Union

Distribution of VIOLENCE REPORT.

LIST

Mr. Francis C. Shane
U. A. W.
1500 Commonwealth Bldg.
Pittsburgh 22

Mr. James C. Evans
Civilian Assistant
Office of the Asst. Secy.
of Defence
Washington 25

Miss Marguerite Hawkins
WDCS - Methodist Church
150 Fifth Ave.
New York 11

Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr.
Washington 25

Senator John A. Carroll
Washington 25

Senator Jacob R. Javits
Washington 25

Senator John F. Kennedy
Washington 25

Rep. Emanuel Celler
Washington 25

Mr. Gordon Tiffany
Civil Rights Commission
726 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington 25

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Washington

Mr. W. Wilson White
Dept. of Justice
Washington 25

Mr. Harris Wofford
Civil Rights Commission
Washington

Mr. Henry Shine
Civil Rights Commission
Washington

Mr. Jim Mathis
Hoston Post
Washington

Mr. Herbert J. Blitz
Room 326 Senate Bldg.
Washington

The Embassy of Union of S. Africa
3101 Massachusetts Ave.
Washington
(Attn: Press Attache)

Mr. Charles Goodrum
Librarian
Library of Congress
Washington

Rep. Richard Bolling
Washington

Senate Constitutional Rights
Sub-committee
Washington 25
(Attn: Miss Simons)

Mr. August Heckscher
Twentieth Century Fund
330 W. 42d St.
New York 36

Mr. & Mrs. DeJongh Franklin
1585 W. Paces Ferry Rd. N.W.
Atlanta

Mr. Stephen Currier
Staunton Hill Farms
Brookneal, Va.

Mr. Galen Weaver
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10

Miss Dorothy Hampton
1503 Benehan Street
Raleigh, N.C.

Mr. John J. Scanlon
Fund for Advancement of Educ.
477 Madison Ave.
New York 22

Mr. Jacob S. Potofsky
President
Sidney Hillman Foundation
15 Union Square West
New York 3

Mrs. Ruby Hurley
N. A. A. C. P.
859 Hunter Street
Atlanta

Mr. B. Tartt Bell
American Friends Ser. Cottee.
1818 S. Main St.
High Point, N. C.

Mr. Arthur J. Levin
Anti-Defamation League
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
Amer. Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S.E., Rm. 703
Atlanta 3

Mr. William Oliver
U. A. W.
8000 E. Jefferson Ave.
Detroit 14

Mr. Will D. Campbell
National Council of Churches
P. O. Box 1083
Nashville

Mr. Michael Straight
c/o The New Republic
1224-19th St., N.W.
Washington

Mr. Roger Baldwin
c/o Amer. Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Miss Georgene B. Lovecky
John Hay Whitney Foundation
630 Fifth Ave.
New York 20

Mr. Edgar B. Stern
2110 American Bank Building
New Orleans 12

Mr. David B. Silberman, Jr.
Sigmund Silberman Foundation

Dr. Grayson Kirk, President
Columbia University

Dr. Buell G. Gallaher, Pres.
City College of New York

Mr. Edwin Wolf, 2nd
Curator, Pennsylvania Library

Mr. Lloyd Garrison

Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky

Mr. Frank Loescher

Mr. Gordon Alport
Ella Lyman Cabot Trust

Mrs. Justine W. Polier

Mr. David Freeman
Rockefeller Bros. Fund

Mr. Montgomery Bradley
Rockefeller Bros. Fund

Dr. Harry Meserve
Rockefeller Bros. Fund

Mr. Jack Clareman
Christopher Reynolds Foundation

Mr. Wilton Dillon
Phelps-Stokes Fund

Dr. F. D. Patterson
Phelps-Stokes Fund

Mr. Edmund A. Rosenthal
Ben. R. Rosenthal Foundation

Mr. Frank A. Weil
Aaron E. Norman Fund

Mrs. Max Ascoli
20 Gramercy Park, S.
N. Y.

Mr. Stephen H. Stackpole
Carnegie Corp. of N. Y.

Mr. Alan Pifer
Carnegie Corp. ofN. Y.

Mr. Harold Evans, Chrm.
Chace Fund

Mr. Richard Hocking
Atlanta, Ga.

Mrs. May E. McFarland
Doris Duke Foundation

Mr. Maxwell Hahn
Field Foundation

Mr. Sol Markoff
N. Y. Foundation

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
New World Foundation

Miss Katharine Taylor
Cambridge, Mass.

Mrs. Gilbert A. Harrison
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Marie K. Drigga
N. Y. Fund for Children

Mr. Solomon I. Sklar
(New-Land Foundation)
Sent as an individual

Mrs. David Levy
993 Fifth Ave.
New York

Dr. Prynce Hopkins
Hopkins Charitable Fund

Mr. W. H. Ferry
Fund for the Republic

Mr. Hallock Hoffman
FFR

Mr. Alexander F. Sharp
Presby. Church USA

Mr. Joseph Lyford
FFR

Mr. John Thompson
Farfield Foundation

Miss Nina Ridenour
Ittleson Family Foundation

Mr. John R. May
San Francisco Foundation

Mr. George Meany
AFL-CIO
Washington

Mr. Wm. F. Schnitzler
AFL-CIO
Washington

Mr. Boris Shiskin
Dept. of Civil Rights
AFL-CIO
Washington

Mr. George L. P. Weaver
AFL-CIO
Washington

Mr. David Dubinsky
ILGWU
N. Y.

Mr. David J. McDonald
USteelworkers of America
Pittsburgh

Mr. Philip Randolph
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

Rev. William G. Wright
Protestant Episcopal Church

Dr. Leon M. Adkins
The Methodist Church

Mr. Vernon Middleton
The Methodist Church

Miss Thelma Stevens
The Methodist Church (WDCS)

Mr. Malcolm Calhoun
Presby. Church US

In the proposed report defining SIC, it states the following in paragraph seven:

"The group shares a commitment to the establishment of a free and just society achieved through the democratic process".

The following amendment is proposed:

> "It knows that totalitarianism, whether fascist or communist, is profoundly hostile to this aim and, therefore, it does not cooperate with the advocates of such repressive ideology. It opposes racial and religious bigotry, prejudice and discrimination against any groups in our society."

SIC - Gen

Will D. Campbell
Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. Charles Whittenstein
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This is to apply for membership in the Southern Inter-Agency Conference.

Other organizations to which I am now or have been a member are:

1. The Baptist Church (Southern Baptist, known occasionally as S.B.)
2. The Masonic Lodge (Liberty, Mississippi # 37)
3. The U S Airforce Reserve (currently assigned to Barry Field, Tenn.)
4. The Lions Club International from which I resigned when the Club to which I belonged served Martinis at meetings. Instead of Mint Julips.

I am not now nor have I ever been a member of a subversive organization. I did ~~an~~ once by mistake in New Orleans attend a Henry Wallace rally. I thought it was a Youth For Christ meeting. Since you will want to be informed fully of my past associations I did once shake hands with Walter Reuther.

My children know all stanzas of the national anthem and have been taught to stand up on those occasions when Dixie is substituted.

My wife does not believe morality can be legislated. She wishes it could.

If admitted into membership I agree not to photograph any fellow member dancing with Abner Barry, especially if said member is not a girl.

The purpose of the organization for which I work is to do good across ethnic lines.

Your PAL*

Will D. Campbell

*Preacher At Large

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
JAckson 2-8764

PAUL ANTHONY,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

MEMORANDUM

December 16, 1966

TO: Member agencies, Southern Interagency Conference

FROM: Secretariat

SUBJECT: Meeting on January 18 and 19, 1967

The next meeting of the Southern Interagency Conference will be held on January 18 and 19, 1967, in Atlanta. The meeting will begin at 2:00 P.M. on January 18. Please place these dates in your calendar. Details of the meeting will be sent later.

At this point we know that the program will include a presentation by Bayard Rustin of the "Freedom Budget" which has been proposed by the A. Philip Randolph Institute, of which he is Executive Director. Present plans call for comment by three or four experts on various parts of the Freedom Budget. Names of these reactors will be sent along with details as to the place of the meeting.

We plan once again to have dinner together, and part of the program is scheduled for the evening of the 18th.

On the 19th we shall discuss a memorandum, to be presented by Ted Freedman and Oscar McCloud, on the direction and purpose of the Southern Interagency Conference.

SIC DIRECTORY

Rec'd 12/19/66

NOTE: We are attempting to bring our rolls up to date. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Please do so even if we are presently sending communications to the correct person and address. Thank you.

Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(✓) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official J. Martin England (The Reverend)

Title Associate Director, Southern Regional Office

Agency The Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board of the American Baptist Convention

Address P. O. Box 10201

Greenville, S.C. ZIP 29603

Comment: _____

(Signed) J. Martin England

Title _____

DEC 19 1966

NOTE: We are attempting to bring our rolls up to date. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Please do so even if we are presently sending communications to the correct person and address. Thank you.

Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(✓) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official IAN J McCRAE

Title DIRECTOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Agency UNITED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY

Address 222 S DOWNEY AVE

INDIANAPOLIS, IND ZIP 46207

Comment: _____

(Signed) Ian J McCrae

Title Dir. of Human Rights

NOTE: We are attempting to bring our rolls up to date. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Please do so even if we are presently sending communications to the correct person and address. Thank you.

Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(X) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official: Miss Peggy Billings

Title: Secretary in Section of Christian Social Relations

Agency: Woman's Division, The Methodist Church

Address: 475 Riverside Drive

New York, N. Y. ZIP 10027

Comment: See the back of the page for names of proxies who will be notified as necessary by Miss Billings when your meetings are scheduled. She will make sure that we have a representative in attendance.

(Signed) Thelma Stevens

Title Assistant General Secretary
Section of Christian Social Relations

12/23/66

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

Mrs. J. Ben Stalvey
6780 S.W. 75th Terrace,
South Miami, Florida 33143

Mrs. H. V. Richardson
671 Beckwith Street, S.W.,
Atlanta, Ga. 30314

Mrs. Robert L. Wilcox
1752 Old Niles Ferry Pike
Maryville, Tenn. 37801

XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY XERO COPY

DATE MAILED: December 28, 1966

Joyce L

NOTE: We are attempting to bring our rolls up to date. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Please do so even if we are presently sending communications to the correct person and address. Thank you.

Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(✓) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official: Mr. Mathew Ahmann

Title: Executive Director

Agency: National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Address: 1307 South Wabash Avenue

Chicago, Ill ZIP 60605

Comment: We would appreciate your continuing to send your communications to the director of our Southern office: Mr. John P. Sisson-- Southern Field Service; 8017 Palm Street; New Orleans, La 70125

(Signed) Mathew Ahmann

Title Executive Director

NOTE: We are attempting to bring our rolls up to date. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Please do so even if we are presently sending communications to the correct person and address. Thank you.

Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(XX) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Dr. Victor T. Glass, Secretary, Department of Work with

Title National Baptists

Agency Home Mission Board

Address 161 Spring Street, N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ZIP

Comment: _____

(Signed) Victor T. Glass

Title Sec. Dept. of Work with National Baptists

NOTE: We are attempting to bring our rolls up to date. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Please do so <u>even if we are presently sending communications to the correct person and address</u>. Thank you.

Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(✓) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does <u>not</u> wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Mrs Peggy Billup N.Y.

Title Mrs H.V. Richardson

Agency The Methodist Church

Address 671 Beckwith St. Atlanta
Georgia ZIP 30314

Comment: _____

(Signed) Mrs Harry V. Richardson

Title _____

NOTE: We are attempting to bring our rolls up to date. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Please do so even if we are presently sending communications to the correct person and address. Thank you.

Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(Yes) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Joseph I. Yanich

Title Southeast Regional Director

Agency American Jewish Congress

Address Rm. 714 Congress Building
111 N. E. 2nd Avenue 379-6195
Miami, Florida
ZIP 33132

Comment: _____

(Signed) Joseph I. Yanich

Title Southeast Regional Director

No answer

NOTE: We are attempting to bring our rolls up to date. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Please do so even if we are presently sending communications to the correct person and address. Thank you.

Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(✓) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official John P. Sisson

Title Director, Southern Field Service

Agency National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice

Address 8017 Palm Street 482-5792

New Orleans, Louisiana ZIP 70125

Comment: _____

(Signed) John P. Sisson

Title Director, Sou. Field Service

Did not return call

NOTE: We are attempting to bring our rolls up to date. Please fill out the questionnaire below and return it in the enclosed self-addressed envelope. Please do so even if we are presently sending communications to the correct person and address. Thank you.

Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(✓) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official S. Oscar McCloud

Title Field Representative

Agency United Presbyterian Field Office For Church & Society

Address Suite 1410, 40 Marietta St, N.W.

Atlanta, ZIP 30303 Ph 525-3771

Comment: The title & Agency may be changed shortly, if so, I shall so inform you.

(Signed) S. Oscar McCloud

Title Field Representative

N.A. —
Name — unlisted

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Southern Regional Council, Secretariat
Southern Interagency Conference
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

(✓) This agency wishes to continue to participate in the Southern Interagency Conference.

( ) This agency does <u>not</u> wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official The Rev'd Francis X. Walter,

Title Director

Agency Selma Inter-religious Project

Address 810 29th Ave

Tuscaloosa, Ala. ZIP 35401

Comment: _____

(Signed) Francis X. Walter

Title Director

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( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Will D. Campbell

Title Boss

Agency Committee of Southern Churchmen

Address 1207 18th Ave S.

Nashville ZIP 37212

Comment: prepare to meet God!

(Signed) Will D. Campbell

Title

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official COURTNEY SICENOFF

Title Director

Agency Penn Community Services

Address

FROGMORE, SC ZIP 29920

Comment: Phone: 524.4337 or 4339

(Signed) [illegible]

Title

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( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Clarence D. Coleman

Title Southern Regional Director

Agency National Urban League

Address 78 Marietta Street, N. W. - Suite 417

Atlanta, Georgia ZIP 30303

Comment: Due to a conflict in a meeting of our National Executive Staff January 15 - 20, in Washington, D. C., attendance at the next meeting improbable.

(Signed) Clarence D. Coleman
Clarence D. Coleman
Title Southern Regional Director

SIC DIRECTORY

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( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Don McEvoy A. Wilson Sheek, Ex. Dir. Dir. Georgia Region

Title Ex-Dir.

Agency Nat'l Conf of Christians & Jews

Address 1009 First Federal Bldg. 688 7510

Atlanta ZIP 30303

Comment:

(Signed) Don McEvoy

Title

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Constance Curry

Title Southern Field Representative

Agency American Friends Service Committee

Address Room 502, 41 Exchange Pl. SE

Atlanta, Ga. ZIP

Comment: Hello

(Signed) C. Curry

Title

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Jac Wasserman

Title Field Director

Agency NATIONAL SHARECROPPERS FUND

Address ~~5 Forsyth Street, N. W.~~ Atlanta, Ga. 30303

ZIP

Comment: _____

(Signed) Jac Wasserman

Title _____

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Mr. Irwin Schulman

Title Regional Director

Agency Anti-Defamation League

Address 1715 City Federal Building

Birmingham, Alabama ZIP 35203

Comment: _____

_____

_____

(Signed) _____

Title _____

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Wilton E. Hartzler

Title Executive Secretary

Agency American Friends Service Committee
Southeastern Regional Office

Address P.O. Box 1791

High Point, N.C. ZIP 27261

Comment: _____

(Signed) W. Hartzler

Title Executive Secretary

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official HARRY FLEISCHMAN

Title RACE RELATIONS COORDINATOR

Agency AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Address 165 E. 56 STREET

NY, NY ZIP 10022

Comment: I assume you're still including Gus Falk + Billie Stern in Dallas, Milton Feiner in Houston, Walter Zand in Miami + Charlie Wittenstein. (Charles can give you addresses.)

(Signed) Harry Fleischman

Title

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official DUNBAR REED

Title ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Agency SOUTHERN AREA COUNCIL OF YMCAs

Address 1611 CANDLER BLDG.

ATLANTA, GA. ZIP 30303

Comment: Please place Mr. Don Leake Executive of Southern Area Council of Student YMCA and Director of Young Adult Work of this office on your mailing list (Signed) Dunbar Reed

Title Associate Director

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( ) This agency does not wish to continue participation in the Southern Interagency Conference.

Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Arthur J. Levin

Title Staff Director

Agency Potomac Institute, Inc.

Address 1501 Eighteenth Street, N.W.

Washington, D.C. ZIP 20036

Comment: Good show!

(Signed) Arthur J. Levin

Title Staff Director

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Mrs. J. Ben Stalvey

Title Sec. Christian Social Relations — Southeastern jurisdiction Woman's Division

Agency Section of Christian Social Relations — Board of Missions of the Methodist Church

My Address 6780 S.W. 75 Ter. ZIP 33143
South Miami, Fla.

Comment: There are 3 designated representatives to the Southern Inter-agency Conference from the Section of Christian Social Relations whose office is in New York - At least one of us tries to be present at all of the Inter agency Meetings.

(Signed) Mrs. J Ben Stalvey

Title Sec. Christian Social Relations

Mrs. Harry Richardson lives in Atlanta, therefore, she is most often the only one of us who is present. I attend as often as I can.
Mrs. Robert Wilcox is the third designated representative from the Section of CSR in New York.

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official E.T. KEHRER

Title SOUTHERN AREA DIRECTOR

Agency AFL-CIO CIVIL RIGHTS DEPT.

Address 40 MARIETTA ST, N.W.
ATLANTA, GA ZIP 30303

Comment: Also continue to send to
Mr. Donald Slaiman, Director
AFL-CIO Civil Rights Dept.
815 16 St. N.W.
Washington, 6, D.C.

(Signed) E.T. Kehrer

Title

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official MR. Don Slaiman

Title Director, Department of Civil Rights

Agency AFL-CIO

Address 815 Sixteenth St. N.W. Washington D.C. 20006

ZIP

Comment: _____

(Signed) Don Slaiman

Title _____

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Harold C. Fleming

Title Executive Vice President

Agency Potomac Institute, Inc.

Address 1501 - 18th St., N. W.

Washington, D.C. ZIP 20036

Comment: _____

(Signed) Harold C. Fleming

Title Executive Vice President

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Rev. Clifton G. Hoffman

Title Consultant

Agency Unitarian Universalist Commission on Religion and Race

Address Rm. 422, 1145 Peachtree N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. ZIP 30309

Comment: although travel occasionally pulls me out of town on the dates of ~~the~~ conference meetings. I feel the communication of plans, problems and concerns is highly valuable

(Signed) Clifton G. Hoffman

Title

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Miss Eileen E. Muir

Title Correlator, Southern Region

Agency National Board, YWCA

Address Suite 201, 41 Exchange Place, S.E.

Atlanta, Georgia ZIP 30303

Comment: Thank you to SRC for making possible the Southern Interagency Conference. It is most helpful to us as a source of information and means of communication.

(Signed) Eileen E. Muir

Title Correlator, Southern Region

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official MISS JEAN FAIRFAX

Title

Agency NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE & EDUCATIONAL FUND, Inc.

Address 10 COLUMBUS CIRCLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. ZIP 10019

Comment:

(Signed) Jean Fairfax

Title

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Committee for Racial Justice Now

Title Executive Coordinator

Agency United Church of Christ

Address 289 Park Ave South

New York, N.Y. ZIP

Comment: I have not received the further details on the Jan. 18-19 meeting and I had planned to attend, please let me know if it is still planned

(Signed) Charles E. Cobb

Title Executive Coordinator

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official The Rev. Albert C. Saunders

Title Secretary for National Affairs

Agency Washington Office, United Presbyterian Church in the USA

Address 110 Maryland Ave., N.E.

Washington, D.C. ZIP 20002

Comment: _____

(Signed) Albert C. Saunders

Title Secy for Natl Aff.

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Dr. Clifton H. Johnson

Title Director

Agency Amistad Research Center

Address Fisk University

Nashville, Tennessee ZIP 37203

Comment: The Amistad Research Center includes the United Church of Christ Race Relations Department, which is on you mailing list. Dr. Johnson Will attend the meeting on January 18-19.

(Signed) Clifton H. Johnson

Title Director

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Theodore Freedman

Title Southern Director

Agency Anti-Defamation League

Address 41 Exchange Place, S.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ZIP

Comment: _____

(Signed) Theodore Freedman

Title Southern Director

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Charles Morgan, Jr.

Title Southern Regional Director

Agency American Civil Liberties Union

Address 5 Forsyth Street, NW

Atlanta, Georgia ZIP 30303

Comment: _____

(Signed) Lois Coylan

Title Executive Assistant

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official: DR. FOY VALENTINE

Title: Executive Secretary

Agency: Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention

Address: 460 JAMES ROBERTSON PARKWAY
NASHVILLE, Tenn. ZIP 37219

Comment: (I am sorry not to be in on the Jan. 18-19 meeting but I've accepted an invitation to be at one in N.Y.C. at the same time.)

(Signed) Foy Valentine

Title

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Charles F. Wittenstein

Title Southeast Area Director

Agency The American Jewish Committee

Address The Hartford Bldg - 100 Edgewood Ave N.E. Suite 526
Atlanta Ga ZIP 30303

Comment: _____

(Signed) _____

Title _____

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official A. I. BOTNICK

Title Regional DIRECTOR

Agency ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Address 535 GRAVIER ST. SUITE 806

NEW ORLEANS, LA ZIP 70130

Comment: _____

(Signed) A. I. Botnick

Title Regional Director

57@

Rev. Lawrence ~~Neil~~ Tarpley

Assistant for Private Organization Liaison
Community Relations Service
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Rev. Charles E. Cobb

Title Executive Coordinator

Agency Committee for Racial Justice Now - UCC.

Address 289 Park Ave South, New York, NY

ZIP 10010

Comment: I am just beginning my work and would like very much to be a part of the efforts of the Southern Regional Council!

(Signed) Charles E. Cobb

Title Ex. Coordinator

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official The Rev. David B. Nickerson

Title Director, Southern Feild Service

Agency The Episcopal Society

Address 5 Forsyth St., N. W.

Atlanta, Ga., ZIP 30303

Comment: _____

(Signed) D. Nickerson

Title Director, Southern Feild Service

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Please address notices and other communications as follows:

Agency Official Miss Peggy Billings

Title Secretary in Section of Christian Social Relations

Agency Woman's Division, The Methodist Church

Address 475 Riverside Drive

New York, N. Y. ZIP 10027

Comment: See the back of the page for names of proxies who will be notified as necessary by Miss Billings when your meetings are scheduled. She will make sure that we have a representative in attendance.

(Signed) Thelma Stevens

Title Assistant General Secretary
Section of Christian Social Relations

12/23/66